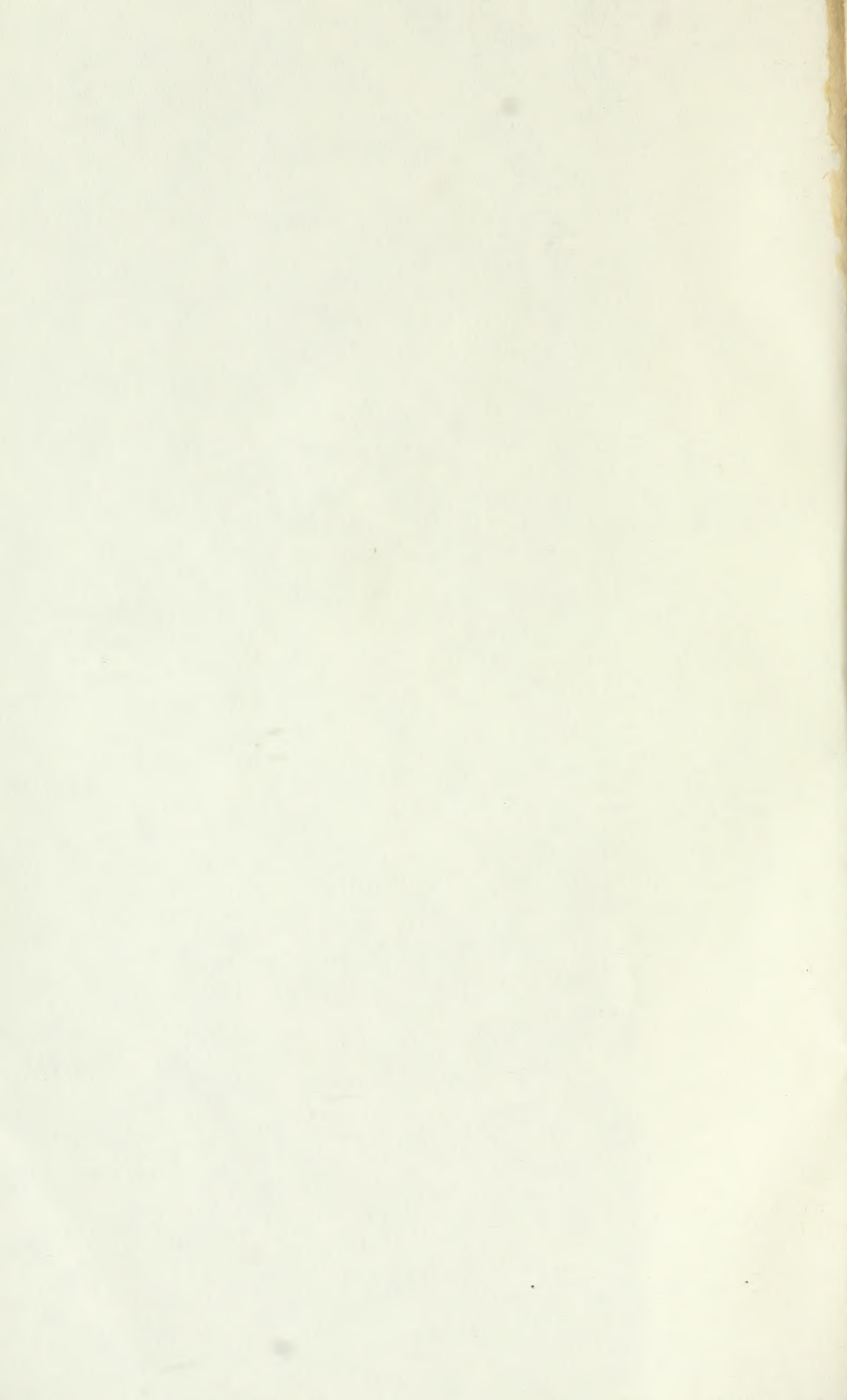


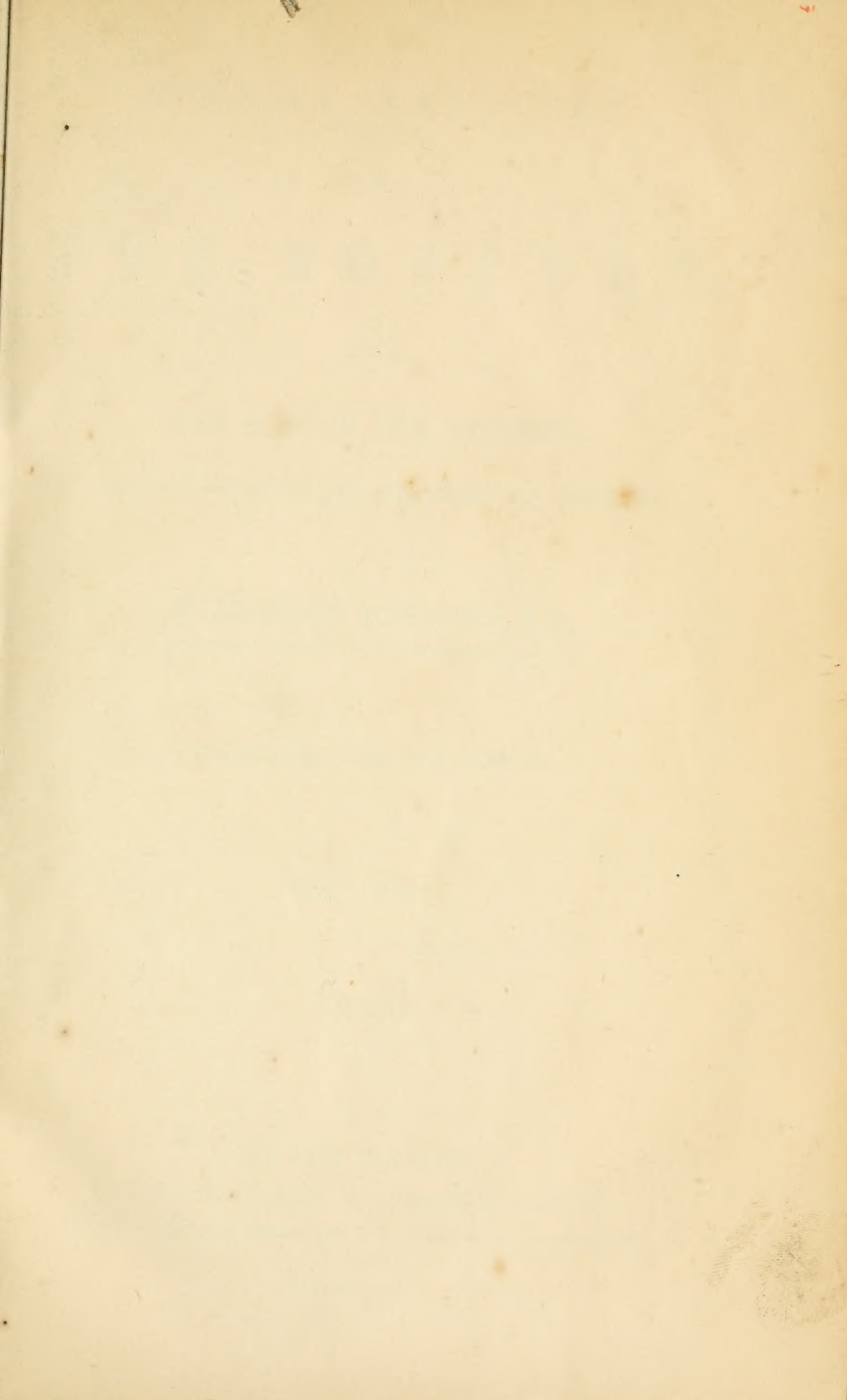


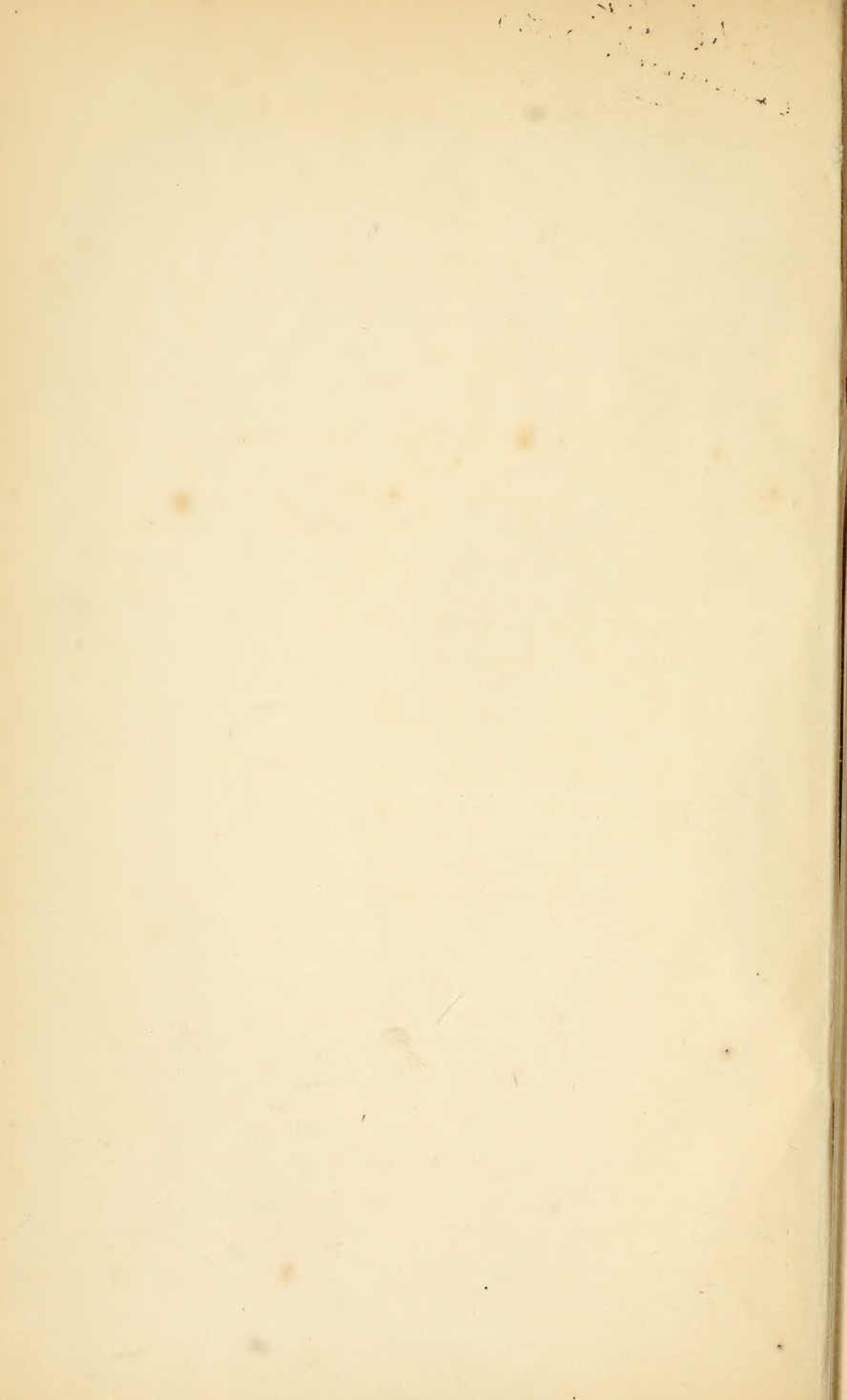
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BIBLICAL COMMENTARY

ON

T H E G O S P E L S,

AND ON

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,

ADAPTED EXPRESSLY FOR PREACHERS AND STUDENTS,

BY HERMANN OLSHAUSEN, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ERLANGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

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TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. WILLIAM LINDSAY, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY TO THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

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THE
SUFFERINGS, DEATH, AND RESURRECTION
OF
JESUS CHRIST.



INTRODUCTION.

THE accounts given by the four Evangelists of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, constitute a whole, complete in itself, which, according to its chief feature, we entitle "The History of His Suffering," and will subject to a separate consideration. Not only have all our canonical gospels treated this portion of the history of the Lord, as its importance demanded, with distinguished explicitness and predilection,—since they present to us the most special account concerning a few days, so that it stands out before the remaining parts of the gospel history,—but also, it bespeaks regard for itself, from the fact of its representing, in the picture of the Saviour himself, altogether another character from what we have hitherto discovered in the four gospels. Although, for instance, the garment of lowliness and poverty enwrapt the whole external character of the Lord, from the manger to the cross, yet hitherto from under this raiment of obscurity, an astonishing glory manifested itself. Though Jesus had not where to lay his head, still, he ruled as king and as prophet. He spoke as never man had spoken. He legislated over the hearts of his own. He ruled in the very midst of his enemies, who—restrained by the invisible bands of the Spirit—could not bound him in his comprehensive ministry. He exercised unlimited sway over the powers of nature: commanded the storms: walked upon the waves of the sea: fed thousands with a few loaves: healed the sick: and cast out evil spirits. But in the last days of the Saviour's earthly pilgrimage, this gradually-resigned lustre of his sublime nature all disappears. His discourse, alike meek and forcible, ceases for the multitude of hearers, to whom it had been uttered in vain.

Jesus confines himself to the little company of his own disciples, and seeks to implant irradicably in their hearts the germs of the

kingdom of God. His splendid miracles cease. Everything brilliant, everything uncommon, vanishes. The poverty and lowliness of the exterior extend themselves over his internal character. He sinks down deeper, as it were, from step to step. The eye rendered keen for the apprehension of true glory and beauty readily confesses that the heavenly picture, whose lustre is thus concealed, is only so much the purer and brighter. For although the active virtues glow more vividly, the exercise of the passive virtues is greater and more difficult, but even these come out perfected in the suffering of Christ. The history of his passion breathes nothing but heavenly patience, meekness, and forbearance.

Now, if we conceive and judge of the person of Christ as merely human, even according to that view, the history of his sufferings presents an affecting, a deeply impressive picture: Only a true perception of the significancy of the events which the Evangelists relate as having occurred during the Lord's last days upon earth, gives the pre-eminently higher view of his person.

The faith that: in Christ Jesus the word of the Father became flesh: that all the prophets prophesied of him, and his appearing: that he was appointed to ransom what was forfeited by the fall of man, and to restore all that was lost: This faith first gives to the history of his suffering the full signification which belongs to it; reveals the connection between the passion and death of Christ Jesus and his resurrection; as it does also the object of all this sublime procedure. It was the Lord of glory who hung upon the cross—Acts iii. 15—who in that moment had power to descend from the cross and evade its pains, as well as death. His passion and death appear to the eye of faith not as something brought about through the power of circumstances: not as a noble sacrifice for a peculiar truth—not as a sublime idea—but as the sacrifice of the Son of God presented out of free love, for the reconciliation of an entire sinful world.

But the resurrection appears as the necessary sequel of the death from pure love, since the all-conquering power of love vanquished death itself, and life could not be held by its bands. If in the history of the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus, we perceive the central point of the Gospel, the source of the new life which resides in it; then will our apprehension of it assume proper form. It will then appear to us less improbable than it was wont to be to man formerly that the individual events in this history which are

often very specially narrated, constitute significant features in the memorable picture. It will all gain in signification for us, because of referring to him, and to him in these sacred moments. The external circumstances indeed are not of that character upon which much weight can be laid. There forces itself on the believer a nobler way of apprehending the history, in consequence of which, we discover not empty accidents, but an arrangement determined from above, which in actions and events, speaks to the world an almost living language.

Although the mouth of truth had become silent, and crucified love no longer uttered its exhortations to men, yet the entire previous career of the Lord spoke, and still speaks to the world of sin, more livingly and powerfully, through all the particular incidents which completed it, than all the conceivable exhortations and warnings of prophets and men of God.

The suffering, dying, and victoriously rising Saviour, with the various circumstances which surrounded him, affords a complete picture of that great strife between the realms of good and evil, about which the world's history moves in its development. In this acceptance the history of his suffering first acquires its deep—one might say its eternal character.

If, for instance, in the history of Christ's last moments upon earth, the external side only be regarded, then may the trials of many other sufferers seem *heavier* measured by the agonies which accumulated upon them: *more imposing* through the constancy and dignity of the sufferers since Jesus appeared fainting and wavering, in the inmost recesses of his soul, (a circumstance which is more closely considered, in the account of the Lord's conflict in Gethsemane): and *more attractive*, through the abundance of exciting events in their struggles.

But regarded in its internal aspect, as little can any other historical phenomenon whatever bear comparison with that of Christ's sufferings and death, as any human teacher whatever with him personally. Whilst it is the sublimest mission of the earthly sage to be a genuine enquirer after truth, Christ is the essential truth itself, which such an one seeks. So, in like manner, all the beams of splendid virtues which ever displayed themselves in human champions or sufferers, for truth and right, appear united in him as their Sun, and melted into an inexpressible unity of essence and existence. Thus, as in relation to knowledge, so also in rela-

tion to being, Christ is the centre from which all knowledge and being proceed, even to those of the existences exerting themselves on creation's periphery, and to which they must return.

As distinct treatises on the portion of the evangelical history which we comprehend in this section, should be noticed:—

Bynæus, “de Morte Jesu Christi,” Libri Tres. Amstelodami, 1691–98, 3, vols. 4.

J. D. Michaelis’ “Erklärung der Begräbniss-und, Auferstehungsgeschichte, Christi.” Halle, 1783—with an appendix containing the fifth of the fragments of Wolfenbittel, with Observations by J. D. Michaelis. Halle, 1785.

J. W. Henneberg’s “Commentor über de Geschichte der Leiden und des Todtes Jesu.” Leipzig, 1822.

Desselben “Commentar über die Geschichte des Begräbniss, der Auferstehung, und Himmel-fahrt Jesu.” Leipzig, 1826.

I

FIRST PART.

OF THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF JESUS CHRIST.

(Matt. xxvi., xxvii.; Mark xiv., xv.; Luke xxii., xxiii.; John xviii., xix.)

(Matt. xxvi. 17.)

BEFORE we proceed to an explication of particulars, we shall take a brief general view of the harmony of the four Evangelists, in reference to the order of events, in the History of Christ's Sufferings, in the stricter sense of the words. Whilst St John so early as in the passage chap. xiii. 1, describes the last meal of the Saviour with his disciples,—a description which, with the discourses of the Lord connected with it, extends to John xvii. 26,—St Matthew enters far later upon this delineation, Matt. xxvi. 17.—Compare therewith Mark xiv. 12, and Luke xxii. 7.—From this it may seem that a synoptical treatment of all the four Gospels, in this section of the evangelical history, would involve great difficulties. Upon closer examination, these are far less than might be expected. With the exception of the one account, of the anointing in Bethany, by Mary—John xii. 1-8; Matt. xxvi. 6-13—which we have already reviewed in the exposition of St John, the three synoptic Gospels impart no fact which should be placed antecedent to the last meal, John xiii. 1, sqq. Only in two short sentences in general terms (Matt. xxvi. 1-5, and 14-16, with their parallels in St Mark and St Luke), the particulars of which shall receive their explication in other places, do they make mention of the malicious designs previously adopted by the Pharisees, and of the treason of Judas.

The case, then, assumes this aspect, viz. We have only two several accounts concerning the last meal of Jesus with his dis-

ciples; the one, by St John, which has been already considered, in the connected exposition of that Evangelist. The second, the account of the Synoptics, which now lies immediately before us.

The single passage, John xiii. 21–29, where the inquiry is made respecting the traitor, Judas being present, was in the exposition of St John's Gospel postponed till we should come to the elucidation of Matt. xxvi. 20, sqq.; because it concurs too directly with the narratives of the Synoptics, for the one relation to be treated upon without the other. The thorough comparison of all the four narratives begins, therefore, with the passage John xviii. 1, sqq, where the capture of the Lord is recorded. Thus, for example, in the account of Christ's last supper with his disciples, St John gives the fullest information, for he alone records consecutively the sublime discourses which the Saviour delivered to the company of his disciples after the conclusion of the meal. But the character of his narrative seems entirely reversed in that part of the evangelical history which lies between the entry into Jerusalem, five days before Easter, and the last supper—John xii. 1–12; Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 29.

Here, with St Luke, St John is the most concise narrator—(compare the particulars in the commentary on Matt. xxi. 1)—for he entirely omits all those important discourses and conversations which the Lord held at Jerusalem with the Pharisees and the disciples, according to St Matthew—chap. xxi. 25—who is here the most copious. It is only because of the few points of concurrence between St John and the Synoptics, up to the capture of the Lord, that a separate treatment of both narrations, previous to that event, is at all desirable. In this manner we have already to some extent arranged them, and shall treat similarly the Synoptics' account of the passover. From the arrest of Christ, however, a precise synoptical treatment of the four historians is perfectly practicable.

§ 1. THE LAST MEAL OF JESUS WITH HIS DISCIPLES.

(Matt. xxvi. 17–35. Mark xiv. 12–31. Luke xxii. 7–38. John xiii. 21–29.)

The Lord had ended his great public activity. His discourse, which even in the immediately preceding days, had flowed forth

so powerfully in warnings, reproofs, exhortations, and prophecies, was silent. The obduracy of the Pharisees, and the unbelief of the people, had limited its operation. But no obduracy, no unbelief, could retard the completion of the sublime work of Christ. With the firm conviction that his death was near, the Redeemer came to the feast at Jerusalem. And with heroic constancy he advanced to meet death; that, from his fall, new life might spring forth for a sinful world; and that the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, might come, who should remind the disciples of all that the Lord had spoken, in order that they might be qualified to catch up again his apparently inoperative words, and, through the Scriptures, to establish their signification and power for centuries, and for millions.

From the tumultuous world of the festally-excited Jerusalem, the Saviour now retired into the quiet circle of his own. The Twelve whom he had selected to be the props and columns of an entirely new world, were they in whose midst Jesus resolved to solemnize the festival. Yet in that most limited company, the empire of evil had its representative. Indeed, not one of the disciples, in his inmost nature, was so grounded and confirmed in goodness as to be able absolutely to resist the approaching assault of the enemy. When the Shepherd was smitten, all the sheep dispersed themselves. Meanwhile, only one had laid himself so open to the suggestions of evil that, instead of being a friend,—even though a weak one,—he became an enemy of the holy God. Now this unhappy man, Judas Iscariot, was in the beginning still present amongst the twelve; later on, however, he left a circle which he had long previously deserted in spirit. The presence and the absence of this lost child, must naturally give to the meal an entirely distinct character, and, accordingly, it divides itself into two unlike portions.

The latter alone contains the impression of a thorough intimate association of Jesus with his faithful ones, the pure blessedness of which was untroubled, save by a glance at the still prospective hour of separation, and of bitter suffering. All the four historians pass rapidly over the first part; concerning it they relate barely so much as seemed necessary to make known the manner in which the intercourse between the Lord and his disciples was carried on, whilst Judas was still amongst them. But they linger with cordial sympathy and love over the description of the second part, where the Saviour revealed himself to them in the whole fulness

of his divine nature. St John, in an especial manner, dwells with a yearning and wistful satisfaction upon those moments during which he reposed for the last time on the bosom of Jesus, as if he hesitated to describe the hours, the remembrance of which must have so deeply troubled his soul.

As regards, then, the particular incidents of the meal, which have been related by the Evangelists, it has been already noticed that St John communicates different particulars from the Synoptics, up to John xiii. 21–29, which passage coincides with the accounts of the latter. Only the variations in the narrative of St Luke from St John, as well as from St Matthew and St Mark, render a careful examination of the succession of the separate incidents of the meal necessary.

St Luke, for example, places the complaint of Jesus concerning his betrayer, after the institution of the holy supper (Luke xxii. 21–23), whilst in St Matthew and St Mark it stands before that event. St John, indeed, as was already observed at John xiii. 1, sq., does not mention the institution of the supper at all, and hence, the priority or subsequence to this fact, of the complaint concerning the traitor, cannot be precisely determined. From the idea of the holy supper itself, however, which must have been a feast of the most intimate love and union, it is in the highest degree probable that so depraved a member as Judas could have had no part in it; not to mention that it would have been even contrary to the love and mercy of the Lord to permit the traitor further to augment his guilt, by partaking of it unworthily. Another particular in the narrative of St Luke which does not coincide with St John's account, is the placing of the strife amongst the disciples, as to who should be the greatest in the kingdom of God, after the complaint concerning the betrayer, Luke xxii. 24–30. This dispute, as the words in St Luke intimate, was undoubtedly connected with the feet washing—John xiii. 4–20. Through this symbolical act the Lord wished to make manifest to them that self-abasing love is the only true elevation in the kingdom of God. Now St John shews, xiii. 4, that the feet washing occurred during the meal, and probably at the beginning of it, whilst the complaint concerning the traitor should, as we have seen, be placed before the supper. And the supper, according to the clear expressions of St Luke himself, with whom St Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 25, literally agrees, followed immediately upon the Passover. (μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι.)

We are hence compelled to say that St Luke has evidently on neither point reported minutely. According to him we might stray into the belief that Judas partook of the holy supper, which corresponds neither with the narratives of St Matthew and St Mark, nor with the idea of the holy ceremony. So also it might be inferred that the disciples had striven one with another, after the holy supper, which is manifestly entirely contrary to the state of their souls on the occasion, as we learn from St John. This fact is explicable, less, indeed, from the circumstance that St Luke himself was not present at the supper ; for that would equally affect St Mark, who yet reports minutely, than from the fact that his special design in this narrative, was evidently not to give a perfect picture of the proceedings at the supper, but only to furnish supplementary information. On this account he here regarded the sequence of events less than the communications themselves. But, if we take all the four relations together, the individual incidents in the last meal of Jesus arrange themselves thus : In the first place, the Synoptics record the preparation made for the feast by the command of Jesus. Then St Luke alone, xxii. 14-18, contains the Saviour's words introducing the meal itself, as well as the mention of the first cup which was given round at it. Next follows the strife amongst the disciples as to who should be the greatest, Luke xxii. 24-30. With that is closely connected the account of the feet washing, which St John alone gives, John xiii. 4-20. After this transaction, came the complaint concerning the betrayer, and the consequent withdrawal of Judas. Upon his retiring, the Saviour's love to his disciples, like a stream long restrained, broke forth from his heart, in the words, " Now is the Son of Man glorified," John xiii. 31, sqq. After these words, according to the intimation of John xiii. and xxxvi. sqq., the warning to St Peter, which St Luke alone contains, Luke xxii. 31-38, was probably delivered ; then followed the institution of the sacred supper, the rising from supper after the hymn, and, finally, the discourses, John chap. xiv.-xvii., which Christ uttered to his disciples, probably whilst yet standing in the apartment.

According to this order of sequences, we shall illustrate the specific events in the last meal ; with the exception of St John's account, up to the quoted passage, John xiii. 21-29, which has been already investigated in the connected exposition of this Evangelist.

First, however, the character of the accounts given by the synoptics, requires for their proper comprehension, an examination *of the manner in which the Jews solemnized the paschal feast*. The Johannine description required this the less, because it scarcely touches upon the peculiar forms of this solemn festival ; we therefore passed them over at the passage John xiii. 1. But the narrative of St Luke, in its relation to St Matthew and St Mark, renders the consideration of the Jewish customs indispensable. Besides the institutions in the Pentateuch, we possess, it is true, only the modern notices of the festival contained in the Talmud. But it is most probable, that a knowledge of the manner in which the feast should be solemnised, was preserved correct in its essentials, by tradition.

The Passover was confessedly, according to the Mosaic legislation, next to the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, the chief feast of the Jews. It was, as is known, founded upon the exodus from Egypt, and took its name from the sparing of the first-born. The name of the paschal lamb פסח, [from פסח to spare ; whilst sparing, to passover] was transferred to the feast itself, as the title of an offering for the exempting of the first-born. The Greek πάσχα is formed after the Aramaic פסחא. Another usual name of the feast was פסחא דאורייתא, which corresponds with the Greek ἐορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων, Luke xxii. 1. and was borrowed from the unleavened bread, the use of which is peculiar to this feast. The sacrifice and eating of a lamb formed the introduction to the passover. This was regarded as an offering for the sparing of the first-born, and hence, possessed on the one hand, the true nature of an oblation in which the idea of a sacrifice on behalf of another is always involved ; whilst, on the other hand, it was devoted to pleasure and enjoyment, because out of its sacrifice the feeling of deliverance evolved itself vividly. In modern times, it has been denied that the paschal lamb was at all an offering, although it is expressly stated to be so in the Mosaic law. (Compare Exodus xii. 27, xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25.) Even Hengstenberg (Christology, p. 277) believes himself compelled to acknowledge that it was not an offering of atonement.

¹ Scholl, in his work on The Ideas of Offerings, amongst the ancients, especially the Jews—in Klaibers Stud. Der Evang. Geistlichk. in Württemberg, 4 ten. bandes, erstes Heft Stuttgart 1832, S. 50, ff.—proves that after the Old Testament view, every offering, even the thank-offering, was regarded as expiatory, if the offerer stood in need of expiation. Expiation was in all offerings the essentially fundamental idea.

This is so far correct, that the paschal lamb cannot be accounted either a *debt-offering* or a *sin-offering*, which *alone* expressed the idea of atonement, for, in the first place, no lambs were used on these occasions, and secondly, the offerings were entirely consumed by fire ; but the paschal lamb, like a thank-offering, was, for the most part, eaten by the persons who offered it. The idea of substitution is not the less clear, however, in the offering of the paschal lamb, for the posts of the dwellings of the Israelites were sprinkled with its blood, in order that the destroying angel might pass over, Exodus xii. 7. It may be asserted therefore, with the utmost correctness, that the paschal lamb possessed a specific character entirely its own. In it the peculiarity of the expiatory offering was blent with that of the thank-offering, and from this very union arose most impressively its typical character as a symbol of the offering of Christ, in which are united motives for the profoundest sorrow, and occasions for the most triumphant joy.

The paschal lamb, as the first offering enjoined by God for the Israelites, and as the germ of all the others, included all their peculiarities in itself collectively.

On the tenth of the month Nisan or Abib, the master of the house, in accordance with the institution of Moses, was to select the male-kid for the sacrifice. It might be of the sheep or of the goats, only, like all sacrificial beasts, without blemish. On the fourteenth day of the same month towards evening—עֶרְבָּתָא—Exodus xii. 6—a vague expression, which at one period was understood to mean the time before sunset, from three to six o'clock in the afternoon, and at another the time after sunset, from six to nine o'clock in the evening—the victim was to be slaughtered in the temple (on this account the passover could be held in Jerusalem only,) and the meal prepared. The fourteenth of Nisan, moreover, might fall on any day of the week, according to the custom of the Jews at the time of Christ, as is proved incontestably by the history of the Easter-Controversy in the ancient church.

It was in the Christian church that the custom gradually predominated, of fixing the Easter festival always on the Sunday.

The calendar of the modern Jews is so regulated indeed that the fifteenth of Nisan can never fall on a Friday. (Compare Idler's Chronological Manual, Bk. I., sect 515, sqq.) But this custom cannot, as is done by Idler, and by Hitzig, (Ostern und Pfingsten, a letter to Idler, Heidelberg 1837. p. 33) be transferred to earlier times.

This latter regulation of the Jews originated perhaps merely from a desire to prevent the coincidence of the feast with the Christian Sabbath. The other hypothesis of Hitzig also fails entirely, and moreover stands in opposition to this acceptance.—(compare in Loc. Cit. sect. 26.) It is that the week Sabbath always coincide with the festival Sabbath. To determine when the feast should begin, depended solely upon the relation of the moon's phases to the vernal equinox, and was altogether independent on the days of the week. (Compare Neander's Kirchengesch, B. II. p. 522, sqq.)

For the proper solemnization of the feast, which extended from the fifteenth to the twentieth of Nisan, the dwelling was carefully purged of all leaven. Compare on the signification of this symbolical usage 1 Cor. v. 6, sqq. and the exposition upon this passage; and during the feast only unleavened bread ($\alpha\zeta\upsilon\mu\alpha\alpha=\text{חֲמֵץ}$) was used as bread of sorrow: $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma, \dot{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\varsigma, \theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, Deut. xvi. 3; Psalms cxxvii. 2; 1 Kings xxii. 27.

The paschal lamb itself was not to be seethed in water, but roasted with fire. It was eaten with bitter herbs— מרור —and unleavened bread. At the meal, not under ten and not over twenty persons might be present, who should eat the whole lamb; the residue was burnt with fire.

The conduct during the meal was likewise specially prescribed, and, according to the later account of the Talmud, was as follows. The head of the household who officiated as priest commenced the ceremony with a short prayer, and then handed round to those present a cup of wine mixed with water. After all had drank and washed their hands, the viands mentioned, viz. the paschal lamb, the bitter herbs, with the unleavened bread, and other dishes were served up. Whilst they ate, the son of the house asked the father what all this imported, and the latter then mentioned that it was done in commemoration of the departure from Egypt.

The 113th and 114th Psalms were then read, the first of which is a general song of praise; but the other is a song of triumph, in which the departure out of Egypt is described as a mighty saving interposition of Jehovah. After this the second cup passed round, and, when all had partaken of it, the master of the house took the unleavened bread, formed into thin flat cakes, broke it, and divided it among those present, who dipped it in the liquor of the bitter herbs— מרור —and ate it. The third cup, which is

called "The cup of blessing," כוס ברכה, was then handed round, and to this succeeded the singing of Psalms cxv. cxviii. After the fourth cup, the Psalms cxx., cxxxvii., were sometimes recited; of these cxx., cxxxiv., are usually called songs of degrees; these, together with certain psalms of praise, are collectively entitled the great hallelujah: the feast concluded with a fifth cup.

Compare on this Lundius' *Judische Heilighthener*, p. 970, and Jahn's *Alterh. Th.* iii. Winer's *Bibl. Reallex*, B. II. p. 230. In the Old Testament, the principal passages upon the paschal feast are Exodus xii. 1-20; Levit. xxiii. 4-8; Numb. xxviii. 16-25; Deut. xvi. 1-8.

Now the accounts which the Evangelists give of the Passover of Jesus agree in essentials with the above description.

The Lord officiated amongst his disciples as head of the family and priest. He engaged in the prayer and song; broke the bread and divided the cup of wine; but, above all, seized the moral uses of the passover in their deepest signification, and consecrated them to holy engagements of a higher kind, which are to be repeated in the New Jerusalem, the Church of the Lord, until the day of his second coming (1 Cor. xi. 26.)

After these general remarks we shall consider, in the next place, the narrative of the Synoptics (Matt. xxvi. 17-19, and parallels) upon the preparations for the paschal feast at Jerusalem.

The account is thought by many to include a miraculous element. Miraculous, accordingly, must be the prescience of Jesus, that the two disciples whom he sent should meet a servant with a cruse of water! Miraculous, also, the giving of the apartment for the passover by the householder!

But the narrative does not furnish the impartial interpreter with the slightest reasons which could justify this acceptance.

It is no doubt absolutely necessary to guard ourselves from taking a superficial view of those narratives in which the writers manifestly intended to exhibit a miraculous element, but it is not less necessary to avoid importing that element into passages where it is not expressly indicated. It corresponds perfectly with the meaning of the narrators, that Christ had previously covenanted with a person in Jerusalem, who was favourably disposed, and had arranged to hold the passover with the disciples in an apartment of his house. That the Lord did not plainly mention the man's name and residence to the disciples whom he sent before to

prepare for all the Twelve, but referred them to the guidance of a servant, is easily explained. As Theophylact, and many after him, have observed, it was in order that Judas Iscariot should not know beforehand where the paschal feast was to be solemnized; otherwise he would have been able to give the high priests an opportunity of arresting Jesus in the city previous to the feast. But the Saviour was on this occasion naturally desirous of observing the sacred ceremony in peace and tranquillity with his followers. As they proceeded to the feast, Judas, no doubt, learned where it was to be held; but he could not now withdraw himself for the purpose of announcing it to the priests, without exciting suspicion. And when he was permitted to depart, before the Supper, the night had already fallen—John xiii. 30—so that Judas could not hope, even had he collected the officials, to find Jesus still in the city; therefore he led them straight to Gethsemane.

In attempting to maintain the miraculous character of the transaction, it will be found impossible to assign a sufficient object for the miracle; yet this is the true criterion by which veritable miracles are to be distinguished from useless playing with higher powers.

But what object of the miraculous can be perceived in such an occurrence? It may be said, that it would serve to strengthen the faith of the disciples.

But, in the first place, they betrayed no such weakness, as would have rendered the corroboration of their faith necessary at that particular moment. And then, after the infinitely more sublime miracles which they had witnessed, the fact was not sufficiently significant to fortify them essentially. Finally, in order that it might be at all acknowledged as a miracle, it should have been appended to the account, that no pre-arrangement had taken place. Now, since the historians do not intimate this with even a word, the view of the occurrence which we have taken is manifestly the only one which is tenable. Further, the accounts of St Luke and St Mark are distinguished from the rest, by their carefulness and the minuteness of their information. Both make mention of the man with the jar of water who should conduct the two disciples; describe the kind of room chosen for the festival. And Luke xxii. 8 expressly mentions St Peter and St John as the two disciples who received the order to make the preparations for the evening (T. but neither represent the proceedings as miraculous.

Matt. xxvi. 17. The synoptics unanimously state the day on which this preparation was made, as the *πρώτη ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων* St Matthew's addition: *ποῦ θύλεις ἐτοιμασώμεν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα;*—and still more definite the observations of St Mark: *ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἔθου*, scil. *αἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*—and of St Luke: *ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα*—leave indeed no doubt as to the meaning of the expression. The day meant was that on which they had already removed all leaven and leavened bread from the houses, and when,—at the close of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th of Nisan, which, according to the Jewish custom, was about sunset, or six o'clock in the evening, they slaughtered the lamb, with the eating of which the feast opened.¹

If this passage were considered by itself, no difficulty could ever have arisen. The difficulty arises first, after comparing the passages John xiii. 1, xviii. 28, xix. 14 and 31. From St John's account, for example, it would appear as if the Redeemer had not eaten the paschal lamb at the legally appointed period, or at the same time as the Jews.

But, since St John has not said anything of the passover, it would be doubtful from his account whether or not Christ had solemnized this festival with his disciples at all. It may also appear remarkable that the Jews, as appears from the representation of the Synoptics, must have condemned Jesus on the first day of the passover; which seems to be opposed to the character of the feast! But on this point it is not to be overlooked that they who executed the sentence were certainly heathen Romans. As regards the judicial proceedings, so little contrary were they to the character of the feast, that, as Tholuck, on John xiii. 1, observes, the Judges had a larger hall for their sittings, *βουλευτήριον* on the Sabbaths and feast days, because on such days the cases were more numerous. The passing of the sentence, and every thing connected therewith, as, for example, the imprisonment, were regarded as sacred proceedings, corresponding entirely with the character of the feast. Compare on this point John vii. 37, 45, 46; John x. 31; Acts xii. 3. To this it must be added that the

¹ According to Rauches' view, one to be characterized as accurate, and which Frisch had previously promulgated in his treatise on the paschal lamb, 1758,—the paschal lamb was eaten, not at the end, but at the beginning of the 14th of Nisan, that is, at the transition point from the 13th to the 14th, from three in the afternoon to nine in the evening, after our reckoning: A hypothesis which, indeed, throws light upon many points, but by no means removes all the difficulties.

typical character of the paschal lamb, 1 Cor v. 7, renders the hypothesis that the Lord died on the same day on which the paschal lamb should be slain, extremely probable.

The peculiar difficulty arises from the passages of St John quoted above. These regarded separately may, however, be reconciled without much labour up to the passage John xviii. 28, John xiii. 1, that *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, is very easily explained when we reflect that St John wrote for Greeks, who did not, like the Jews, compute the beginning of the day from sunset. Hence the fourteenth of Nisan, might be as justly called the day before the passover, as after six o'clock in the evening, it might be called the first day of the feast. But it may be observed, that the words quoted are not connected so immediately with the description of the supper of Christ, as with his consciousness that his hour was come. In ver. 2, especially, *καὶ δεῖπνον γενομένου* render it evident that the supper was later. Accordingly, we must translate—"When the passover drew nigh, Jesus knew that his hour was come, and when the meal was prepared," et cetera.

(On this difficult construction, consult the particular critique in our illustration of the passage.)

Now, in the passages John xix. 14—31, in which the day of the Saviour's death is called *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, this expression may be taken as indicating the day previous to the Sabbath which occurs during the paschal feast; and which was therefore observed as a peculiarly sacred vigil, or day of preparation. This explanation of the expression acquires force from the fact, that not the slightest proof can be adduced that *παρασκευὴ* was commonly used to signify a day of preparation for a feast. Compare the particulars in the exposition of the passages quoted. The passage in John xviii. 28, is far more difficult, however, and it is only in connection with it that the proper signification of the others can be ascertained: "the Jews, it is here stated, went not into the Prætorium of Pilate, lest they should be defiled, but ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα—from which it would appear that they had not yet held the passover, whilst, according to the Synoptics, Jesus had on the previous evening celebrated it with his disciples.

This striking variation in the chronology has, to some extent, led scholars to very arbitrary conclusions.¹ Whilst Bretschneider

¹ Tholuck (fifth edition of the Commentary on St John, 247, note) remarks very correctly, that even if all attempts at reconciliation failed, yet from this apparent dis-

makes use of it to repudiate the Gospel of St John, others, as Usteri and Theile,¹ have drawn from it inferences in favour of St John, and against the Synoptics. But in decisive opposition to the contradictory views of both parties, in this controversy, is the remarkable circumstance,—on which Tholuck (on John xiii. 1) lays much stress,—that the churches of Asia Minor² maintained the opinion that the paschal feast should be observed at the same time with the Jews, according to the custom introduced by St John at Ephesus.

The Western churches, on the contrary, maintained the opposite view, following the authority of St Peter and St Paul.³

From this it is clear that the description by St John in no way contradicts the notion that Jesus held the passover at the same time with the Jews. But, even if the contradiction were altogether irreconcilable, may we not ask if it is not admissible here, as in other passages, simply to say that St John, or even the Synoptics, erred in assigning the time of the meal, and interchanged one day with the other, without any further imputation arising against their credibility? The impossibility of this cannot be maintained, but perhaps it is a supposition which ought not to be formed in any manner, for St John's description of the last hours which the Lord spent on earth bears a character of precision and carefulness which renders it improbable that he could have been mistaken in so important a circumstance, and one so easily remembered. As to the Synoptics, it is hardly conceivable that they could have been deceived in a particular so momentous. These considerations urgently require that further attempts should be made to reconcile those apparent discrepancies upon which so much learning and sagacity have been already expended. Compare the more special investigation of this subject in Tholuck's

crepancy, nothing could be inferred against the credibility of the evangelical history, since it is self-evident that a real discrepancy could not have occurred amongst the Evangelists on such a point. Especially so, I would subjoin, since it is inconceivable that a myth or legend could have sprung up upon a point in itself so irrelevant, and, historically considered, so difficult to be overlooked. Now, since the discovery at any time of a new archaeological fact,—as Tholuck quite correctly remarks,—might turn the proof either to the right or left, one, therefore, acts best to treat this entire investigation as purely one of antiquarian importance.

¹ The former in the "*Commentatio critica, in qua evangelium Joannis genuinum esso ex comparatis quatuor evangeliorum, narrationibus, de caena ultimo, et de passione J. Chr. Ostenditur*." Turici, 1823." The latter in Winer's "*Krit. Journal*," vol. ii. p. 2.

² (In the celebrated controversy on the Easter Festival, in the second century.)

³ Compare the passages in my "*Monum. Hist. Eccl.* vol. 1. p. 271 *et seq.*

Commentary on John xiii. 1, fifth edition. Many hypotheses on this point must be rejected at once. Amongst these are the notions of Beza, Calov, and others, that the Jews had postponed the eating of the paschal lamb a whole day, for which there is no ground whatever. And on the other hand, the opinion that Jesus had arbitrarily fixed the festival a day earlier than usual. In order to make this earlier date of the feast of Jesus explicable, some persons, since the time of Iken, have had recourse to a distinct mode of computation from the moon and its phases which is said to have obtained amongst the Pharisees and Sadducees, by which at least the arbitrariness of the earlier celebration might be done away with. But this hypothesis rests merely on the fact that the later sect of the Karaites, which sprang out of that of the Sadducees, had a different mode of computing the moon's phases; but that the Sadducees had this mode at the time of Christ is altogether uncertain.

There remain, therefore, only two hypotheses which are of consequence, and which claim any consideration. The one is the hypothesis proposed by Grotius: that the Saviour ate a *πῆχνα μνημονευστικόν*, not a *θυσίον*. By the first name is signified a lamb, that without being properly a paschal lamb—which, as has been stated, was to be slaughtered and eaten in Jerusalem only—was used as a substitute for it. The Jews have eaten such a commemorative passover ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, whilst living dispersed amongst foreign nations. But that it was the custom, during the existence of the Temple, at the time of Christ, to eat a commemorative passover out of Jerusalem, is not only indemonstrable, but also improbable: not to mention that Luke xxii. 7 must certainly refer to the *θυσίον*, it is inconceivable that in Jerusalem itself, Jesus would have eaten any other than the customary paschal lamb. To this it may be added that the Jews solemnise their commemorative passover at present on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, in order to preserve as nearly as possible the original character of the festival. We cannot see therefore how the reference to this custom can settle the controversy. On the other hand a fundamental solution of the difficulty may be expected from that other intimation of John xviii. 28. At the conclusion of the first day of the passover, a solemn sacrifice was presented, which was called *זֶחֱוֹלָה*. The victim, like all

others presented on that day, was called פסח. As is clearly proved by Deuteronomy xvi. 2, where it is said וְהָיָה פֶסַח לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֵדֹם וּבְעִזִּים. Here great and small cattle are comprehended under the פֶסַח. But the peculiar passover was always a male kid of the sheep or goats. Hence it follows that the other sacrifices during the feast of the passover, some of which were oxen, were all included in the word פֶסַח. In a similar sense must be understood זֶבַח־פֶסַח, in 2 Chronicles xxxv. 7, et seq.—as including the various passover offerings. To this must be added the circumstance to which Bynæus directs attention, that the entering of a heathen house defiled the Jews for the same day only: a defilement which they termed יִדּוּט־בֵּימֹת.

To enter the Prætorium of Pilate would therefore have excluded the Jews from the Chagigah, which fell on the same day, but not from the passover; which, assuming that Jesus died on the fourteenth of Nisan, would not have occurred until the following day, after six o'clock in the evening. Tholuck declares himself in favour of this interpretation; and Lücke, upon the whole, is of the same opinion, only he is opposed to the *usus loquendi* that פֶסַח can also signify other offerings, which is, however, fully established by the passages quoted from the Old Testament, as well as by others from the Rabbinical writings. In this hypothesis, the only difficulty arises from the use of the article in the phrase τὸ πᾶσχα, John xviii. 28, where it seems to indicate the real passover; but even the position of the article in this connection admits of a simple explanation, from the fact, that St John presumed it to be well known to his readers, that the yet prospective participation of the Chagigah was signified by the name πᾶσχα.¹

¹ Tholuck, in the fourth edition of his Commentary on St John, stated that the treatise of Rausch upon the last passover of Jesus (in Ullmann's *Stud. und Kritisch. Jahrgesch* 1832), seemed to him to solve all doubts respecting the difference between St John and the Synoptics. Rausch calls attention to the fact, that if the passover, according to the law, was to be eaten on the fourteenth of Nisan, not the end, but the beginning of the day is to be understood. On this he appeals to Josephus (*Arch.* ii. 5, iii. 10.) So that, thus in the transition from the thirteenth to the fourteenth of Nisan, the paschal lamb should be eaten. Now, even if this were quite correct, still I don't see how by that means alone the difficulties can be entirely obviated. This Tholuck also admits in the fifth edition. For the most difficult passage, the τὸ πᾶσχα, John xviii. 28, can, even after this view being granted, be understood in no other way than as referring to the additional offering connected with the feast, or indeed, as Rausch prefers, to the unleavened bread. But since according to this hypothesis there must be assumed an intervening day, not a festival day, between the par-

Ver. 18, 19. Under the *ἑτοιμάζειν* of the Passover, which Jesus entrusted to the two disciples, St Peter and St John (Luke xxii. 8), the convenient arrangement of the room merely is not to be understood, but also and chiefly the slaying of the lamb. That should be done in the Temple, and on that day every Israelite exercised, so to speak, priestly functions.¹ The room in which the solemn festival was to be held (St Mark and St Luke use for it *κατάλυμα* = *ξενοδοχεῖον*, so Luke ii. 7. Yet the LXX. use the word *κατάλυμα* for *מִסְכָּה* which in 1 Samuel ix. 22, signifies an eating room), the two careful narrators describe as an *ἀνάγαιον* (= *מִסְכָּה*, *ὑπερῶον*) *ἑστρωμένον*.

St Mark explains the latter expression by means of the an-

taking of the paschal meal and the first feast day, this manifestly does not commend it to a favourable reception.

Compare De Wette (in den Stud. 1834; h. 4.) In other respects several important considerations favour this hypothesis of Rausch. For instance, the passage in the Talmud (Sanhedrim, fol. 43, s. 1), where it is said, "on the evening of the passover," that is, at the end of the day, "they crucified Jesus." This, for example, seems to assume that Jesus ate the lamb at the beginning of the day. The statement of Clement of Alexandria also—in the fragments of his Treatise on the Passover, published in J. A. Fabricius' edition of the works of Hippolytus, vol. ii. p. 66—that the paschal festival of Christ, as a symbolic one, fell upon the thirteenth, and his sufferings on the fourteenth of Nisan, is fully explained by the fact that he gave the beginning of the day according to Jewish computation, at six o'clock in the evening; and according to the Greek mode of computing, as belonging to the previous day. Compare Ideler's Chronology, Berlin 1831, sect. 216, sqq. Schneckenburger's view as to the chronology of the passion-week, in his contributions to an introduction to the New Testament, s. 1, sqq., is still less satisfactory than Rausch's. According to his view, the Lord must have been crucified on Wednesday, and have lain in the grave three whole days, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

He seeks to establish this hypothesis by the following means:—He understands the *παρασκευή* (John xix. 31, 42) as a distinct feast, belonging to the cycle of the passover, which had reference to the harvest, and was, so to speak, a preparation for Pentecost. Meanwhile, the passages from Philo, to which this scholar appeals, have failed to convince me of the tenability of his explanation. I entirely agree with Sieffert (über den Matthæus p. 128: note), when he says, "The entire investigation concerning the celebration of Jesus' last paschal meal, has no influence whatever, to determine the day of the week. Christ was crucified on Friday, according to all the Evangelists. Hence the only question is, whether the Friday was the fourteenth or the fifteenth of Nisan."

¹ Philo de vita Mosis, p. 686, says of the paschal feast, *σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἑρᾶται*. "The priests alone could not possibly slay all the lambs, the number of which, at this feast, must have amounted to two millions, according to Josephus." But this calculation is surely exaggerated, since at least ten persons should eat of every lamb. Let us suppose that, during the paschal feasts, there were two millions of men present in Jerusalem. Then, at the outside, the number of lambs would amount to 200,000; but even this number is quite great enough to make it impossible for the priests, in the space of a few hours, from three o'clock in the afternoon until nine in the evening, to slay them

nexed ἑτοιμασθαι, that is, prepared for a banquet, furnished with table and couches. It corresponds with the Latin *Sternere*, which signified the preparing of couches for a banquet. We have no direct information concerning the person of the house-owner. If, as was observed above, Jesus did not wish to name him, on account of Judas, yet it would seem that St Matthew, when he wrote afterwards, might have given his name. But he merely says πρὸς τὸν δεῖπνον. An expression that corresponds with the Hebrew דִּבְרֵי, which always occurs in connection with אֲכָלָה, and signifies something which, though known, it is not convenient to express. Compare Ruth iv. 1 ; 1 Samuel xxi. 2. The supposition is not improbable, that St Matthew did not name the man, lest he should compromise him, for he himself, or at least his family, must have been living when St Matthew wrote. It is not expressly stated that he was a disciple of Jesus : but the words ὁ καιρὸς μόνος ἐγγύς ἐστιν in Matt. xxvi. 18, render it highly probable. The expression καιρὸς μόνος cannot refer merely to the hour appointed for the feast, but to the entire development of the life of the Son, as ordained by the Father, and which was now approaching its completion. If the expression καιρὸς μόνος, or the synonymous one ὥρα μόνος indicate apparently a mere date as in—John ii. 4, vii. 6—yet a closer examination will shew that even in these passages it has a deeper signification, to which the pronoun manifestly refers : it must indicate, without question, that the time was fixed by the will of the heavenly Father. Compare the explication of the above passage. This then makes it probable that the possessor of the house was an intimate friend of the Lord. We might hazard a supposition as to Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus, for the dwelling seems to have been that of a distinguished man. This view being admitted, the πρὸς αἰ ποιεῖ τὸ πάσχα will not convey the sense of a dry announcement merely, but will appear as an expression of the Saviour's love towards this disciple. "In your very house I desire to keep the feast with my disciples."

Like Zaccheus, this man would have regarded it as a token of favour, that the Lord should in this way consecrate his dwelling. That he was not present at the meal is explained very simply ; because, as master of the house, he had to officiate amongst his own family in conducting the paschal feast.

After this account concerning the preparation for the feast, immediately follows the description of the proceedings at the meal

itself. Towards evening (at the beginning of the fifteenth of Nisan) Jesus sat down to the repast with his disciples, that is with all the twelve, as the Synoptics unanimously state, Matt. xxvi. 20: ὁψίας γενομένης. St Luke has ὅτε ἐγήνετο ἡ ὥρα. Where it is simply an indication of the hour, since the pronoun μου is wanting.

The article marks out the appointed time for the feast of the passover, so that the meaning of the statement is, "When the hour appointed according to the law was come." For the ἀνέκειτο in St Matthew, St Luke has (xxii. 14) ἀνέπεσε. Both expressions were in common use to signify the sitting down to a meal. St Luke alone—xxii. 14—18—gives us the words with which the Redeemer introduced the proceedings connected with the solemn opening of the festival. The words were suggested, as was natural, by the mention of his prospective sufferings, and by the yearning desire of Jesus to partake of the paschal feast once more, and for the last time, with his followers, in this temporal and earthly state (αἰὼν ὁυτοῦ). The beginning, ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα κ. τ. λ. possess a deeply intense and heart-stirring meaning.

How purely human, how thoroughly susceptible of love, of desire, of sorrow; how far from all stoical apathy, appears the Saviour!! ἐπιθυμεῖν, here, as in many other passages, signifies in its higher sense, a strong desire, a longing, equivalent to ἔρως—and its meaning is further intensified by the annexed ἐπιθυμία. Compare Genesis xxxi. 30, where the LXX. also have it. In entire accordance with the Jewish customs described above, Jesus commenced the ceremony with a thanksgiving prayer (εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε), and then handed round the cup, Luke xxii. 17. This cup must be distinguished from that which was circulated at the holy supper, for the latter was not filled until the paschal feast was concluded. (Compare Luke xxii. 28.) The former was the first cup before that feast. Of the others which should have followed it, the evangelical history is silent.

To the usual words with which this cup was distributed, λάβετε τοῦτο, καὶ διαμερίσατε ἑαυτοῖς, Luke, verse 18, adds the remark οὐ μὴ πῶς ἀπο τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ. According to Luke xxii. 16, where he mentions the φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα, Jesus had previously expressed the same thought. Only, in the latter place, the formula πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ stands for the ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιλεία.

The reading $\beta\epsilon\omega\theta\tilde{\eta}$ is certainly formed according to Matthew xxvi. 29, and ought to be rejected. But the question arises, What should be supplied in $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\omega\theta\tilde{\eta}$? We might add $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$, but following Matthew xxvi. 29, where the same thought is more precisely expressed, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\mu$ must be supplied. So that the sense of the passage is, "until the passover shall be celebrated in a more perfect form in the kingdom of God." Concerning this thought we shall speak more fully in the exposition of Matthew xxvi. 29. Here we have only to enquire whether the position of these words before the supper, according to St Luke, or after it, according to St Matthew xxvi. 29, be the more correct.

To me it does not appear at all improbable that Jesus uttered the same thought more than once. In it is concentrated the entire consolation which the Saviour imparted to his disciples upon mentioning his suffering, and that this was to be their last meal in company. "In this world we shall no more keep the passover feast together, but hereafter we shall celebrate it more gloriously in my kingdom." The fact that Jesus recurred to the same thought, Luke xxii. 29, 30, in the altercation among the disciples as to who should be the greatest, supports this view very powerfully. If the repetition be not admitted, however, then the thought will stand most appropriately after the supper having regard to its object, for in the supper the passover is spiritualized; and hence, the idea seems to intimate that in the kingdom of God it will receive its final completion.

At this point, as we observed when arranging the sequence of events in the last supper of the Lord, arose no doubt the strife amongst the disciples as to who should be the greatest, Luke xxii. 24—30, which occasioned the feet-washing, John xiii. This happened, as is manifest from John xiii. 4, $\epsilon\gamma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \epsilon\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ —compare verse 12—after they had sat down to the meal, and during the presence of Judas. So that the Saviour must have washed his very betrayer's feet, which renders his humility more striking. Here only can this discourse be placed therefore, for immediately after the declaration of Jesus concerning the traitor, Judas withdrew.

As to the occasion of that dispute, nothing is mentioned: the common conjecture as to its origin is, that the apostles were still expecting the establishment of an earthly kingdom by the Redeemer, and aspired after the highest places which they supposed it would include; but this can hardly be maintained, for if

such motives had insinuated themselves into the minds of the disciples, the remarks of Christ were by no means calculated to destroy their false expectations, but rather to confirm them, since Jesus promised that they should sit on thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Compare Luke xxii. 30, with Matthew xix. 28, and our observations in the Commentary on these passages. In the parallel case (Matt. xx. 20, sqq.), which arose from an external occasion, and in which the rest of the disciples thought they perceived such a striving after earthly theocratic power in the children of Zebedee; there is no expression which could be so misunderstood as to convey the impression that the Saviour himself excited their strife; on the contrary Jesus represents the abandonment of life itself as the necessary expression of pure love, Matt. xx. 28.

Besides, according to this view, the disciples would appear, in the highest degree, devoid of sympathy, were it possible for them, at a moment so sacred, to think more of themselves than of their lord and master. The conjecture that the contention arose concerning their several places at the table appears far more acceptable. Each of them wished to seat himself near the Lord; and the possession of these places which they sought through love of the Saviour, might have caused some reference to higher or lower stations in the kingdom of Christ, and these hints, although but casually expressed, gave occasion to Christ to inculcate once more upon the disciples the doctrine that meekness and self-abasement are the peculiar virtues of the Christian.

Luke xxii. 34, contains the expression *φιλοεικία*, which does not again occur in the New Testament. In 2 Maccabees iv. 4, it stands as equivalent to *μάχη* in the phrase *τό, τίς αὐτῶν κ. τ. λ.* where *τὸ* must be regarded as the accusative absolute.

Ver. 25, 26. The following words correspond entirely with the passage Matthew xx. 25, sqq.

Still the differences are sufficiently great to forbid the transference of these words from one occurrence to another; the simple thoughts, however, might very easily have been repeated upon similar occasions. The name *εὐεργέτης* is peculiar to St Luke's gospel. It was a title of honour, which was sometimes given to kings as e.g. Ptolemy Euergetes.¹ Philo (in the Legat. ad Gajum)

¹ Luther translates the words *εὐεργέται καλοῦνται*. They are called gracious lords

names the emperor Caligula σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης. In 2 Maccabees iv. 2, the phrase does not indicate a title, but simply the ministry of Onias. In the ὑμεῖς δὲ οὕχ ὅπως, it were best to supply ἐσσεθε. The signification of μείζων is determined by the antithetical correlative νεώτερος. Mat. xx. 26, places διάκονος in antithesis to μέγας.

Ver. 27. The words, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς ὁ διακονῶν manifestly point to the feet-washing, so that the account in St John, derives no insignificant support from this passage. Comp. John xiii. 7, sqq.

Ver. 28. The connection of this verse with the preceding is obscure. Kuinoel conjectures, that the disciples had in the meanwhile spoken much which is omitted. But that is little probable, for even had the discourse been abridged, still in the very abridgement there would have been, at the least, an intelligible connection. That connection is doubtless as follows: Upon the humbling remarks of Jesus, which had been called forth by the manifestation of their carnal speculations, the Redeemer addressed to them some encouraging words.

He acknowledges the true patience and devotedness which had enabled them to share with him in all his trials and conflicts, thus shewing that this self-abasing love already existed in them (*i. e.* in their renewed nature), and made them meet for and worthy of the kingdom of God. (Περασμός is equivalent to ἀσχημία. Comp. Luke viii. 13 with Matt. xiii. 21.)

Ver. 29. As his true disciples, and children of the Spirit, the Saviour bequeaths the kingdom to them as an inheritance. The strict signification of διατίθεμαι (whence διαθήκη, Testament) must be retained firmly, and can in no way (as Kuinoel, Henneberg, and others would have it) be resolved into its general signification "to promise."

The resemblance in the transfer of a worldly inheritance from Father to Son, directly leads to the idea of a κληρονομία, which the Lord at his departure left once more to his disciples as a sacred legacy. (Comp. remarks on John xvii. 22.)

Ver. 30. The manner in which the kingdom is described evidently forbids the supposition, as was previously remarked, that the apostles were completely occupied with the Jewish notions of

= Man heist sie Gnädige Herren. An expression entirely corresponding with that in the text.

the Messiah, for if such were the case, the Saviour would not assuredly have confirmed them in their errors. (Comp. the observations upon the ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν in Matt. viii. 11, xxvi. 29 ; Luke xiv. 15. Upon the καθίζεν ἐπὶ θρόνων, κ. τ. λ. Matt. xix. 28 in the Commentary). The words ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου are wanting in very good codices. Perhaps to many transcribers they seemed superfluous, after the ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου. The reading καθίσσας is the usual one ; καθίσσας in respect of authorities is about equal. But the origin of the former is more simply explained than that of the latter ; for the preceding ἐσθίετε καὶ πίνετε easily accounts for καθίσσας being written. It is not inconceivable, that the words subsequently addressed to St Peter, as related by St Luke, were spoken immediately after. But as was observed in our general survey of the sequence of events in the Lord's supper, the parallel passages in John xii. 31-38 render this supposition improbable.

For St John preserves the order of sequence very accurately, whilst St Luke, in this part of his history, evidently neglects it—it is incredible that the Lord would have uttered the same or entirely similar words twice in reference to the same event. We must, therefore, guided by St John's account, place the passages in Luke xxii. 31-38, more towards the end of the repast, to which their import is perfectly suited. St Luke has in this paragraph delivered the elements of the discourse in an abridged form merely, and withheld from us the very interesting thoughts which completed it.

In accordance with the sequence of the individual events in the supper thus ascertained, the next incident of the feast which claims our attention is the complaint of the Lord concerning the betrayer, which was followed by his withdrawal (Matt. xxvi. 21, sqq. ; Mark xiv. 18, sqq. ; John xiii. 21, sqq. ; Luke xxii. 21-23.) This connects itself most fitly and suitably with the Saviour's previous promise to his faithful disciples ; and his joy on their account must, by contrast, have awakened his sorrow for the conduct of the traitor.

With regard to the less suitable position of the words concerning this event in St Luke, the necessary explanation has been already given. The narrative of St John, however, as was elsewhere remarked, comes under discussion here. For the variations in the accounts which first become comprehensible through St John's narration, require a special synoptical treatment. For in-

stance, St Luke not only places the words concerning the traitor too late,—since he represents them as having been uttered after the supper,—but also merely gives them by allusion. St Matthew and St Mark, indeed, give them more expressly, but their account might lead to the supposition that Jesus had openly and aloud uttered the words *ὁ ἐμὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ μετ' ἐμοῦ, ὁπίσθ' με παραδώσει*. St John alone makes the whole proceeding plain by his statement. But, in Matt. xxvi. 25, one fact appears to have been supplied which is wanting in St John; our attention will now be turned to the manner in which this fact may be annexed to the history.

Ver. 21, 22. During the meal (*ἐσθίωντων αὐτῶν*) the Lord was powerfully affected with sorrow and depression of mind, at the reflection that one of his disciples would betray him. (John xiii. 21, *ἐπαράχθη τῷ πνεύματι*.)

He now openly and intentionally expressed these thoughts, partly perhaps in the hope that the power of his sorrowing love might yet affect the heart of the ill-fated disciple—(compare on this the particulars at Luke xxii. 32)—and in the event of the contrary happening, to occasion his withdrawal, by informing him that his black design was discovered. But even here, the Saviour exercised the highest forbearance; for he did not complain of Judas's conduct to the other disciples, much less did he express indignation against the traitor himself, or upbraid him for his iniquity, but allowed him to depart under a convenient pretext (John xiii. 27, sqq.)

Ver. 23. The disciples, dismayed at this disclosure of their master, and in their innocence rather seeking the guilt in themselves¹ than charging it on any one else, though they might have in some measure anticipated the behaviour of Judas, ask Jesus (*ἀπεκρίνατο περὶ τίνος λέγει*, John xiii. 22), "Is it I?"

According to the account of St Matthew and St Mark, the Lord appears to have given a thoroughly explicit answer to this question, since he says, "Who dippeth with me in the dish, he it is." But, in the first place, the question of Judas, "Whether it was he?" Matt. xxvi. 25, appears, according to this supposition, altogether superfluous; and, secondly, the forbearing manner in which

¹ But St John and St Peter, who were most developed in consciousness amongst the disciples, were clear to themselves, that, in them, the possibility of such a deed could not be supposed. They appear to have asked, not "Is it I?" but merely, "Who is it?"

St John admits the Saviour to have acted, is contradictory to this explicit answer.

We must therefore, without doubt, complete the narratives of St Matthew and St Mark from that of St John. To the question of St John, which St Peter suggested, Jesus replied, *in a low voice*, "He it is for whom I shall sop a morsel." Even thus, a discrepancy still remains, but really an unessential one. According to St Matthew and St Mark, Judas at that instant dipped in the dish with Jesus. According to St John, Jesus dipped a morsel and handed it to Judas. But to this unessential discrepancy no importance whatever can be attached. It is sufficiently explained by supposing, that in order to avoid mentioning Judas by name, Jesus gave St John a sign by which he might know the betrayer. Upon the whole, however, we must say St John has certainly given the correct account of the occurrence; the other two Evangelists have narrated it in a somewhat modified manner. The rendering which Henneberg defends, and according to which the ὁ ἐμὲ ἀΨας μετ' ἐμοῦ in St Matthew and St Mark merely signifies, "One of my domestic companions, who daily eats and drinks with me," is altogether erroneous; for that applied to each of the disciples, and would therefore have been no answer whatever to the question, "Is it I?"

The dipping of the sop took place, as related by St John, in entire accordance with the customs of the feast. The head of the family took from the passover cake a piece (ψωμίον), dipped it in the bitter liquor (רֵיחַלֵּב) and gave it to the persons at table in turn. Hence if we suppose that at the question of St John, "who is it?" the turn of Judas was just come, then the selection of this particular sign is simply explained from the occasion. (τρεῖς ἑλίαι or τρεῖς ἑλίαι, is explained by Suidas through πιάτιον, patina, paropsis. In the LXX. for רֵיחַלֵּב, Exodus xxv. 29.)

The discourse of Christ now connects the destiny of the Son of Man with a higher necessity, Luke xxii. 22—κατὰ τὸ ὀψισμένον, scil. ὑπο τοῦ θεοῦ. This necessity is the will and ordination of God, which are made known in the prophecies of scripture. St Matthew and St Mark have καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ. Compare upon the prophecies here meant, Luke xxiv. 26, 27; 1 Cor. xv. 4. The ἐπάγειν in St Matthew and St Mark, like πορεύεσθαι in St Luke, agrees with the Hebrew מָלַךְ in the signification, "to die." (Compare, Genesis xv. 2.) But the necessity of the Lord's will being accomplished

in its purely objective aspect, does not destroy man's subjective free agency. Compare observations on Matt. xxvi. 54. There is no predestination of evil; compare Commentary, Part I. on Matt. x. 1, xiii. 10, sqq. xxiv. 1. Hence, therefore, the curse of the Lord comes upon "him through whom the Son of Man goeth." The form of execration: *καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ κ. τ. λ.* is an expression signifying the deepest apostacy, and utter perdition. It is so strong, that it intimates the exclusion of every hope. For although eternal life is to be won afterwards, yet must the mere fact of being born be a benefit. We may say, that the declaration "It were better for him that he had never been born," is the strongest in all the Scriptures in support of the doctrine of eternal perdition. (Compare John xvii. 12, *ὅτις τῆς ἀπωλείας.* In the Old Testament, Job. iii. 11; Jeremiah xv. 10, xx. 14. (Upon the development of evil in Judas, and upon his condemnation in general, compare the particulars at Matt. xxvii. 9.) St John further subjoins a remarkable statement, xiii. 27, in the parallel passage to the latter, *μετὰ τὸ ψαμῖον τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σατανᾶς.* These words refer back to John xiii. 2, and at Luke xxii. 3, have a real parallel. From the similarity of these passages, we may infer that the expression *εἰσῆλθε* is not to be strained, for St Luke when speaking of the entrance of the Devil into the heart of Judas, in the same connection in which St John first uses that expression, only says—"he put the thought into his heart," thus exercising upon him a far less immediate operation. The meaning of the statement is now clear and intelligible; it expresses the lowest depth of moral depravity. But I cannot assent to the observations of Lücke (Part II. p. 482,) where he terms the expression a *figurative* one.

With equal right might we designate the operation of the Holy Ghost a figurative expression, which Lücke, however, will not acknowledge.¹ If the existence of a kingdom of darkness is certain, its agency must also be admitted, and that an altogether

¹ Lücke, on this subject, in his second edition, remarks, that "He does not call the operation of the Devil a figurative expression; but the particular words *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σατανᾶς.*" This certainly is an important distinction. I acknowledge to have previously understood his words as Schleiermacher interprets them. That, for instance, every mention of the devil and his agency was explainable from a tropical *usus loquendi*. Yet, even of the *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς*, I cannot concede that it is a mere figure *i. e.* a figure without a real truth corresponding to it.

Certainly we must not suppose the operations of the Devil to be material; I will say further, they cannot be reduced from a purely spiritual influence to a material one more or less subtil. But, as the operations of the Devil are to be deemed real generally, so

real though not a material agency. Perhaps it was in order to guard against gross material views of the operations of the world of evil, that the aforesaid scholar selected the above expression. Now, such passages are important, especially in St John, for they shew that in the gospel he teaches the same doctrine concerning the Devil which he expresses in the Revelations, and which all the writers of the New Testament support.

According to St John's observation, the accomplishment of the dark deed of Judas followed immediately upon his receiving the sop from the Redeemer (μετὰ τὸ ψωμίον). It is not improbable that he either understood the question put by the Evangelist to Christ, or suspected its intent, when taken in connection with the subsequent action of Jesus ; and that this inflamed his malignity.

But it must ever remain worthy of consideration, that this presenting of the bread to Judas was to him the sign of *a curse*, whilst, on the other hand, in the supper the bread was to the faithful disciples the harbinger of *blessing*.

Ver. 25. In conclusion, St Matthew remarks that Judas also asked the Lord "Is it I?" and that the Lord answered plainly τὸ εἶπας (precisely similar in the Latin, "tu dixti;" compare Plaut. Mercat. 1, 2, 52.) This statement seems to stand in contradiction to John xiii. 28, according to which passage the design of Judas remained unknown to all the disciples. The simplest explanation of this, is the supposition that Judas, agitated with shame and wrath at seeing himself detected, probably stammered out also the same question as the other disciples ; but either they did not observe it, or else both it and the answer of Jesus were uttered briefly and in a low voice, so that the attention of the disciples was not attracted to their conversation.

St John and St Peter however knew him to be the traitor, but they might not have thought that the moment for executing his design was so near. According to St John's account, which on this point is very careful, the Redeemer himself called upon Judas to hasten with the prosecution of his purpose, ὁ ποιεῖς ποίησον τὰχιστα, but in these words it is self-evident that there is no incitement

also is the εἰσερχεσθαι. As the sacred operations of the Spirit of God gradually take possession of a man, until God himself makes his abode in the man, similarly also of the evil powers of darkness. As God, although he must be regarded as the highest of all personalities, enters and makes his abode in prepared souls ; so also the Prince of Darkness enters into the souls of those who lay themselves open to his influence.

to the deed, but only a sign that he should withdraw from the circle of the disciples, and hasten the accomplishment of that upon which he had already determined. The disciples might have easily misunderstood the meaning of these words; and St John himself, who knew that Judas was the traitor, might not have thought, as has been remarked, that the completion of the treason was so near. Hence they formed different surmises concerning his withdrawal, but by no means probable ones; for, as it was already night, purchases could not be made, nor even alms distributed conveniently. (Upon *γινώσκουσιν*, consult the remarks on John xii. 6.) St John concludes his communications with the picturesque words, *ἤνθ' ὅτε ἦν*, which call up in the mind not only the chronological relation of the incident to the past day, but also the idea that it was the season in which darkness had power. (Luke xxii. 53.) Upon the retirement of the representative of darkness from the Lord's presence, his love, like a long-restrained stream, broke forth in the words: *ὡς ἐδόξασθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, *κ. τ. κ.*, the exposition of which we have already given at John xiii 31, *et. seq.*

To the following words in St John (and other passages), the elements of a discourse which Luke alone gives, xxii. 31-38, bear a great resemblance. Only that the former for the most part omits what is personal, up to the passage John xiii. 36-38, and gives rather what is general; whilst Luke, on the other hand, narrates more in detail what had direct reference to St Peter; on this account, both narratives may be easily explained independently of each other.

This conversation of the Lord with St Peter arises very appropriately after the complaint concerning the betrayer. The latter entirely succumbed under the temptation. St Peter, on the contrary,—although by his natural disposition exposed to the assaults of the enemy, and though he fell, yet, in the sincerity of the fundamental and inmost principles of his soul, he had power, through faith and repentance, to rise once more from his fall, nay, that very event was to work for his highest good by thoroughly subduing his old nature, and thus preparing him to become an efficient labourer in the kingdom of God.

The remembrance of his fall from the Saviour's side, would also have produced a beneficent humiliation in the Apostle's mind, and restrained him from all exultation over the unhappy Judas.

This conversation must also be included among the occurrences which preceded the institution of the supper, for according to Matt. xxvi. 20, the hymn with which the supper concluded immediately preceded the departure to the Mount of Olives, and the great discourses recorded by St John, chaps. xiv.—xvii., in which these words cannot be included, had been pronounced previously.

But, above all, the question still arises, how are the words (Matt. xxvi. 30-35; Mark xiv. 26-31) to be connected with the preceding passage of Luke? Both the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi. 30, and Mark xiv. 26, place the words after the conclusion of the supper, so that they might have been spoken, perhaps, on the way to the Mount of Olives. It is very possible indeed that the Redeemer reverted again to the same circumstance, and John xvi. 31, 32, seems to intimate something of the kind.

I must however confess, that in consequence of the more intelligibly close connection with the passage in St Luke, it appears to me more probable that the whole was delivered in one connected discourse.

It will be at least convenient for exposition to consider the account of St Matthew and St Mark at the same time with that of St Luke, for in all essential particulars they are identical.

The discourse of Jesus, when Judas had left the room, might properly have arisen from the general observation, πάντες ὑμεῖς σκανδαλίσθησεσθε, Matt. xxvi. 31, which forms an antithesis with the above εἷς ὑμῶν παραδώσει με. (Matt. xxvi. 21.) The discourse is evidently intended to damp every self-approving emotion. Upon σκανδαλίσθαι, compare the Commentary, Part I. on Matt. xviii. 6. The necessity of this phenomenon, the Lord refers to a prophecy in the Old Testament, Zech. xiii. 7. The paragraph with its context, like the last chapters of Zechariah generally, is very difficult. But it contains unquestionable references to the Messiah, as Christ's employment of it in the passage under discussion clearly shews. The accounts of St Matthew and St Mark agree in the quotation. Only St Matthew subjoins τῆς ποιμνῆς. This again is a hint which directs to another form of the quotation, which St Matthew and St Mark might have preferred; for the LXX. read: πατάξατε τοὺς ποιμένας καὶ ἐκσπάσατε τὰ πρόβατα. The Alexandrine MS. reads πάταξον and διασκορπισθήσονται. But this perhaps is a correction according to the quotation in the New Testament. The Hebrew text has the imperative of the singular

π. But the hypothesis which has been put forth, of a proverbial usage of the words, is evidently forbidden by the *γίγνεται γὰρ*. The thought implies the uniting connecting, and associating energy of Christ. He is the living power-diffusing centre of his church, like the heart of the body. If he suffer, all suffer with him. The occasional intimation that the Lord would, after the resurrection, go into Galilee (Matthew xxvi. 32), will be touched upon when we come to the passages, Matt. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7.

Here the only question is, "How are we to understand the connection of these words in St Matthew and St Mark?"

There is here an obvious notification to the dispersed disciples of a general place of rendezvous. "There, in Galilee," Jesus wishes to say, "you shall again see me after the dispersion."

The words of Christ, *πάντες υμεῖς σκανδαλισθήσεσθε*, are greatly simplified by the reply of St Peter, "Though all should be (offended) yet will not I." (Matt. xxvi. 33.) Together with the transition to the warning given him. (Luke xx. 31.) "Even before thee," answered Jesus, "stands the most difficult struggle."

The expression, *ὁ σατανᾶς ἐξηγήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σιῶσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον*, expresses the following idea: "There are in the course of our moral development moments in which man is assailed by the whole power of evil, and by all kinds of temptation. In such moments, whatever is really good in the man survives the test; but all that is impure becomes openly manifest.

To the personification of evil is this distinctive activity therefore to be referred, for sin in all its aspect must be regarded as subject to him, whilst on the other hand, the divine activity assumes a negative form; leaving a permissive scope to the world of sin, or holding back the power of grace. (Comp. the express representation in the prologue to Job, which corresponds entirely with this idea.)

The object of such sifting is, first, the establishing and perfecting of goodness in its elements; and, secondly, the ripening of the germs of evil, in order that they might be finally separated.

The reference of *σατανᾶς* to human impersonations, whether in the Synedrists, or in Judas himself, who had sought to lead the other disciples astray, is to be rejected here, and also in the account of the Lord's temptation, as both unhistorical and unexegetical. Compare Matt. xvi. 23. The expression *σιῶσαι*, occurs only here.

It comes from *σίμων*, *Vannus*, a winnowing-machine. Compare Matt. iii. 12. According to its signification it resembles *πειράζειν*, but it denotes the strongest forms of temptation.

Ver. 32. In this sifting, Judas proved like chaff. St Peter was indeed caused to fall, but in faith he raised himself again. The Lord admonished him of this prophetically, and shewed that the victory of Peter's faith depended upon his own prayer in his behalf. This remarkable reflection leads to the subject of intercession. And here we cannot prevent the question arising, did the Saviour pray for Judas also? On this the Scriptures give no decided statements. But from the idea of intercession the question may be answered in the following manner.

Intercession, even that of the Saviour himself, must be regarded as not intended to destroy the free agency of those for whom it is made. It is well calculated therefore to sustain the resolution of a mind determined towards goodness, but it cannot constrain to good, in opposition to the determination of the mind.

Hence it is a rational hypothesis that whilst Judas yet hesitated within himself whether or not he should yield himself up to the black purposes of his heart, so long would the Lord have made him an object of prayer that the victory might incline to the better side. But, after he had voluntarily resigned himself to those purposes, the act was already virtually performed; and in that case, the power of the spirit could only prove detrimental by aggravating the guilt of Judas, who was now desperately determined in his opposition to its impulse. (Compare on this subject the direct reference in 1 John v. 16), where prayer for him who has committed a sin unto death is represented as unnecessary.)

The commencement of Judas's apostacy cannot be decisively determined. According to John xiii. 11, Jesus knew absolutely that Judas was to be his betrayer; and, according to vi. 64, knew it even *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* that is, from the calling. Now the prayer for St Peter had for its object his strengthening in the *πίστις*, not his sincerity nor his preservation from the fall. The fall, like a beneficial crisis in a perilous disease, seems to have been necessary for St Peter, in order thoroughly to destroy his old humanity, and to achieve a permanent victory for the new. To raise himself quickly again from his fall, it was only necessary that St Peter should firmly maintain his faith in the Lord's forgiving love. On his recovery from the fall, through faith and repentance (compare

remarks at Matthew xxvi. 75), therefore depended his efficiency. He, the rock of faith, after his conversion, was to strengthen the weak in faith. These words of Christ, "I have prayed for thee," et cetera, are also very important, inasmuch as they shew that *faith* is not the work of man, but the work of God in him. Man's work is merely not to strive against the faith-producing power of God. All Christians generally are ἀδελφοί, the Apostles and nearest friends of the Lord not excluded. "The Acts of the Apostles" shew that it was St Peter who strengthened the wavering faith of the other disciples. Ἐπιστρέψαι, equivalent to πᾶσι, is here to be understood as meaning μετάνοια, that is, spiritual conversion. Kuinoel's observation that the first mention of the fall of St Peter occurs at verse 34, is very easily explained when we reflect that the ἵνα μὴ ἐκλείπῃ ἡ πίστις σου assumes the fall as known. The MSS. D.K. and many others, have the reading ἐκλείπῃ, but ἐκλείπη is better ascertained.

Ver. 33, 34. The natural security of St Peter, and his confidence in his own power and good intentions, were so great that he did not attend to the premonition of the Saviour. Yet Jesus forewarned him of his denial most unequivocally. Here we are not to conjecture any insincerity in the mind of St Peter. He meant ingenuously what he professed. But in his inexperience he knew not how often, with the permission of God, all inward power fails to man, and how, in such a state of inward nakedness and destitution, an humble faith in the power of God alone can accomplish the victory.

In the momentary feeling of his power, and in proud self-confidence, he believed himself to be invincible, even in the most severe conflict. St Mark, in the passage parallel to this, xiv. 30, writes, ἡ ὥς ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι. This expression goes upon the supposition that the cock crows about midnight, and then again towards morning. (φωνῆν, equivalent to κῆρ.) On this account the morning watch was named ἀλέκτορος φωνία, Mark xiii. 35. According to Matthew xxvi. 35, St Peter, persuaded of his own sincerity, was not brought to a consciousness of his real state even by this distinct pre-announcement of his fall, but boasted once more that he would accompany Jesus even to death. Such self will, bordering upon obstinacy, entirely accords with the character of St Peter; there is therefore nothing improbable in this statement of St Matthew.

Ver. 35—38. The following passage, which is peculiar to St Luke, contains something very obscure,—Christ evidently wishes to represent his prospective passion as the profoundest depth of his humiliation. To that conclusion we are led by ver. 37, in which the *καὶ μετὰ ανόμων ἐλογίσθη* from Isaiah liii. 12, to the general idea of the suffering and death of the Lord, annexes further the particular one: *ἔτι τοῦτο*—that he should die, not as a righteous person, but with the appearance of unrighteousness, and amongst malefactors. The LXX. read here: *ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις*. We must not lose sight of the fact that our Lord himself explains this passage from Isaiah liii. as referring to himself, which, for the general view of that important chapter, is of the utmost consequence.

Τελεσθῆναι has here a like signification with *πληρωθῆναι*; so has *τέλος ἔχειν* with *πληροῦσθαι*. But it is remarkable that the fulfilment of all the prophecies referring to the Lord (*τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ*) should be associated with this point of time, even previous to the arrest. For the Scriptures prophecy, also, of the Lord's coming in his glory; and even of particular incidents in the sufferings of the Lord, *e.g.* "*I thirst*," and "*A bone of him shall not be broken*," John xix. 28-36, which were fulfilled afterwards. The simplest explanation is, that the Saviour probably comprehended the prospective sufferings which should end his earthly being as one continued act. The expression *τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ τέλος ἔχει* should then be rendered in the following manner, "What stands written of me, as regards this earthly life, with all which it involves, is being fulfilled." Thus the events, apparently still future, are included in the present. The Saviour now contrasts this last disastrous time, in which darkness had power—Luke xxii. 53—with the former times of blessing. The description of that time of blessing is expressed in words taken from the instructions given to the Apostles, Matt. x. 9, 10. Compare what is stated in the Commentary, Part I. on this passage. All external things were then supplied to them without care, and this external abundance was a type of the power of the Spirit abounding within them. But to this time of blessing now comes in opposition the time of conflict and necessity, in which they must carefully provide all that they are able to procure.

So far the connection is now clear, and the meaning of the figurative discourse easy to be understood.¹ But the subjoined

¹ Cf. diss. Winterbergii in Velthusen syll., vol. v. p. 104, sqq. Here the knot is

ὁ μὴ ἔχων πωλησάτω τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγοράσάτω μάχαιραν, together with the remark of the disciples, and the answer of Jesus, present a difficulty. First: As regards the μὴ ἔχων, it evidently stands in contrast with the ἔχων, but the object of this antithesis does not appear. This difficulty has led some to an explanation of the ἀγάζω, according to which, it should be rendered, “to make away with, to sell.” So that the meaning would be, “he who has scrip or purse, let him sell them; he who has them not, let him sell his mantle, and buy a sword.” But then the important contrast with verse 35 falls quite away!—not to dwell upon the perversion of language, that αἶψα should be rendered, “to sell.” It is obvious that the Lord means to say, “then might every one leave scrip and purse at home; but now must he who has them take both with him.” Hence the passage is better to be understood thus: he who has anything, let him take with him what he can, and also a sword; but he who has nothing, let him seek to supply himself at least with a sword, even at the greatest sacrifices,—ἱμάτιον, a symbol of what is most necessary. The μὴ ἔχων may then be taken as equivalent to ὡς ἔχων = ὅς ἔχων.

The second difficulty lies in the mentioning of a sword. It naturally seems strange that the Saviour, the King of Peace, should wish to incite his friends to external resistance! But even if such conduct on the part of Christ were at all conceivable, which it is not, the ἰκανόν ἐστι, verse 38, would not accord with it, for there were only two swords; and just as little favourable to such a supposition are the words of Christ to St Peter, “put up thy sword into the sheath,” Matt. xxvi. 52, when he was about to make use of it. Those interpretations of the passage, which assume an error in the translation, or in which μάχαιρα is taken for a butcher’s knife, so that it is parallel with βελόνη and πήληξ, as implements for a journey, have evidently proceeded from despair as to the rendering of the passage. The only way to explain it correctly is this: to take μάχαιρα just like βελόνη and πήληξ, in a figurative sense. The expressions cannot here have reference to journeying,

cut asunder. In this a misunderstanding of Christ’s words on the part of the disciples is assumed. De Wette appears altogether obscure and confused in his explication of this passage. He complains that I understand the passage as “figurative, or rather equivocal,” and yet his explanation comes out to be nearly the same. At the conclusion ἰκανόν ἐστι is explained altogether plainly as it was by me. “In a twofold sense two swords are enough, and there is enough on this subject. You do not yet understand me.” Where, then, remains the exegetical consequence?

for no journey was contemplated ; they merely signify, to hold themselves in a state of preparation, to make ready. In just the same way, μάχαιρα relates to defence, not however to bodily, but to spiritual defence. It is therefore the sword of the spirit that is meant (Eph. vi. 17), with which they should provide themselves. The meaning of the whole passage then is this: "Formerly in the days of blessing, the Lord cared and struggled for you, ye needed not to provide anything ; all flowed to you ; but henceforth, in the evil days, you must employ all your cares and efforts in order to collect whatever suitable means you possess for subserving the purposes of spiritual life : but especially you need the sword of the spirit, in order that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to maintain the field. Possess yourselves of that sword, therefore, though it cost you the most intense efforts, renounce everything earthly, even that which is most necessary, in order that you may belong to him alone, who is from everlasting, and receive of his power."

(Compare on the distinction of good and evil days the remarks on Luke xxii. 53.) Now the disciples misunderstood this concealed meaning of the words of Jesus ; they were thinking upon iron swords, and replied that they already had some. The Redeemer felt that it would be useless, at such a moment, to enter into explicit details which might simplify his meaning, for the disciples were too widely mistaken to allow a hope of bringing them to the right position for forming a proper judgment ; he therefore uttered his *ἰσχυρὸν ἐστὶ*, as we give an evasive answer to children, when we feel the impossibility of making ourselves intelligible to them.

The phrase *ἰσχυρὸν ἐστὶ* includes a kind of double meaning, since it may be taken in reference to the two swords, in the sense "two swords suffice," just as well as in reference to the whole dialogue, in the signification, "there is enough on this subject, I see you do not yet understand me." The suggestion of *irony* in the meaning "Yes, your two swords will do, that will be a fine protection," seems to me to be unsuited to the solemn earnestness of the Lord. (In the Hebrew, the word *עֵץ* corresponds with *ἰσχυρὸν*, in the formulae ; *עֵץ* *עֵץ*, *עֵץ* *עֵץ* ; or *עֵץ* *עֵץ* compare Gesenius' lexicon, under *עֵץ*.)

Finally, The history of the institution of the holy supper, forms the conclusion of the account of the Lord's last meal.

(Matt. xxvi. 26—29 ; Mark xiv. 22—25 ; Luke xxii. 19, 20—

compare with these passages 1 Cor. xi. 23-26.) The immediately preceding exhortations to repentance, and the several admonitions of Jesus, constitute, as it were, the confession sermon, which should lead the disciples to sincere self-examination. (1 Cor. xi. 28.) After Judas had withdrawn, and when all that was necessary had been spoken, the Saviour proceeded to the institution of a sacred ordinance, which he left to his church, as an ever-during remembrancer, until his second coming.

In the deep hidden stillness of the little circle of his disciples, the Redeemer instituted that undazzling service, which was to become of world-wide interest.¹ But alas ! even that repast of love has, up to the present day, been an object of the most violent and long-continued controversies amongst the historians of the church and of its dogmas.² The simple words of the institution have thus been forced to bear meanings the most various and contradictory.

The science of exegesis would be totally misunderstood mean-

¹ The supper, as many seem to think, has its extraordinary—not mere historical—interest in the fact, that in the course of centuries it has furnished occasion to so much disputation and conjecture. Millions also have regarded, and still regard it, as but a costly ornament of the church. But it has its chief significance purely in itself. One of the deepest metaphysical problems—the question of the relation of spirit to matter—comes under discussion in the doctrine of the holy supper ; as it does eminently in the doctrines of the resurrection and glorification of the flesh. From the various principal views concerning this doctrine arise also, on account of their number and variety, the several theories regarding the supper. *Idealism* appears in the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, in which the matter is volatilized into spirit. *Dualism* is expressed in the view of Zuinglius, in which spirit and matter are rigidly and absolutely dis severed. *Realism* distinguishes, on the contrary, the Luthero-Calvinistic interpretation, which conceives spirit and matter as neither changed nor dis severed, but as both existing in their true connection and mutual dependence. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ, is, accordingly, the ante-type for the doctrine of the relation of the *higher* and *lower* in the supper. As in Christ divinity and humanity are united, without the one being deprived of its identical nature by the other ; so also in the supper, the word of God attaches itself to the matter, and consecrates it to the sacrament. “*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.*” In these words of Augustine, rests the only true canon for the doctrine of the sacraments.

² The latest writings upon the supper, are by Scheibel—Breslau, 1823 ; by Schultz—Leipzig, 1824, by Schulthess—Leipzig, 1824 ; by Lindner—Leipzig, 1831 ; Sartorius has given a review upon the latest treatises on the doctrine of the supper in the *Evang. R. Zeitung*, 1832, Maiheft. Compare also Eisenlohr in “*Klaiber's Stud.*, B. i. h. i. s. i., ff. Upon the question, “In his last meal held with the Apostles, had Jesus an intention to found a religious ordinance ?” compare further, “Upon the substance of the holy supper,” by Moser : examine the latter, with reference to Staudel's essays in the *Tubinger Zeitschrift* Jahrg. 1832-1833. *Tr.* The passages of the two latter are numerous, and extend over much of whole works.

while, if it were applied to the exposition of details which have been invented in support of the views of one party or another ; this is the business of a history of dogmas.

But a true exegesis ought to aim simply at recalling in the mind of the reader the train of ideas which the Saviour must have had in speaking the words, and the disciples in hearing them. The interpreter ought, however, to present openly his individual view in connection with the prevailing opinions.

It should not be overlooked that the view entertained by the disciples concerning the Sacrament of the altar, cannot be considered as perfect at the institution of the sacred feast itself. On the contrary, it is most probable that they by no means understood the fulness of the ideas which the Saviour associated with it, for we find them, before the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, still so undeveloped and crude in all their notions, that it is probable they would, after that event, have fully understood for the first time the profound meaning of the service. We have therefore no reason whatever to suppose, that, at the service, Christ had given a full explanation of its nature. This consideration is comforting, in so far as it warrants the inference, that the blessing of participating in the supper does not depend on the genuineness or accuracy with which its nature is represented, but on the sincerity of the desire after power and assistance from above,—always supposing that the mind's eye is not wilfully averted from the correct mode of its representation.

Members of all ecclesiastical organizations, however various the forms under which they receive the supper, may therefore partake in its blessings, provided only they have faith, that is, spiritual susceptibility of the powers of life, which Christ tenders in this ordinance.

But again an exegesis, in order to call up in our minds the train of ideas which the Lord himself ; and the Apostles after their illumination by the Holy Ghost, had severally as to the institution and observance of the sacred supper, should not separate the ordinance itself from the ecclesiastical practice, the authentic declarations of the Scriptures concerning the nature of the supper, or from the general connection of the Christian doctrines. Any such separation would betray us into error.

First—as regards the ecclesiastical practice, it must have its influence upon our views, since the discussion concerns a service

which was to be repeated. If an exegist were to expound the narratives of St Matthew and St Mark only, and these in a mere grammatical manner, he might infer that Christ had only intended to take a final leave of his disciples, by means of a symbolic service, representing his death, and that he had not thought at all of ordaining its repetition.¹ Whilst on the other hand it might be inferred from John xiii. 14—17, that the intention of Jesus was that the feet-washing should be repeated.

But the ecclesiastical practice of the primitive church, which was founded by the Apostles, whom we must regard as the authentic interpreters of the meaning of the Lord, exhibits the direct contrary to both inferences. And since the accounts of St Luke and St Paul deduce the positive command for repeating it from the institutory words of the ordinance, it is clear, from the ecclesiastical practice known to their readers, that St Matthew and St Mark took it for granted that the repetition of the ordinance was understood.

¹ It appears difficult, concerning the first supper, to retain firmly the full signification of the Sacrament; inasmuch as the work of Christ was not yet completed, his body not yet thoroughly glorified, the Holy Ghost not yet shed abroad. We might believe that this first participation possessed only a representative character; that it was after the resurrection, the entire power was, for the first time, to be experienced in the ordinance. A remembrance of the Lord's death could not have place in the first supper. For this event was still prospective. The breaking of the bread and the distributing of the cup possessed more of a prophetic character. It was, in the first instance, an ante-type, and, after the death only, became an after-type. Kniewel, in his book "of the Christian religion," Danzig, 1835, p. 218, expresses himself to the effect that, in the first supper, the disciples as yet enjoyed but the sacrament of the old covenant. But, according to that view, the founding of the sacrament of the new covenant would certainly be altogether wanting! Besides, the disciples even before the supper, ate the paschal lamb. Much rather are we compelled to say that "the first supper was the event which fulfilled what in the Old Testament was a type: the elevation of the shadow into the substance." Zinzendorf puts forth the discordant opinion, that, in the first supper before the passion, it was only the bloody death-sweat of Jesus that was partaken of. But besides the repulsiveness of this theory, the struggle of Gethsemane took place posterior to the instituting of the supper. Compare Acta hist. Eccl., vol. xx. p. 806. To those who admit that the glorification of the humanity of Christ did not begin till the resurrection or ascension to heaven, it is really incomprehensible how Jesus, before his passion, could have dispensed his flesh and blood. To them nothing remains but to say "that Christ created his own flesh and blood from nothing." According to our view of the glorified humanity—a view which appears to us to grow continually clearer upon closer examination, from whatsoever point we proceed—the true nature of this first supper becomes completely obvious. The Saviour already bore the glorified body within himself. The mortal body enveloped it as the shell does the kernel. Therefore the influence of this glorified corporeity might even then have proceeded from him.

Secondly. As regards the authentic declarations of Scripture, amongst which are to be especially reckoned the passages in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, xi. 23–29, and, in a certain sense also, John vi., as to which the particulars in the commentary should be consulted. In these passages a specific spiritual character is ascribed to the supper. Self-examination is enjoined previous to its reception, and a *blessing* or *curse* annexed as its sanctions. These considerations overturn the Zuinglian notion, “that the supper was merely a commemorative meal ;” for, according to that view, no specific character is conceivable in the supper.

Finally. As to the question, “How does *that which is specifically superior* attach itself in the supper to the mere *elements* ?” The answer to this question requires that we should investigate the connection in which this doctrine stands with the whole remaining cycle of gospel doctrines ; according to that which is the fundamental principle of interpretation, the analogy of the faith. The chief point for consideration in the doctrine of the supper, is the teaching of the Scriptures as to the relations of *σῶμα* and *πνεῦμα* generally, and concerning the glorification of the body in particular. Now, where the biblical doctrine of the Resurrection, and of the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, 1 Cor. xv. 44, sqq., which believers hold it to include, are denied ; and where the *Spirit* and *Body* are held to exist in rigid *Dualism*, without any approximation ever occurring, there must naturally be an attenuation of whatever is specific in the supper into a general spiritual influence such as is experienced in prayer. In like manner, the Catholic theory of Transubstantiation comes out erroneous, when tested by the analogy of the faith. For as the word on becoming flesh (John i. 14) did not change the *σῶμα* into its own substance, nor itself into that of the *σῶμα*, but as always, even in the case of the glorification of the *σῶμα* of Christ, humanity and Deity were united in him, so also are they in the supper.

Hence according to the monophysite doctrine of Transubstantiation held by the Catholics, the supper appears to be a repeated sacrifice ; but the circumstance, that Christ in that case must have sacrificed himself, prior to the true sacrifice which he offered on Golgotha, is somewhat unfavourable to this view ; for he instituted the supper before his death. We may, however, as we have said, regard the original institution of the supper, like the Old Testament sacrifices as typical of the coming sacrificial death of Christ,

and in like manner we may look upon the constantly renewed repetition of the supper, as a representation of it.¹ This, however, is only one and not the most essential of the many significations which meet and blend in the last supper, like flowers in a garland.

In accordance with what has been said, I hold that Luther's notion of the holy supper is that which coincides most completely, in all essentials, with the ecclesiastical practice ; with the authentic declarations of the institutory words ; and with the harmony of the Scripture doctrines. According to my conviction, the Scripture teaches that in and under the elements of the holy supper, the Redeemer who now sits in his glorified humanity at the right hand of God, dispensed his glorified bodily nature,—which certainly can never be dissevered from a spiritual and divine existence—this his spiritualized flesh and blood, to the faithful ; to be a *σώματις τῆς ἀθανάτου*, as Ignatius terms it ; a germ of new life in their bodies, which are to be awakened hereafter. (Compare the remarks on John vi. 54, sqq.) But my view deviates from that of Luther, inasmuch as it does not appear to me to be included in the idea of the supper, that all who partake of it receive the Lord's body.

For although the Lord's body is received, it is not received "orally," (as Luther says—compare the passage concerning the supper in Scheibel p. 344) since it is a spiritual body. This, at the least, is a mode of expression, which, even though it could be proved to be correct, would still be foreign to the Scriptures, and which, on account of its liability to misconception, is better avoided. Where the organ of the spiritual body is deficient, that is the mouth of faith, especially where no new spiritual man requiring spiritual nourishment has been born through baptism, in such cases the body of the Lord cannot be received. But where there are in one who has been born again, depravity, faithlessness, and consequent apostacy from religion, in that case the power of the supper thrusts the man away from itself ; just as the Holy

¹ Scheibel probably intends merely to promulgate this representative character of the supper, when he would have it thought to be a sacrificial repast. This expression brings under notice the idea, that as men used to bind themselves together for the attainment of some common object, by means of a sacrificial meal ; in like manner, the supper ought to be to the faithful the spiritual-bodily token of union. St Paul, 1 Cor. x. 17, gives prominence expressly to this relation, since he regards the faithful many as one body—(as many bread corns form one loaf)—because they are partakers of the same bread.

Ghost departs from, and does not enter into such an one. (Upon 1 Cor. xi. 29, from which passage some persons seek to prove the contrary, compare the Commentary.)

Hence, according to my persuasion, the whole Christ is not received in the supper, but an operation of the glorified Saviour. The notion that the whole Christ is received in the supper, leads to the doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ, and of the right hand of God. This, regarded as personal ubiquity, is certainly not biblical. The only truth contained in this representation is as follows. The Lord, in accordance with his union of natures, can operate even with his humanity on behalf of all. As the sun sends forth its beams over all, so the Saviour breathes from himself a vivifying power. This power, being alike divine and human, is calculated to glorify, at the same time, both soul and body, according to the Spirit, and is received wherever the moral capacities for receiving it are in existence. But every operation of Christ contains the power of producing him complete in the mind,¹ as the spark begets the flame from which it sprang. (Compare John iv. 14.)

As in the person of the Saviour are united the divine and the hu-

¹ This thought should not be overlooked, since without it my view might be misunderstood, when I say that "not the whole Christ, but an operation of him, is present in the supper." In Luther's doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ there lies, on the one hand, something bordering upon "Doketic Monophysies"—(which comes out particularly in the conclusion, that the right hand of God is everywhere; which is undoubtedly contrary to the meaning of the sacred writers)—and so far it is erroneous. But, on the other hand, Luther had something perfectly correct in view, since he states it, as a necessary assumption, "that the glorified humanity of Christ, the omnipresent agency of the Son of God, must follow, if the real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the supper, be asserted."

We may, however, hold this latter opinion firmly without admitting the Lutheran doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ and of the right hand of God, if we discriminate between the individual personality of the God-man, and the efficiency proceeding from him. But this efficaciousness cannot be considered as absolutely distinct from Christ, nor so understood, for otherwise, it would follow that it is not Christ which is in the supper, but something else, to wit, his efficaciousness. Rather should it be firmly held, that everything which is in Christ, and which proceeds from him, even his divinely human efficiency, partakes of his nature. For example, in this efficacy he himself is present, viz. in the germ, or in the ability of producing himself, as in the spark rests the capacity to produce the greatest flame, in susceptible materials. Similarly, the soul which participates in the real efficiency of Christ, receives therewith the power to become like him. In him the divine seed corn calls forth a new spiritual production, which glorifies first the soul and then the body also, and which, without that efficiency of the Saviour, never could have been produced. Sartorius, in the spirited essay in the "Evang. R. Zeitung, Jahrg. 1833, Feb.," on the *communicatio idiomatum*, has defended to the last point the harsh Lutheran view of the ubiquity (concerning the ubiquity of the right hand of God, compare the particulars in Matt. xxvi. 62, et seq.)

man natures, immiscible but also inseparable, so also in the supper the power of Christ is associated with the bread and wine, without the one destroying, or even so much as altering, the essential nature of the other.

If after this we regard the individual accounts concerning the supper in this light, it is clear that 1 Cor. xi. 23, sqq. must be considered as the chief passage. For St Matthew and St Mark relate but briefly, giving prominence to the information they had gathered from the practice of the church, whilst in St John the history of the institution is entirely wanting; for the passage in John vi. merely alludes to the supper—compare upon the grounds of this omission the remarks on John xiii. 1—St Luke also makes a retrogression, although on the whole following after St Paul, particularly in the account of the τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (Luke xxii. 19.) And above all, the Apostle declares, 1 Cor. xi. 23, that he had received instructions immediately from the Lord concerning what should be the practice of the church in respect to this ordinance.

It may be said therefore that the Redeemer himself has in this passage explained his intent in founding the supper. (Upon the παραλαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου compare the Commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 23.)

In the exposition of the Synoptics, that communication of the Saviour cannot therefore remain unreviewed. As to what further regards the form of the service, it was observed in the introduction to this paragraph, that a dividing of bread and a sending round of several cups of wine, during the singing of psalms, was customary in every paschal feast. To this custom the Saviour gave a more profound import, since he viewed the breaking of the bread and the distribution of the wine as symbols of his vicarious death upon the cross. The doctrine of transubstantiation, if carried out to its complete consequences, would almost compel its holders to regard the supper as an actual repetition of the sacrifice itself. But this view is contradicted by the practice of the ancient church, as well as by the harmony of doctrine throughout the Scriptures. There should, as we have already observed, be represented figuratively, only the one offering by which he perfected all who are sanctified, Hebrews x. 14. The essence of the holy supper consists in the accompanying of the external rite by the word, which as the word of God is *spirit* and *life* (John vi. 63), and operates accordingly. In the next place, we have to notice the expressions

λάβετε, φάγετε, πίνετε—which are preserved by St Matthew and St Mark, only and in St Mark the two latter phrases are wanting. Several codices, it is true, have the reading φάγετε, but it has been derived into their text from St Matthew only. These words express the receptivity of the disciples who represent the church, but Christ is what is dispensed, satisfying with himself their spiritual hunger and thirst. Through him the church is nourished. From this relation it follows that the Lord himself could not have partaken of the bread and wine with the disciples.

There is no allusion here to a parting feast, in which all disciples, as co-ordained, enjoyed the same food, as a sign of internal union, they were all nourished by one, just as the infant is by the mother's breast. Therefore there can be no discussion concerning reciprocity.¹

Hence the inference is warranted, that according to the intent of the sacred ordinance, no self-communion of the clergy, such as is usual not only in the Catholic church, but also here and there in the Evangelical church, ought to be practised. The officiating clergyman occupies, so to speak, the place of Christ. They who partake of the sacred supper represent the church. But, in self-communion, the clergyman unites in himself both characters, which seems to be contradictory. (Compare Russwurm upon the self-communion of the Evangelical Churches. Hanover, 1829.) Where, however, the custom is already established, and men cannot be persuaded that it is inappropriate, the Lord will even, according to that form, bestow his blessing upon the solemnity. The next point for discussion is the signification of the mutual participation: the words τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου, τὸ αἷμά μου. In the Aramaic language, which Jesus no doubt spoke in his intimate communings with his disciples, the words uttered were probably, הוּא הוּא הוּא, or more correctly, according to Scheibel (in a passage quoted elsewhere, 135), הוּא הוּא הוּא. At least הוּא is in any case more correct than הוּא, which corresponds to the Greek σῶμα, since assuredly, in regard to these significant words, the greatest precision of expression would be observed by the Evangelists. As, therefore, all the four Evangelists have σῶμα, which for that reason is so much the more striking, since the following αἷμα should rather lead to σῶμα, which latter expression, moreover, occurs in John vi.; hence σῶμα is the preferable expres-

¹ This was erroneously believed by Chrysostom, who, in his exposition of St Matthew, Homily 72, says—τὸ ἐαυτοῦ αἷμα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπιε.

sion. The reason why *σῶμα* is here selected, may be understood from the statements of St Luke¹ and St Paul. The subjoined expression, ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν διδόμενον, κλώμενον, imperatively requires it. Since, for instance, *σῶμα* indicated the physical organization as a whole, whether dead or living, of which organization the living substance is called *σῶξ*, its lifeless substance *κρέας*; hence to the idea of it as destroyed by death, which the *κλώμενον*, referring to the breaking of the sacrificial cakes, signified—only *σῶμα* could have referred. (Compare upon the ὑπὲρ ὁμῶν διδόμενον ἐκχυνόμενον, in reference to the atoning vicarious death of Christ, and also concerning *περὶ πολλῶν*, the detailed explanation in Comm., Part I. on Matt. xx. 28.)

Moreover, the Saviour in his body resembled the whole cake πᾶς which he broke. He did not give to each the whole *σῶμα*, but as he did a part of the cake, so he gave to each a part of the *σῶμα*, that is *σῶξ*.² According to the intent of the ordinance, *σῶξ* might just as properly have been used; only that, on account of the symbolical reference to his death, Jesus chose *σῶμα*, equivalent to πᾶς. In *αἷμα* there is no difficulty whatever, since the whole quantity of it cannot be otherwise expressed, than by the name for a part of it. But as each person did not receive the entire *σῶμα*, neither did each receive the whole of the *αἷμα*; that is each did not drink the entire cup-full, signifying all the blood, but all partook of the one cup; thus the one Christ dispensed himself amongst them all, in order that he might live in them, and they in him.

Αἷμα together with *σῶξ* (for which expression *σῶμα* is to be taken in the institutory words) constitute the other half of the physical being. Whilst *σῶξ* is the more material part, *αἷμα* as that

¹ The dependency of St Luke's account upon that of St Paul—compare introduction Part I., s. 17, sqq.—is expressed unmistakably in the words of the institution of the supper.

² This view concerning the breaking of bread in the supper, as typical of the destruction of what is inferior, in order to the calling forth of what is superior, occurs also in "Oschelaleddin"—in Tholuck's *Bluthensammeln*, s. 104—who sings—

When blossoms fall superior fruits arise,
When bodies die, then spirits mount the skies;
So is destruction destined to disclose,
Else from its womb the immortal ne'er had rose.
Hence, thus in parts must broken be the bread,
That man thereon be nourishingly fed.

which, in life, the *σάρξ* comprehended, becomes the bearer of the *ψυχή*—Genesis ix. 4; Deut. xii. 23. Both, therefore, with the *πνεῦμα*, completed the human nature.¹

The question, it is now self-evident, turns not so much upon the agency of the *πνεῦμα* as it does upon the *σάρξ* and *αἷμα*, which the Redeemer distributed in the supper to his faithful followers. The annexed pronoun has naturally a peculiar force, *σώμα μου*, *αἷμα μου*. In themselves *flesh* and *blood* are of no profit, John vi. 63; Rom. vii. 18. They cannot even inherit, much less bestow, the kingdom of God, 1 Cor. 15, 50. But the flesh and blood of Christ, which are imperishable and glorious, possess the power

¹ Lücke, in an interesting programme for Christmas 1837, has brought afresh under discussion the question, "How ought the twofold form of communion, by means of bread and wine, to be regarded?" I cannot, however, agree with his conclusion, which leads altogether to the Zuinglian view of the supper. The chief idea of the supper was the founding of the new covenant, through the sacrifice of Christ, which is symbolically represented in the supper. This idea would now for the first time be brought home to the consciousness of the disciples by their partaking of the bread, but in the reception of the cup alone would it be truly and perfectly expressed. Lücke, on the contrary, cannot find the idea of Christ's presence in the supper. The sentence, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, at page 8, shews clearly, on the contrary, that *mortis meditationem esse primariam*, quin *potius unicam* in *sacra coena*. Such a conclusion as this may be deduced from the institutory words, regarded simply as such. These, then, as containing the mystery, in order to be perfectly understood, necessarily require illustration from the great doctrinal discourse of Jesus, John vi., and the Pauline explanations, 1 Cor. x. 11. Hence it follows that the supper was especially intended to be a symbolical representation of the sacrifice of Christ, and that the *ἀνάμνησις* should refer to the historical event of Christ's death; but besides these, a sealing of his covenant is also signified. And in addition to all this, there is in this pregnant ordinance an actual distribution of his real existence itself. (Compare on this subject the explanations in the Commentary on the passages quoted.) Now, the reason why this participation was made in a twofold form, might be the following. First, the form of the festival, which was one of eating and drinking, required it. At the paschal meal they ate the lamb, and drank of the cup. Christ seized this custom, and filled it with higher powers. Secondly; the symbolical representation of the death required a distinction between the blood and the body, in order to bring before the mind the idea of the shedding of the blood. Lastly: the totality of humanity was signified but by *σώμα* and *αἷμα*. *Σώμα* alone would represent only its material part. The *αἷμα* as the bearer of the element *ψυχή*, should also be embraced. It is on this account, probably, that *σώμα* not *σάρξ*, was employed in the institutory words; because the latter forms the antithesis with *πνεῦμα*, but *σώμα* with *ψυχή*. The immediate question, however, is not concerning a partaking of the spiritual part in the supper, but of the human; which is constituted of soul and body. And the choice of the expression *σώμα*, in the institutory words, may be accounted for from the fact, that it signifies bodily completeness, organic collectiveness; with which, also, the idea of breaking better agrees. Meanwhile, as above was inferred, when regarded alone and in itself, the *σάρξ* of Christ in the supper may be spoken of without impropriety.

of eternal life. He who eats and drinks of them shall have life in himself, and will be raised up at the last day. John vi. 53, sqq.

With this heavenly flesh and blood the Lord fed his disciples, as by her breast-milk a mother nourishes her infant child with her own blood. Schultz (loc. cit. p. 93, sqq.) thinks that we may speak of *σώματα ἐπίγεια* and *ἐπουράνια*, but not of *σάξ πνευματική*, or the like. By mere accident this expression does not occur throughout the New Testament; but still a *σώμα* must necessarily exist from *σάξ*. The choice is therefore between a gross earthly nature and a glorified nature; and this must not be disregarded, lest the epithet be disqualified also for application to the *σάξ*. Following out his *Dualism*, which implies an absolute separation between matter and spirit, Schultz was forced to assert, by way of consequence, that there could not be a *σώμα πνευματικόν*,¹ since once for all, according to his system, spirit and body are with each other, not in each other—a doctrine which is certainly unknown to the holy Scriptures.

But according to this conception of *σώμα* and *αἷμα*, the query now occurs, “how could Jesus in instituting the sacred ordinance have spoken of his glorified body, when he yet bore the mortal body?” The expressions in St Luke and St Paul, *ἐπὶ ἡμῶν διδόμενον, ἐκχυσόμενον*, seem to favour the opinion, that the body which the Lord intended to distribute, was not the glorified one, but that which was natural, capable of suffering, and of being nailed to the cross.

Yet even the most zealous defenders of this view admit that the body of the Lord participated in the power of eternal life, it could not therefore exactly resemble the perishable sinful human body. The assertion that “the body in the supper was that which was afterwards nailed to the cross,” is important to the holders of this opinion, inasmuch as it enables them to combat the notion of an ideal, aetherial doketick body, in order to maintain the reality of the body of Christ.

¹ *Σώμα* must be taken as equivalent to *οὐσία*, as Tertullian uses *corpus* = *substantia*; and hence says of spirit “est corpus sui generis.” Schultz seems to unite with the conception of *σώμα*, only the abstract thought of something whole, but entirely dissociated. But accordingly to this, what is a *σώμα πνευματικόν*? What in fact individualizes the spirit except the body? No one would wish to revive the Gnostic doctrine of an *ἔσος*, that is, of a principle bounding itself, and individualizing spirits; and still it is a powerful proof how difficult it is, without the hypothesis of a glorified corporeity to fix the individuality of spirits.

And in this respect the assertion is quite correct; though if differently expressed, it would be more suitable to the object: for then we might assert the reality and identity of the body of Christ most forcibly, in opposition to all the doketick errors; and yet distinguish perfectly between Christ's body as glorified, and as not glorified. But the distribution of the flesh and blood of Christ could never occur naturally except of the former. If we now suppose that the glorification of the Lord's body was gradually perfected (on this subject, compare the Commentary Part I. on Matt. xvii. 1, and the remarks in the history of the resurrection), then will its efficaciousness, prior to its return from the dead, contain nothing whatever surprising, any more than the fact that the Saviour could by breathing impart the Holy Spirit (John xx. 22), although the spirit was not fully poured out till a later period, John vii. 39. In the mortal body the immortal one already rested; as in the regenerated, the new man lives, though enveloped by the old. The resurrection was merely the breaking forth of the butterfly from the chrysalis, within which it had long previously completed its development.

τοῦτο ἐστί, therefore, are the only words which remain for examination; words which some persons have long regarded as the key to an understanding of the whole passage.

Schultz, however (p. 116, sqq.), is certainly right when he remarks that nothing can be proved from this formula in favour of either the one or the other view of the supper. Were the Catholic view to be sustained by the word of Scripture, then *μετουμοσφύων*, or something similar, would be necessary.¹

But taking a strictly grammatical view of *τοῦτο ἐστί*, it will bear the meaning of "this signifies" just as well as of "this is, actually." So that according to these mere words, no distinction can be made between the views of Luther and Zuinglius. (Of the numerous examples quoted by Schultz, concerning *τοῦτο ἐστί*, we would merely

¹ If, however, the doctrine of transubstantiation had been stated in such a way that we might regard the alteration of the matter only as one which occurs at the moment of consecration and participation, there could be little biblical opposition to it. But the passages (1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 26) speak of the bread, even after consecration, and whilst being partaken of, in a way that, by a forced construction only, can be made to harmonize with the Catholic view. In conclusion, it is much to be regretted that this method of comprehending the dogma does not obtain as the prevailing one in the Greek and Latin churches; for by means of it a great part of their corrupt practice would fall away of itself.

compare the following : 1 Peter i. 25 ; Philemon, verse 12 ; Luke xii. 1 ; Hebrews x. 20. On the tropical usage of *ἵνα*, St John, who frequently employs it, ought to be consulted, John xv. 1-5, xiv. 6, x. 7-9).

The phrase may, however, have the other signification, viz., "this is in deed, and in truth." In the passage itself there is no distinct support given to the one view rather than to the other, but the authentic declaration of Scripture, and the connection of doctrines, combined with the practice of the most ancient churches, lead to a decision in favour of the strict acceptance of the words. (Compare my remarks in the "Evang. Kirchen-zeit. Jahrg. 1834, N. 48, the institutory words of the ordinance contain the mystery, but not its elucidation.)

Ver. 27, 28. We must not, however, pass over the expression *αἷμα τῆς καθαρῆς διαθήκης*, which occurs in St Matthew and St Mark, and for which St Luke and St Paul use *ἡ καθ' ἡμετέραν ἐν τῷ ἁγῷ αἵματι*. The two formulæ are not essentially distinguishable. Both comprehend the relation of the Redeemer's shed blood, to the new life established according to the New Testament. The only question that arises is, "What is the peculiar foundation of this relation?" Evidently, the *ἀφ' ἧς τῶ ἀμαρτυῶν*, for without shedding of blood there is no remission (compare upon this thought the comment upon Hebrews ix. 22.) In the New Testament, sin is no longer borne with by the divine patience, as it was under the economy of the Old Testament, Rom. iii. 25, but, through the reconciliation perfected by Christ's vicarious death (Coloss. ii. 14), since he became a curse for us, Gal. iii. 12. Hence, both the above modes of expression might have been chosen, inasmuch as the new relation of men to God, was founded by means of the shedding of the blood of the Lord.¹

¹ Linher, in his treatise on the Lord's Supper, Leipzig, 1831, has deduced from the latter passage the view, that "the very thing which Christ dispensed in the supper was the forgiveness of sins." But this representation is surely incorrect. Wherever Christ is present there is forgiveness of sins, and, since he is present in the supper, it cannot be received without remission of sins. But the specific character of the supper consists not in that fact ; much rather does it assume the forgiveness of sins as its negative side, and is completed by what is positive, to wit, the reception of new and higher life. The general forgiveness of sins is so far assumed that only the baptized and faithful can partake of the supper. The continued daily remission of sins was symbolised by the feet washing which occurred before the institution of the supper, of which remission, confession and absolution constitute the representation to the reception of the supper ;

The assertion, that in the supper the Lord represented his death not as an expiatory but as a covenant sacrifice, which is made by Dr Paulus, in his edition of Usteri's Paul. in the Heidelberg Annual, 1831, September, p. 844, is completely contradicted by the expressive qualification in Matt. xxvi. 28, ἐκχυσόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν αμαρτιῶν. But St Luke and St Paul have merely the decided injunction: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. The passage in 1 Cor. xi. 26 determines accurately both the species of thought, and the precise phraseology.

The former refers especially to the death of Christ, as that in which his reconciling and high-priestly energy was concentrated. The latter points to the παρουσία (ἄχρῃς οὗ ἔλθῃ).

The solemnization of the holy supper was therefore to be a perpetual symbolical repetition of the great act accomplished on Golgotha, by which the world was reconciled to God, and was intended to announce to the world (καταγγέλετε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου) its reconciliation. Just as, under the economy of the Old Testament, every sacrifice preached that Adam fell, and that a restoration of human nature was necessary. But whilst the Jewish sacrifice only awakened a desire for the forgiveness of sins, the holy supper actually and energetically nourishes men with the bread that came from heaven to give life to the world. The supper therefore necessarily presupposes baptism, but baptism does not conversely presuppose the supper.

Only they who are born according to the flesh can partake of material food; and in like manner only those who are born after the Spirit can enjoy spiritual food. And as the act of birth can take place but once, whilst the using of food must be frequently repeated, so also *baptism* can be but once effected, whilst *the supper* must be often solemnized.

This analogy is apparently overturned by the facts, that the supper appears to have been instituted prior to the institution of baptism, and even before the glorification of Christ. (Compare Matt. xxviii. 18.) But if we reflect that baptism had long before been practised by John the Baptist, and by the apostles (compare John iv. 1, *et seq.*), and that St Matthew (xxviii. 19) records the prominence given to that ordinance as a perpetual and universal

moreover, the Christian comes as one who has already received the forgiveness of sins; in whom the germ of the new life already rests; but who in this new life must now be nourished and strengthened with heavenly food.

observance for all the people of the Lord, this apparent contradiction will be removed. Had the Saviour instituted the supper as the glorified Redeemer after his resurrection, it might easily have led to an entirely ideal view of the sacrament, and the more imminent the danger of this error was, in the earliest times, as the history of the first century shews, the more carefully ought we to avoid it in the present day.

Ver. 29. Now, the object of thus representing, under the aspect of the supper, the Lord's death for the sins of the world, could possess a significancy only so long as the Lord was separated from his church below. After his glorious return, the supper will assume a different form. To this conclusion, the termination of the Lord's discourse, according to St Matthew and St Mark, points.

Where the Lord declares that "he will drink again of the fruit of the vine, in the kingdom of his heavenly father." (On the proper placing of these words, compare Luke xxii. 16.) It must not be overlooked that St Luke has the words three times (chap. xxii. 16, 18, and 30), from which it seems highly probable that the Lord uttered them several times, during the last supper. From these words we might think ourselves warranted to infer, that the Lord himself partook of the supper with the disciples. The words *σάμα μου, αἶμα μου*, however, contradict this supposition too completely. The inference that, *πὶν ἐν τῷ γαμήματι τῆς ἀμπέλου*¹ refers to the cup of wine used previously, Luke xxii. 17, from which the Lord also drank, is therefore much simpler.

We are distinctly led to this conclusion, by the passage in Luke xxii. 16, where it is said of the paschal lamb: *ἐσθίειν αὐτὸ μὴ φάγω ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὥς ἔσται, κ. τ. λ.* Here it is clear, that the discourse could not have referred to the bread in the supper, but to the passover. So that the meaning of the words is as follows "in the kingdom of God I will hold a new paschal feast with you."

As to the import of the particular idea (compare the observations relative to this subject, in the first part of the Commentary Luke xxii. 30), some persons, influenced by the prevailing Idealism, have accustomed themselves, in contempt of the resurrection and glorification of the flesh, to maintain, that it imports no more than a general representation of joy. "There shall we enjoy our-

¹ It should be carefully noted that Jesus does not say, "*ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ*," but "*ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γαμήματι*." The *αἶμα* evidently forms the antithesis with *σάμα*, and therefore the discourse in these words refers to the festival in general.

selves more intimately with one another, and in a more spiritual manner than here." Were this notion correct, we should be justified in asserting that the thought was conveyed in words exceedingly liable to mistake, especially when addressed to persons who, like the disciples, were, as we know, occupied with gross material views of the Messiah. Without doubt those¹ are nearer to the grammatical truth—we particularly allude to the ὅταν αὐτοὶ πίνω καὶ νέω—who confess, "that this passage clearly expresses the Jewish idea of a banquet that should take place in the kingdom of Messiah; where what was physical would also be glorified." But the opinion most conformable to the doctrine of Scripture, is that this particular idea possesses its internal truth, in reference to the marriage supper of the lamb, (οἷον τὸ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου. Revelation xix. 9.) All anxiety about materialism in this view, is sufficiently removed by the observation that, in the world of the glorified, everything will be glorified. Accordingly, the idea is that of a covenant feast to be held in a glorified manner with the Lord, in the world of the resurrection.

Thus understood then, this thought concludes the feast in the most suitable manner, for beyond the period allotted to the gradual development (like a grain of mustard seed, in the καλλιέργειά, of the kingdom of God, which, amidst many struggles and contests, is constantly perfecting and extending itself, the Lord places the prospects of himself with his disciples in the finished harmony of life; with paradise recovered, where the καλλιέργειά also seems to point to the essential character of this state of felicity. (Comp. remarks on Romans viii. 18, et sqq.)

Hence as in paradise, the only food made use of was that afforded by plants; so also shall the Saviour, instead of the bloody passover, establish a bloodless festival of the most simple means of nourishment, from which the higher power of life shall be infused into man, as he once, by eating of the fruit, became subject to the power of death. Comforted then by this glance into the recovered paradise, the Lord advances against the Cherub's sword which must pierce the heart of every one who enters there, but over whose terrors Jesus has triumphed on behalf of all who by faith appropriate his merits to themselves.

¹ The explanation of this passage, from the association of Christ with his disciples [T. during the forty days] after his resurrection, is altogether untenable; for this time alone is never called βασιλεία του Θεου.

§ 2. JESUS' STRUGGLE IN GETHSEMANE, AND HIS ARREST.

(Matt. xxvi. 36—56; Mark xiv. 32—52; Luke xxii. 40—53; John xviii. 1—11.)

After the conclusion of the supper,¹ and when, as we have already remarked, the discourses recorded by John, chs. xiv.—xvii. (which without doubt were delivered in the festival chamber), were ended; the Saviour with his disciples hastened out of the city, from which his gracious presence was now averted.

Jesus went over the mountain stream Cedron to the Mount of Olives. Κεδρὼν = כֶּדְרוֹן from כָּר dark, to be black. Perhaps the name is derived from the depth of the densely-grown forest valley through which the brook flows. The reading τὸν κεδρὼν, arose certainly from the ignorance of transcribers, who thought they ought to regard the name as a plural form. The brook flows between the city and the Mount of Olives, and pours itself into the Dead Sea. It is often named in the Old Testament. (Comp. 2 Sam. xv. 23; 1 Kings ii. 37, xv. 13; 2 Kings xxiii. 4—6. Upon ἐξ ὧν τὸν ελαιῶνα comp. in the Commentary Part I. on Matt. xxi. 1.)

Here, either upon or near the Mount of Olives, was a country seat—χωρὶς, Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32, with a garden, κήπος = עֵץ, John xviii. 1, 2, which Jesus had often visited with his disciples, and which was well known to Judas, and thither the Lord proceeded.

Γεθσημανὴ or Γεθσημανεί is the name given by St Matthew and St Mark to the estate, that is שֶׁטֶף עֵץ oil-press, or olive-press. Scarcely had he arrived, when he retired into the deep solitude of the garden. The rest of the disciples may have remained in the house with the friendly owner of the garden, only three ventured to accompany him, and beheld the mighty struggle of his soul. These were they who were also present during the transfiguration (Compare Matt. xvii. 1, sqq.) Hence they were able to estimate alike the exaltation and the humiliation of the Lord's life. Ἀδὴ μωίω from ἀδὴμωϊς, sorrowful, with anguish, it is a strong expression for agony, trembling or fainting of soul. Symmachus uses it for עָצָה, Psalm lxi. 3, and for עָצָה, Psalm cxvi. 11.

¹ Matt. xxvi. 30, applies ἐκείνην: to the psalms which were wont to be sung at the conclusion of the feast. They are called "the great hallelujah." Compare the foregoing description of the proceedings in solemnizing the Jewish passover.

We have now arrived at the event, which may be regarded as the beginning of the *passion* of Christ, in the stricter sense of the word, and it is but meet to make a pause in our consideration of particulars, and to review the development of the Saviour's life in general.¹

That suffering without measure, should burst in upon the holy one of God, seems to be the less surprising, that the noblest of human heroes have been exposed to great privations and conflicts; but the sufferings of Jesus only now became visible; they had long burdened him invisibly.²

The sinfulness of the world, the unbelief, want of love, and ignorance, of men, had been long causes of acute suffering to the heart of the Son of God. But in the latter moments of his earthly pilgrimage, they were concentrated into greater intensity. To the observer, however, it appears wonderful, that the Saviour in such suffering, did not stand altogether unmoved, like the rock in a tempest, but that he trembled, moaned, and implored his heavenly Father that the agonizing hour might pass away! If we compare the demeanour of Jesus with the conduct of others, even of persons who lived before his time, of Socrates for example, or of noble Christian martyrs, as Huss, Polycarp, and others, these persons appear to have displayed more steadfastness and courage, than we discover in the bearing of Christ. The following observations may help to render this phenomenon comprehensible.

First, It must not be overlooked, that the Gospel reveals a new view of life, in which, stoical indifference, hardihood, and inflexibility, in defiance of pain and suffering of every kind, do not appear as the most exalted virtues. On the contrary, it honours and carefully fosters the tender susceptibilities of meekness, of compassion, of sympathy, and is not ashamed of tears, of the true,

¹ (Compare on this subject my essay in Knapps' *Christoterpe* Jahrg. 1882, p. 182, sqq.) which contains a further detail of the thoughts here intimated. Here, however, I would observe: that the symbolic character of the names Cedron, Gethsemane, Golgotha, is not to be overlooked. Throughout the whole of the sacred Scriptures, the comprehension of names appears to be a very significant index to the characters of persons or relations. The essay of Dettinger in the "Tübinger Zeitschrift," 1838, h. 1, contains a defence of the historical character of this narrative concerning the agony of Christ, against the attack of Strauss, which is eminently worthy of being studied.

² Clemens, Alexandrinus, *quis dives solvetur*, c. 8, Segars' edition, p. 22, *πάσχει δι' ἡμᾶς ὁ σωτὴρ ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ σημείου*. Id est:—usque ad crucem. The pilgrimage in a sinful world was, to the holy one of God, necessarily a continuous suffering and sympathy.

plain expression of anguish, or of terror. However, it should be well observed, that the Lord did not tremble before the rude populace, who would have misunderstood the true expression of his sorrows, but only in presence of his most confidential friends. The former would have been contrary to decorum, the latter was not.

Secondly, The faintness of Jesus did not arise from the fear of visible enemies, or under physical pain.¹ His struggle was an invisible agony of the soul; a consciousness of being forsaken of God (compare remarks on Matt. xxvii. 46); a contest against the power of darkness (compare Luke xxii. 53,) for as, in the beginning of his ministry, the Saviour was tempted by the enemy through the medium of *desire*, so now at its end was he assailed through the medium of *fear*. Compare in the Commentary, Vol I. p. 169.

Finally, the suffering of the Lord was not something that affected his own individual life alone, Hebrews ii. 10, it stood in connection with the development of humanity at large. (Compare the particulars at Matthew xxvii. 45, sqq.) Christ suffered and endured as the representative of mankind collectively. He bore their guilt. Hence his sufferings have a special character, and cannot be compared with any other sufferings. But it is not the fainting alone that is surprising in the following statement concerning the Lord, but also the fluctuation in the inward resolution of Jesus. If we compare the confident faith and victorious courage which breathe through the intercession of Christ as high priest, John xvii. ; it will appear truly astonishing that, after a few hours the Saviour could appear involved in such an inward struggle as that in which he is represented in the passage about to be considered. We can easily conceive how some have from this circumstance come to the opinion "that the narrative of the Synoptics, concerning the struggle of Jesus in Gethsemane, is probably erroneous, since, in the minute narrative of St John, who alone of the Evangelists was an eye-witness of the occurrence, there is no mention of it. Usteri and Goldhorn² in particular have maintained

¹ The view, that prospective extreme bodily suffering called forth the Redeemer's struggles, perplexes altogether, and even annihilates the very essence of his messiahship. Were it correct, Christ would in truth have exhibited much less firmness of soul, not only than many martyrs, but even than many unregenerate and immoral men who have borne far greater tortures without blenching.

² The former in his celebrated critical essay concerning St John, the latter in a distinct treatise in Tzschirner's Magazine, vol. I. Part 2.

this view. St Luke contains the account, abridged certainly, but yet, in what is essential, similar to those of St Matthew and St Mark. The supposition that the Saviour could not have endured any such inward struggle of the soul cannot be sustained in opposition to the repeated assertions of the fact; for in the first place, St John himself speaks of such a struggle, in other passages of his Gospel. (Compare John xii. 20 seqq.) And, in the next place, the other writers of the New Testament—Heb. v. 7, sqq. The prophecies of the Old Testament also—Psalm xxii. 69; Isaiah liii.—have all included the idea of the fainting in their portraiture of the Messiah. A milder mode of representing the matter, has therefore been chosen by those who say that “the struggle in Gethsemane certainly occurred; and that the first three Evangelists have given it a place in their accounts, but not the right place, that it belongs in fact to an antecedent time, that to which John xii. 20, sqq. assigns it.”

Some such transposition might certainly be possible, but then the event mentioned by John xii. 20, occurred under totally different circumstances, and therefore if the silence of St John be deemed so decisive, we must assume not only a chronological inversion, but also an actual misrepresentation of the event on the part of the Synoptics. But his silence cannot justify such an assumption, for in St John there occur frequent omissions of matters which the Synoptics have carefully recorded.¹

The fact is easily explained if we can only assign a cause which would account for such sudden fluctuations in the inner life of Jesus; but such a cause presents itself to us in the phenomenon which frequently occurs in the experience of believers, as in the case of the Apostle Paul, according to 2 Cor. xii. and may be employed to show, by way of analogy at least, that a sudden withdrawal took place, of that higher power of the spirit which is an essential condition of the mind's inmost resolution.

That such a forsaking occurred on the cross, the evangelical history expressly asserts, Mat. xxvii. 46. In the history of the temptation we found ourselves obliged to assume it. (Comp. Com-

¹ I hold it impossible to assign for this omission any other causes than those which have been mentioned. We might suppose that St John had his Gnostic readers in view, since he omits this account, which might have given offence by shewing weakness in Christ. But the same reason ought to have prevented St John from making any allusion to the event. This supposition would therefore prove too much, and only prove nothing, had it any force whatever.

mentary, Part I. on Mat. iv. 1.) Nothing is therefore more simple, than that here also we should suppose something similar. By means of this assumption alone, does the greatness of the struggle of Jesus on the one hand, and of his victory on the other, appear in its full significance.

Whilst a Socrates can conquer, only so long as he remains in the full possession of his spirit's undiminished energy, the Redeemer triumphed over the whole power of darkness, even when forsaken by God, and by the fulness of his own Spirit.—The further expansion of this thought is given in the treatise published in "the Christoterpe."

The anxieties expressed by Dottinger on this subject (in the work quoted before, p. 108) are entirely unfounded. He asks whether the *παρουσία* here signifies the divine nature, or only the spiritual principal of human nature? I answer, "both." A contest, whilst in full possession of the divine nature, is a noumenity. Hence the Scripture teaches us, Philippians ii. 7. that God, in becoming man, emptied himself of the fulness of divine power. This abnegation reached its maximum point in Gethsemane, and on the cross, when the Saviour was totally forsaken by the Father. The manner of the abnegation and of the abandonment is a subject of peculiar difficulty, but this difficulty rests in the subject itself, not in my representation; nor is it at all greater than that involved in the doctrine of the incarnation and in other dogmas. Meanwhile, nothing can be more perverse than to say, as De Wette does, that the withdrawal of God is alike unmetaphysical and immoral, since it destroys the omnipresence of God. This by no means follows, if we regard the withdrawal of God only as ACTUAL, not as ESSENTIAL. Such an actual, distinct, omnipresence of God must be assumed in every case, otherwise, everything would be involved in chaos. But the omnipresence presents different phases, as in heaven, in hell, in the heart of the righteous, and in the heart of the godless, respectively. God, in his absolute freedom, possesses also the free exercise of his peculiar attributes. As (according to Rom. iii. 25) he suspended the full exercise of his justice, in the ages before Christ, so in like manner God may restrain the merciful operation of his nature. Viewed in this light, the oneness of the person of the God-man is not destroyed by the divine withdrawal. In that event, God is revealed in him, only not as the gracious, but as the *just* God. That is,

he—Immanuel—as representative of mankind, sustains the wrath of God. The objection of Dettinger and De Wette proceeds from an incorrect view of the relation of the divine attributes to his *Being*. God is not constrained through any innate necessity to allow the collective attributes of his nature to be always and on all occasions operative. His freedom dictates the form of their display. But further, the supposition that the withdrawal of God from Christ in Gethsemane was not exactly similar to that which occurred whilst he hung on the cross, will help to elucidate his fainting on the former occasion.

Moreover, when we reflect upon the difference which has been pointed out between $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ and $\piνεῦμα$, namely, a limitation of energy of the latter, we must believe that, in his mere humanity, there was, agreeable to the ordinance of God, a condition of exposure to the whole aggressiveness of the power of darkness. What thus occurs in sinful man as a consequence of sin, he, as representative of mankind, became liable to of his own free will, viz. an enfeebling of energy of the $\piνεῦμα$, and a divorce of the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ from the body in death. In his sinless soul he achieved the complete victory alone; was obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; and learnt perfect obedience in that, he himself suffered: Philipp. ii. 8; Heb. ii. 17, 18, iv. 15. According to this interpretation, we need not at all suppose, as Dettinger, agreeing with Strauss, does in a passage quoted—that the soul resembles a lake, which ebbs and flows in the same measure as its conducting canals are closed, or its sluices opened. Much rather should we abandon the unbiblical view of the identity of soul and spirit. As a man may lose his body without annihilation of his personality, so also may he lose the spirit. The $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ is the sustainer of both.

Ver 38, 39. The confession of his profound sorrow, and the entreating request to his disciples to strengthen him, by their proximity and their watching, form a wonderfully striking contrast with the mission of Christ, and with the very object of this suffering. He, the helper of the whole world, confesses to those to whom he brings help his own need of assistance, and actually requests aid from even those who were unable to render it! $\Piερίλυπος$ occurs in Mark vi. 26, and in Luke xviii. 23, 24. It is formed, by analogy, from $\περιχαεής$.¹ The $\eta \psi\upsilon\chi\eta \muου$ does not

¹ The words are from the passages of the Psalms xli. 5—11, xlii. 5, which probably recurred to the memory of the Saviour in the heavy hour of his sufferings.

stand merely for *ἐγώ*: it is different from *τὸ πνεῦμά μου*. The former signifies rather what is purely human, the feeling susceptibility; the latter means the spiritual consciousness. Compare John xiii. 21, where the personal feeling is less intended, hence *ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι* is employed. Compare John xi. 34. When about to pray, Jesus removed to some distance from his disciples, and fell upon his face on the ground. St Luke subjoins the particularly decisive *ὥσει λίσσω Βολήν*, xxii. 41.

The phrase *ἀπεσπλάσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν* expresses the suddenness and violence of the excitement of Jesus. St Mark gives the prayer itself in the most detailed manner; for, besides the "passing away of the cup"—compare Matt. xx. 22—he also mentions the passing by of the hour of suffering. It is very remarkable that in this supplication of the Saviour, which is based upon the omnipotence of the Father (*πάντα δοῦναι σοι*), he requests that the hour of suffering might pass from him. With a decided knowledge of the will of the Father, there seems to be expressed a contrary will on the part of the Son. But this supplication must on no account be isolated or dis severed from the appended words, *τλήνῃ ὥς ἐγώ θύλω, ἀλλ' ὥς σὺ*. In the first petition, the *ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός*, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, alone finds utterance, which the Saviour must necessarily have partaken of, for otherwise his agonies would have been merely the semblance of suffering. In the second prayer there is the expression of the victorious spirit. Again, it must not be disregarded, that the wish to be exempted from death, and from the bitter course of suffering, is not a sinful one, but rather a pure, sincere, and holy wish. For death is the reward of sin, and, as such, peculiarly bitter even to sinful creatures; to whom, in some respects, it may be regarded as a release from sin and misery; how much more, then, must it have excited a shuddering horror in the pure unspotted soul of Jesus! It would have argued a false, unlovely, blunt, unfeeling state of soul, if, when the dark valley of death was in full view, he could have entered it without such a vitally warm, conscious, bone and marrow shaking utterance of the horror that filled his holy human soul.¹ This circumstance, so far from deteriorating the sacred picture of Christ, is essential to its complete perfection.

¹ Luther calls attention also to the perfection of Christ's bodily organization, and the acuteness of suffering it must have occasioned. "We men," he writes, "conceived and born in sin, have an impure hard flesh, which does not soon feel. The fresher and

A higher necessity required, however, that this feeling, which in itself was real throughout, should now be subdued. It was not the irresistible will of the Father which urged the Son on to this bitter death, for the divine will of the Son was one with that of the Father. But the conflict of absolute justice with merey, in a word, the mystery in the work of salvation for the race of man, demanded a complete sacrifice, in which free will should blend with this higher necessity; this was impossible, without a severe contest against human feeling, as we find it intimated in this sublime and sacred event. With the victory in Gethsemane, therefore, everything was already virtually completed; the Father's will itself was fully apprehended by the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ of Jesus. And as in the human champion, the mind becomes tranquil when the resolution has been unalterably formed, so also was it in the life of the Redeemer. Hence the struggle in Gethsemane was even more fearful than that on Golgotha—(compare Heb. v. 7); as is usual with the excitable mind, the prospect of danger was more painful than the danger itself with all its terrors.

Ver. 40, 41. After this, his first victory over the assaults of darkness, Jesus returned to the three disciples, and found them sleeping, heedless of his admonition. The comment of Luke xxii. 45—"ἀπὸ τῆς λῆθης"—that they were sleeping for sorrow, may be explained thus: their trouble, by reason of the violent mental excitement it called forth, is to be understood as the cause of their exhaustion and sleepiness. In accordance with this view, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\theta\eta\eta$ stands in the LXX. for $\sigma\alpha\kappa\alpha$, sick, ailing. Addressing St Peter as their speaker, the Lord again exhorted them to watchfulness and prayer, with the warning that both lessen the danger of temptation. Here the connexion of ideas is manifestly as follows. An abandonment to sorrow, and its sequent emotions, diminishes the dominant energy of the spirit, and thus facilitates the victory of indwelling sin; whilst to struggle against the besetting disposition, and to give ourselves to prayer, which supplies man with fresh energy from the spiritual world, secure us against temptation."

sounder the man is, the finer the skin, and the purer the blood, so much the more does he feel, and is susceptible of what befalls him. Now, since Christ's body was pure and sinless, whilst ours is impure, we therefore scarcely feel the terrors of death in one fifth of the degree in which Christ felt them. Since he was to be the greatest martyr, he therefore had to suffer death's extremest terrors."—Compare the Sermon on Christ's Passion in the Garden, Leipzig edition, Part XVI. 187.

Hence Christ, referring to the weakness of human nature, makes the remark, $\eta\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, which hinders the execution of that which man's nobler part, $\pi\upsilon\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\mu\alpha$, or, according to St Paul, $\nu\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, would prefer. Compare upon those words the particulars in Romans vii. 22, 23.

Ver. 42—44. A second and a third time does the Redeemer retire to pray; and as often, on his return, does he find the disciples sleeping, entirely subdued by the power of darkness. St Luke does not fully record this threefold striving in prayer, but mentions it compendiously, as if only one prayer had taken place; but there can be no doubt that the precise description of St Matthew and St Mark is the more correct. These three assaults, through the medium of fear, stand parallel to the three irruptions in the history of the temptation. In Luke xxii. 43, 44, some incidents are narrated which are not to be found in the other two Evangelists. These two verses are wanting in the manuscripts A.B. 13, 69, 124, and others. Some MSS., as E.S. 24, 36, have asterisks, in place of these verses. But nevertheless they are authentic. The omissions and signs originated in the fact, that it was thought the strengthening of Jesus by an angel would have made him appear too deeply humbled, and that the words might seem favourable to Arianism. This passage belongs to those in which, under the term $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, no external appearance,¹ no visible

¹ It is surprising that a man like Dettinger (in the passage quoted elsewhere, 1835) could take offence at this conclusion, imagining that through this hypothesis the historical truth of the account might be damaged. "It is better," he says, "to state openly, with Strauss, that it is a mythical decoration." I thought the words, "There is here under the $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, no appearance to be understood, as of a visible personality," signified my meaning plainly enough, to make such a misconception impossible; but since they are not so considered, I shall explain myself more particularly. I distinguish two sorts of angelic appearances; first, those where the appearing angel, as a personified being, comes in view to him, whose the vision has been; and secondly, purely spiritual appearances. Of the first kind was the angelic vision which, according to Luke i., appeared in the temple to Zacharias; of the second was the one here mentioned. In this hypothesis I am decided, by the relation of angelic visions to the other aspects borne by the revelations of the superior world. They belong to the inferior class of revelations: and hence agree not to those which all the angels of God ascend and descend to effectuate, John i. 51. From this it arises, that the angel here could obviously strengthen Christ in nothing but his human nature. Hence, therefore, the personality of this angel is done away with, and the case itself declares his appearance to have been none other than may be expressed as "an energy from above infused into him." This view of the angel as an energy, with the personality dismissed, is particularly revealed in the Old Testament, in the doctrine of the cherubim. But this is not place to enter into its details.

personality, ought to be understood. The angel certainly appeared to Christ alone; ὡφθῇ αὐτῷ, and probably did so but inwardly, in his spirit.

The strengthening by the angel is therefore to be understood as an afflux of spiritual power to the Redeemer in his most extreme agony. How an angel could strengthen Christ—in whom the eternal word of the Father was become flesh, John i. 1-14—may be conceived, if we grasp firmly the idea, that in the season of temptation and of struggle, the fulness of his divine life withdrew itself, so that the human ψυχὴ of Christ was that which was striving, and also that which was strengthened. Without doubt we must conclude that this strengthening was in consequence of the threefold prayer, of which St Luke alone makes no mention; a conclusion in entire accordance with Mark i. 13, where it is said: “after the temptation was ended,”—οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.” The following καὶ γενόμενος κ.τ.λ. is therefore to be understood as the pluperfect tense, and signifies, that the aid was given at the very height and crisis of the struggle. Although this inference is grammatically admissible—compare Winer’s Gr. s. 251—yet still, the καὶ γενόμενος, when taken in connexion with the following ἐγένετο δέ, seems to contradict it. Hence we can only say, that St Luke in this place has not recorded with precision the sequence of the events. Ἀγωνία is often equipollent with ἀγών, struggle, strife. Hence it means agony, faintness, death-struggle. In the New Testament, it occurs in this passage only. Ἐκτενέστερον is from ἐκτενής, which is used to indicate prayer, Acts xii. 5.

As a physical expression of the Saviour’s fearful struggle, St Luke states that the ἰδῶς was—ὥσει θρόμβοι ἱματιος. Although, on the authority of medical statements, we can believe that in the highest stages of mental agony, a blood exudation may take place—compare the passages in Kuinoel, vol. ii. p. 654—yet still we must acknowledge that in those words of St Luke, only a comparison of the sweat with drops of blood is directly expressed. If the narrative intended real drops of blood, the word ὥσει would have been altogether out of place.

But the point of comparison is twofold; first, the circumstance that the sweat of Christ presented itself in the form of drops, which supposes a high degree of agony; and then, these drops, through their largeness and weight, loosened themselves and fell to the earth. It is possible that the red colour was superadded,

as a third point of comparison, which would lead to the notion of an exudation from the veins. Still this is not decidedly expressed in the words ; but neither are the words directly contradictory of this hypothesis ; and since in the church it has become the general acceptation, there is no reason to deviate from, and still less to contend against it.

Ver. 47, sqq. contains an account of Christ's capture. After Jesus had wrestled through the heavy struggle, tranquillity and full self-possession were again restored to him ; so that to Judas and the company that attended him he appeared with striking loftiness and dignity. St Mark and St Luke record the occurrence in an abridged form ; but St Matthew and St John narrate it in detail, and mutually complete each other's accounts. Concerning the preparations for the seizure of Jesus, St John mentions xviii. 3, that the high priests, uncertain whether the disciples of Christ would not defend him, had taken with them not only some of those who guarded the Temple, ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπηρέτας, but also a company of Roman soldiers. ἡ σπῆζα is the exact term for a cohort, compare Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1. A cohort at the time of Augustus was 555 men strong. In this passage there is naturally meant only a division of the cohort which was stationed in Jerusalem. The soldiers had not only furnished themselves with weapons, but also with torches, φανοί, of pitch or wax, and with lanterns, λαμπάδες, in which oil was burned.

These torches—since, on account of its being the season of the passover, it must necessarily have been moonlight—were employed, either in consequence of the heavens being overcast, or on account of the search that might be necessary should Jesus have concealed himself in the house, or in the garden. Now, according to St Matthew and St Mark, Judas, who conducted the troop, preconcerted a sign with the soldiers (Mark xiv. 44 has the expression σύσσημον, which occurs but this once in the New Testament. It signifies a sign agreed upon by several persons) whereby they might easily know the person of Jesus, viz. that he would kiss him.

The saying of Christ to Judas : οὐδὲν φίλῃ μωρεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρὰδίδως, exposes the fact that Judas had selected that which ought to be the expression of friendship and love as a signal of the most detestable treachery. Luke xxii. 48. But John xviii. 4, et seq., gives a still more particular account concerning the incidents of Judas's approach with the soldiers. The Lord,

in the full glory of his consciousness as to the importance of the moment: *εἰδὼς πάντα τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἐπ' αὐτόν*: went to meet them, enquired whom they sought, and surrendered himself to them, saying: *εγὼ εἰμι*. On this part of the narrative, John xviii. 6 mentions that they: *ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἔπεσον χαμαί*.

We need not postulate a particular miracle to account for this action; the person of Jesus himself is the miracle, and the dignity which beamed forth from him might easily have affected, in the profoundest manner, men who knew of him, and in part might have belonged to him, (John vii. 46.) Indeed, precisely similar incidents have occurred in the lives of some men, as in that of Marius, for example, whose mere rude energy of aspect exercised a commanding influence. Besides, it is self-evident that the act of falling down ought not to be considered strictly as having extended to all without exception, nor as having completely prostrated them with the suddenness of a flash of lightning. The impression on their spirit was only powerful enough to make itself physically observable in their timorous retreat, during which one or more fell to the earth. The account of Judas' kiss, by St Matthew, as Lücke, Part II. p. 599, observes, corresponds with the account of St John, if we suppose that Judas advanced alone before the others, and that when the Lord saw Judas, and that Judas had kissed him, he went with Judas to meet the approaching troop, in order to defend his disciples, and that on this occasion the armed men fell down, overwhelmed by the power of his spirit. In the protection which the Saviour thus visibly afforded to his disciples, St John discovers a fulfilment of the word of Christ xvii. 12. The proper intention of which, however, refers unquestionably to the eternal preservation of their souls. This is an example of the fact that the disciples of the Lord themselves understood his precious words, as containing manifold meanings, a fact which, as Tholuck justly remarks, is not unimportant to the understanding of the Old Testament prophecies.

The proposal of one disciple to defend themselves with the two swords in their possession, Luke xxii. 38, is minutely recounted by St John; he even mentions St Peter as the disciple (from whose character, such a daring attempt might have been anticipated), and also the servant of the high priest, whose name was Malchus. Since St John was known in the house of the high priest, John xviii. 15, this circumstance is easily explained. According to the

passage in his gospel, xviii. 26, St John also knew the relatives of this Malchus. Moreover, both St John and St Luke remark particularly, that it was the right ear which was cut off. But St Luke alone, however, informs us of the sudden healing of the wound, Luke xxii. 51. The latter circumstance is best explained as having been effected, in order that St Peter might withdraw himself unhindered, whilst astonishment at the cure, had absorbed the general attention. According to John xviii. 11, the Lord after commanding St Peter, "to put up his sword into his sheath," pronounced those words so full of import: *ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ ὁ δέδωκέ μοι ὁ πατήρ, ὅς μὴ πτω αὐτόν.* Matt. xxvi. 52, 53 gives the discourse more in detail.

The surprise which we may feel that a long discourse was delivered to St Peter, under the existing circumstances, vanishes when we consider that the words were uttered during the healing. The attention of all was directed to this event, and that rendered it possible for Christ to impart the necessary hint to St Peter.

As regards the words of Jesus: *οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀποκτείνονται*, they doubtless refer to St Peter, for, according to Genesis ix. 6, Revelations xiii. 10, an arbitrary self-defence against magisterial ordinances is placed in the same category with murder. The opinion maintained by Euthymius Zigabenus, that the words refer to the Jews, as if Christ had said, these my murderers shall yet be destroyed, is altogether unfounded. The choice of the word *μάχαιρα*, was evidently suggested by the preceding, *ἀποκτείνονται ἐν τῇ μάχαιρᾳ*. And what follows places the help of God in opposition to the self-sufficiency of St Peter. Parallel with this is the expression: *ἕως ἄν τοῦτο*, Luke xxii. 51, which some would have to refer to the officers thus, Suffer me to delay so long, to wit, until Malchus' ear shall be healed. It is better to take the words as an injunction to the disciples—stay ye here and go not any farther.

Again, the thought concerning the twelve legions of angels, is very remarkable. The number twelve might have been selected with reference to the number of the disciples, and the expression *λεγεὼν* alludes evidently to the *στρατὶα ὁπλῶν*, Luke ii. 13, corresponding to the *עֲשָׂרִים וְשֵׁשׁ*. So that the general idea is: "think you that I need earthly aid from you, so few as you are, when it is in my power to command the heavenly assistance of the armies of God?" *Παραστήσει* is, by a Hebrew idiom, substituted for

παρὰσῆσαι. Comp. Gesenius' System of Doctrine, p. 771. But the most striking of the words are the ἡ δοκεῖς ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι ἄρτι; that is, even now, though it has proceeded so far—παρὰκαλέσαι. κ. τ. λ. From these words it would appear as if the Lord had affirmed the possibility, that he needed not to proceed to his death; whilst the words immediately following, ver. 54, ὅτι αὐτῷ δεῖ γένεσθαι, emphatically express the necessity of his death. At the passage in Matt. xxvi. 24, we discussed the relation of necessity and freedom. There, however, the necessity of Christ's death was compared together with the freedom of action in Judas, who betrayed him. Here, on the contrary, the possibility of evading death seems to have rested in Christ himself. But even here we can understand this possibility as subjective only. In Christ's humanity, there existed in every respect the possibilitas peccandi, and therefore the possibility of his not entering freely into the superior obligation; but since in the person of the Lord his humanity was not isolated, but was in union with his divinity, which union became gradually more intimate, until a total penetration of the humanity by the divinity took place in his glorification, so was it also in Christ an objective impossibility to will anything else than what was resolved upon in God's eternal counsel. In this relation of subjective possibility to objective impossibility, therefore, there appears the same connection of antithesis in the person of Christ, which we have already met with in other respects. Jesus, in his human soul, with unconstrained resignation, yielded himself to the eternal counsel of the Father, "no man took his life from him, he laid it down of himself." (John x. 18, comp. in the Commentary, Part I., Matt. iv. 1.—Compare upon the τῶς οὖν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί; a thought which is repeated in ver. 56, our observations on Matt. xxvi. 24.)

The Scripture is the revealed will of God, and so far the record of necessity. Its prophecies are independent of the truth or infidelity of man: they are fulfilled unconditionally; yet without destroying the freedom of his will. In the concluding verses, Matt. xxvi. 55, 56, however, the Saviour rebukes the officers; that they had come with weapons, as against a robber. He reminds them of his free open teaching in the Temple, and thus exposes their insincerity, since they were afraid of the people to take him openly. But this also must have happened, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονον, in order that the prophecy—Luke xxii. 37, Isaiah liii. 12—might

be fulfilled. According to Luke xxii. 53, there follows here a sentence full of significance: αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ ἔστιν ἡ ὄψις, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους. That there is an irony in the sense of, "You, bad men, prefer the night for the accomplishment of your deeds," is not to be thought of. Partly, because it would be unbecoming in the Saviour on such an occasion, and partly because the expression ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους is not suitable to such a meaning. The interpretation which Kuinoel defends, "this is the time given you of God for the prosecution of your design, and the power of your sin," is, in the first member of the sentence, doubtless correct; but as regards the second, the expression ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους is not a suitable one for the sin of the officers themselves. Σκότος does not signify the sin of one or another individual; this is always called ἁμαρτία; but the sinful element, generally; the antithesis of Light, φῶς. Hence these remarkable words express the thought, that even what is sinful can attain to reality only according to the will of God [which we explained, in reference to *evil*, as a negative operation, quoad formale actionis, id est, as permitting.] And in certain times God permits the Light to prevail, and at other times the darkness, according to his own wisdom. Compare John ix. 4, and Luke xxii. 35. The moment in which the Holy One of God was permitted to be sacrificed on the cross, was the culminating point of evil generally. But in reaching that zenith, it destroyed itself, and thus revealed its own nothingness, since the murder of the Just One expiated the sins of the whole world.

According to the prophecy of the Lord. Matt. xxvi. 31, the disciples of the Saviour were now scattered, Matt. xxvi. 56. Mark xiv. 51 relates further the particular incident of a young man, who was apprehended, but who, being lightly clothed, escaped, leaving his linen garment in the soldier's grasp. This incident can only be regarded as significant, if we suppose the person of whom it is related to be at all remarkable. To me it appears most probable, that here St Mark writes concerning himself. (The pleonastic composition of εἷς τις occurs in the New Testament at John xi. 49. Compare Winer's Grammar, 4th edit. p. 105, where εἷς stands for the indefinite article, John vi. 9.—Τίς or εἷς would have been sufficient. Σιδῶν is derived either from Sidon, or perhaps from the Hebrew סִדְּנָה. Compare Gesenius' Lexicon under this word. It is equivalent to λινθίου, linen garment: that of the young man who was apprehended: the Νεαίσιμοι were the ὑπηρέται ἀρχιερέων, John. xviii. 3.)

§ 3. EXAMINATION OF JESUS BEFORE CAIAPHAS AND THE SANHEDRIM. PETER'S DENIAL.

(Matt. xxvi. 57—75; Mark xiv. 53—72; Luke xxii. 54—71; John xviii. 12—27.)

John xviii. 12—14 = (Matt. xxvi. 57; Mark xiv. 53; Luke xxii. 54.)

A correct apprehension of the scene, which reveals itself to our view in what follows, requires a description of the jurisprudence of the Jews at the time of Christ. It was already observed at Matt. v. 21, x. 17, that the Jews in all important cities—indeed, according to the Talmud, in all towns of a population exceeding 120—had lesser tribunals, entitled, “small Sanhedrim.” There were two of these in Jerusalem. But in Jerusalem, the tribunal of highest instance was the great Sanhedrim, = (סנהדרין,) which consisted of 71 persons. We derive the origin of this tribunal from Moses himself, who named 70 elders (Numbers xi. 17), which, with him as president, made out the 71. But the Greek name points to a much more recent time, and comes evidently from the word¹ συνέδριον. Ezra, perhaps, founded the tribunal; but certainly the name first arose during the Greco-Syrian dynasty.

The composition of the tribunal was as follows. The officiating high priest, ἀρχιερεὺς, was the president for the time: he bore the name πρίνξ, that is, prince, princeps. Secondly, to it belonged the displaced high priests; the twenty-four presidents of the classes of priests—Matt. ii. 24—who also were called ἀρχιερεῖς; the rulers of the synagogues, πρεσβυτέραι, and other persons of consideration who were acquainted with the law, γραμματεῖς. For their meetings they had a particular court. In cases of emergency, the meetings were held also in the dwelling of the high priest, and such was the case in the examination of Christ. To the cognizance of this court of jurisprudence belonged all important cases, but peculiarly all spiritual affairs. Now, since they had denounced Jesus as a false Messiah, they naturally drew his case before their tribunal. Meanwhile, if their wickedness had not subsequently determined them to put Christ to death, they might have entirely concluded his prosecution. Forty years before the destruction of

¹ Twice only in the New Testament is the Sanhedrim called Πρεσβυτερίον, namely, in Luke xxii. 66, and in Acts xxii. 5.

Jerusalem, and three before the death of the Lord, the Romans took from the Sanhedrim the jurisdiction concerning life and death, and this was their reason for transferring the judgment to Pilate. (Comp. J. D. Michaelis' "Mos. Recht." Part I. p. 50, sqq. — Winer's "Reallex," p. 677, sqq. — Buxtorf. Lex. p. 1513, sqq.) It is remarkable, that, according to John xviii. 13, Christ was not conducted by the guard to the officiating high priest, Caiaphas, directly, but to his father-in-law, Annas,¹ who had been high priest previously — Josephus. Antiq. xviii. 2 — but was deposed, under Tiberius, by the Roman procurator, Valerius Gratus. In his stead, Ismael was appointed, then Eleazer, the son of Annas, next Simon, the son of Camithus; and, lastly, in the year A. D. 26, Joseph or Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas.

It is probable that this Annas, having been formerly high priest himself, and being the father of one high priest, and the father-in-law of another, possessed much influence.² It is also probable that he was vicar $\overline{\text{אֲבִי}}$ of the officiating high priest, and on that account they would probably first request his advice concerning the difficult question before them. Besides, the palace of Annas may have been so situated, that the guard with Jesus under arrest, could have gone thither in the shortest time. Accordingly, it appears that Jesus was detained here until the Sanhedrim was assembled in the palace of Caiaphas. This latter supposition seems so much the more worthy of adoption, as it is uncertain whether Annas belonged to the Sanhedrim or not, and because no proper examination occurred in his palace. We may therefore conjecture that the latter admitted Jesus to his presence, chiefly through curiosity, and only directed a few common-place questions to him. But St John, in mentioning the name of Caiaphas, calls attention to the fact recorded in the earlier part of his Gos-

¹ As regards the form of the names, in the New Testament, of the two officiating high priests, *Ἀννας* is derived either from $\overline{\text{אֲנָן}}$ or $\overline{\text{אֲנָשׁ}}$. Dr Paulus, in his *Encegetical Manual*, Part I. § 1, p. 346, declares for the latter. Caiaphas is exactly the name Joseph, as is observed by Josephus, Antiq. xviii. 3, 2. *Καϊάφας* is synonymous with *Πέτρος*, and is formed from $\overline{\text{קַיָּא}}$. Caiaphas should have been the true rock of the Church of God, but he was its caricature; and Simon Peter, as the rock of the new church, advanced into his place. Compare the succession of high priests at the time of Christ, together with the passages quoted as proofs, in Schraders' "Leben Pauli," s. 1, ff.

² In determining who were eligible to the high priesthood, a sort of nepotism must have arisen. They were chosen generally from those influential families which were qualified as the *γένος ἀρχιερατικόν*, Acts iv. 6.

pel, that it was this Caiaphas who had counselled the execution of one, on behalf of all—comp. John xi. 49, 50—the prophetic import of which advice will appear in this trial.

The most difficult circumstance in this section is the synoptical connexion of the four Evangelists. For whilst St John states expressly that Jesus was conducted first to Annas, and does not mention the fact of his being sent to Caiaphas before chap. xviii. 24, the Synoptics give merely an account of the examination in Caiaphas's palace. There also they place the denial by Peter, whilst according to St John it remains doubtful whether the denial occurred in the palace of Annas or in that of Caiaphas; for he mentions that incident before—(xviii. 15–18,) as well as after—(xviii. 25–27)—the sending of Christ to Caiaphas. In ancient times it was attempted to solve this difficulty by means somewhat violent; ver. 24 was transferred to ver. 13, after the $\pi\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\omega\tau\epsilon\nu$. One MS. has this reading still, and in the Philoxenian translation, ver. 24 is marked on the margin as interpolated. But the difficulty is more easily removed by taking the $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$ in ver. 24 as the pluperfect tense.

By this means everything related concerning the trial of Christ and the denial of St Peter might be referred to the palace of Caiaphas. Lücke and Meyer declare themselves entirely in favour of this hypothesis, and the *enallage* we have proposed certainly involves no essential difficulty. Compare Winer's Grammar, p. 251, where many passages quoted from profane writers prove that the aorist may be employed for the pluperfect. But the absence of the transitive particle, as well as the position of ver. 24, seem not entirely to favour our hypothesis. Had the words stood after ver. 18, the hypothesis of an *enallage* would have been more tenable. As it is, we can only say, that St John wrote rather negligently. If St John's account only be read, it will appear that his intention is to inform us that a trial took place in the palace of Annas, and that St Peter was present in that palace. Without the narratives of the Synoptics, no one could have understood his account differently. For these reasons I declare myself with Euthemius, Grotius, and others, favourable to the supposition that St John intended to correct and complete the accounts of the Synoptics, and therefore he supplies the notice of the examination in the palace of Annas. That there can be an error in the account St John we cannot imagine, for he was an eye-wit-

ness, and has narrated the circumstances with care and minuteness; so minute is he indeed in this part of his history, that he has given even the kinship of the high priest's servant, John xviii. 26, what he has added concerning the examination by the high priest, has no resemblance to that held before Caiaphas, and therefore cannot possibly be identified with the latter.

This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that the Synoptics who were not present at the scene, and who therefore had everything from report, might easily have misapprehended the place, especially since both Annas and Caiaphas are named high priests. When, therefore, they were informed that the incident occurred in the palace of the high priest, whether of the former or of the latter, they would immediately think of Caiaphas, the officiating one, and transfer everything in the trial to him. This error St John corrected easily, but he omits altogether the distinct examination in the palace of Caiaphas,¹ which the Synoptics record fully and circumstantially.

The course of events would accordingly be as follows: When the guard conducted Jesus into the city, they brought him at once to the house of Annas, which they arrived at first; partly, as we have remarked, that he might be detained there till the Sanhedrim were summoned together; and partly perhaps that Annas might gratify a desire to see and speak with him. Annas commenced a conversation with Christ, but in consequence of his reply, one of the servants smote the Redeemer; and whilst Annas, who had satisfied his curiosity, and saw that from Christ's answers he could extract nothing, withdrew himself, the rude multitude practised their mockeries upon the holy person of Christ. St Peter, under the protection of St John, had pressed into the outer court, but he denied that he knew the Lord, when urged to confess that he knew him. One of these denials occurred just at the moment—ver. 24, 25—in which Christ was being led away to Caiaphas, on which account Jesus could have regarded him with a glance full of meaning. When they had arrived at the palace of Caiaphas, the Saviour was immediately brought to trial, and the judgment, and

¹ In his last edition, Tholuck comes to the conclusion that verse 24 may be merely a gloss, which some reader of the gospel subjoined, to meet the misconception that the events recorded should be referred to the palace of Annas. But such a hypothesis could only be justified if the critical means of help we possess indicated a defect of authenticity in the passage, verse 24. But such is nowhere the case.

transference to Pilate, succeeded without interval. In this place, therefore, there was no conceivable opportunity in which the rude ill-treatment of Christ could have occurred. According to Matthew xxvi. 67, 68, Mark xiv. 65, it would appear as if it had taken place in the presence of the Sanhedrim ; but this view is in every respect incompatible with the dignity of the highest tribunal of the land, a dignity which would be at least externally preserved. Luke xxii. 64-71, gives the whole examination as a supplement merely, and therefore there is nothing to be inferred from his allocation of these events. But how natural everything appears, if we regard the violence which a menial ventured to practise against Jesus, in the very presence of Annas, as a signal which, after his withdrawal, called forth still more numerous expressions of rude insolence. The common crowds of soldiery and guards of the temple could dare to mock him only where they were admitted with him as a prisoner ; but the guards were not permitted to enter the palace of Caiaphas with Christ. The only thing which can be objected against this interpretation is the fact, that, according to the general assumption, St John was acquainted with Caiaphas, not with Annas.

If, however, we reflect that both the high priests were nearly related, it will be plain that an acquaintanceship with the one almost implies an acquaintanceship with the other. As regards the title ἀρχιερεύς, it is well known that it was bestowed not only upon the officiating high priest, but also upon the retired or superseded high priests.

John xviii. 15-18, 24-27. According to the sequence of events laid down, we shall now consider St Peter's denial,¹ and the examination of Christ before Annas. Both events took place nearly simultaneously. Crowds of soldiers and guards of the Temple, together with the servants of the high priest, filled the fore-court. In a hall which ran out to the fore-court, Annas probably spoke with the Saviour, whilst St Peter was questioned by those without, and the question was again repeated when they were leading away Christ to Caiaphas. As regards the ἀλλος αὐθιγής, ver. 15, there can be no doubt that, by this expression, St John signifies himself. The objection to this view is altogether unimportant. It is very obvious, however, that St John being the

¹ Compare the treatise by Rudolph upon the denial of St Peter, in Winer's "Zeitschr. f. Wissensch Theol. h. 1, s. 109, ff."

son of a Galilean fisherman, could scarcely have had a personal acquaintance with the high priest; but as we have frequently remarked, we are not by any means to think that the circumstances of Zebedee were contemptible. It may be said that St John was acquainted with the domestics only of the high priest; but this supposition is improbable, from the expression *γνωστὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ*, and we must not forget that extraordinary complications often bring together persons whose positions in society are most dissimilar. As to what further concerns the particulars in the denial of St Peter, St John deviates again from the Synoptics. These mention three acts of denial, St John speaks of but two. It may be said that in the second denial St John distinguishes two separate acts (ver. 25, 26,) in the first of which several persons inquire of St Peter, *μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἶ;* in the second, only one, a *δούλος*, makes the inquiry. This will not, however, reconcile the two accounts, for, according to Matthew xxvi. 71, and Mark xiv. 69, the second question, as well as the first, proceeded from a damsel. Besides, St Luke does not agree with St Matthew and St Mark, since he, xxii. 58, speaks of a *δούλος*, where those two name a damsel; and where they speak of the whole surrounding concourse, Matthew xxvi. 73, Mark xiv. 70, he mentions a second individual (male) servant.

Attempts to reconcile such petty differences are altogether unprofitable; we must take them as they are given. They are, at least, a security for the independency of the evangelical narratives, and therefore only help to promote the object of the Scriptures. In accordance with Christ's antecedent prophecy, however, Matthew xxvi. 75, the threefold denial must have, without a doubt, actually occurred. In this passage the intention of St John is not to give a complete report of the event, but only to determine correctly the place where it occurred. To the threefold denial, the thrice repeated question, John xxi. 1, et seq. also adverts. The palace of the high priest was, without doubt, a large and magnificent building. It enclosed a court (*αὐλὴ*) in which were stationed the soldiers, who, in consequence of the coldness of the night, had kindled a fire. This court lay deeper than the principal building, to which they ascended probably by a staircase, Mark xiv. 66. A colonnade, which was usually covered in, extended to the street, (*περὶ αὐλῆς*, Mark xiv. 68, *πυλῶν* in Matthew xxvi. 71), through this colonnade lay the passage into the court. Here a damsel was

stationed as doorkeeper, John xviii. 17. The Romans and Greeks had men for doorkeepers ; the Jews, women generally. Compare 2 Samuel iv. 6 ; Acts xii. 13. This doorkeeperess seems to have recognised St Peter, who at the beginning had fled with the other disciples, but followed Christ at a distance, *μακρόθεν*, and, by the influence of St John, was admitted immediately to the house ; she probably recognised him by his appearance, and by his terror, which must have been excessive to have attracted such general notice. He followed his Lord to see what would be the issue—*ἵδεν το τέλος*, Matthew xxvi. 58, and already evidently feared the worst. The damsel keeping the door fixed a piercing glance on him, *ἐμελέψασα αὐτῷ* Mark xiv. 67, *ἀτεινῶσα αὐτῷ*, Luke xxii. 56, and asked him about his connection with the “Nazarene.” On this occasion St Peter made one denial. And now, in order to remove himself from the place of danger, he hastened to the Pylon, Matthew xxvi. 71 ; Mark xiv. 68, in which was the door that led to the street. But here another damsel questioned him, and again the weak disciple, with an oath, denied his Master.

This fresh question prevented St Peter from leaving the court. He drew near to the burning watch fire, and, with affected boldness, seated himself amongst the servants of the Temple, who were keeping the guard. John xviii. 18–25. During a whole hour—Luke xxii. 59,—St Peter kept himself quiet here, and for so long remained unnoticed. This occasioned him probably to make some enquiries concerning Jesus ; and now, because of his accent, all knew him to be a Galilean. Matthew xxvi. 73 ; Mark xiv. 70. The accent of the Galileans was broader and more rustic than that of the inhabitants of Judea. Compare Buxtorf's Lexicon, page 434. One in particular, a relative of Malchus, whose ear St Peter smote off, and who himself was present with Malchus at the capture of Jesus, John xviii. 26, declared that he knew him. But again St Peter denied his Lord. On this occasion the cock crowed. This sign, which had been promised, recalled the warning of Christ to the disciple's memory, and a penitent feeling gained predominance in his soul. Luke, xxii. 61, pointedly observes that the Lord turned himself around, and that his glance pierced through St Peter's heart. This fully corresponds with John xviii. 24, et seq. according to which Jesus was just being led to Caiaphas, when the last denial of St Peter occurred. Hence, as he must have passed through the court and the Pylon, he could

have glanced at the disciple. Upon his master being dragged away, the disciple too hastened out, and wept bitterly, Mark xiv. 2. The import of ἐπιθαλῶν ἔκλαιε, is doubtful. Frische, however, very reasonably defends the ancient explanation of Theophylact, in which ἐπιθαλῶν is explained by ἐπιθαλυσάμενος τὴν κεφαλήν. The action of veiling is confessedly a natural expression of bashful sorrow, and accordingly this meaning very well corresponds with the circumstances. Frische, indeed, thinks that St Peter, by this act, sought to conceal himself; but I cannot agree in this view, for the very reason that the sudden veiling would have made him recognizable rather than the contrary. As far as general usage is concerned in the acceptance of the term, *our* view is sufficiently corroborated, which is not at all the case with other interpretations, as for example that of those who supply τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, and translate, “directing to Jesus *the eyes*, or *τὰ ὦτα*,” and understand the words thus, viz. “observing (him) he wept.”

It would be best, however, to regard the participle ἐπιθαλῶν as in parallelism with πικρῶς, and to understand it as intimating the violence of the weeping. Ἐπιθαλῶν like ἔρμην is frequently used to signify violent emotion.

In this narrative concerning St Peter we have presented to us a significant figure of utter weakness and cowardice amongst the faithful, and it stands in opposition to the grand picture which the history of the Lord's sufferings unfolded.

The most energetic, the most zealous amongst the disciples, appears utterly feeble, completely wretched! “The spirit was willing, but, alas! the flesh was weak.” How affecting is the naïveté with which the Evangelists relate this deep fall of a chief amongst them: They do not soften down its harshness. They plainly state that *a damsel* asked him. But, as they do not excuse St Peter, neither do they criminate him, nor express wonder at his conduct. Without any comment whatever, they state the simple fact. Now, when we reflect on this occurrence, we are compelled to ask ourselves the question: “how was it possible that *St Peter*, this resolute disciple, to whom Christ had expressly foretold his fall, could, even when no danger threatened him, deny his Lord so distinctly?”¹ The denial might be conceivable if he had had death in prospect as the alternative. But the *examination* had

¹ Doctor Paulus indeed undertakes to defend the denying Apostle. He is of opinion that St Peter did not tell a lie, because no one possessed the right of asking him. “Nothing

in truth no reference to the followers of Christ: St Peter was thus terrified at the question of a maiden. According to a merely superficial interpretation of the narrative, there appears to be here a psychological enigma. But, if we penetrate more deeply into the scene, then, in order to an explanation of the case of St Peter, precisely as in the case of Christ's struggle in Gethsemane, we shall be forced to admit the existence of internal causes.

It was the hour of the power of darkness—Luke xxii. 53—which had in so inconceivable a way impaired and obscured the spiritual energy of the disciple, that he could not only deny Christ, but also remain exposed to the danger of repeating his crime after he had once denied him. There befel St Peter on this occasion a more than merely human temptation—compare 1 Cor. x. 13—which was necessary to cure him of his self-approving delusion, and to make him a mirror for others; a temptation from which our Lord hath taught us to pray for deliverance in the Lord's prayer, and from which St Peter would have escaped if he had previously humbled himself, in obedience to the word of his Master. Thus the Lord practises towards his people the most various kinds of discipline, in order to the perfecting of their inner being. As St Peter's fall tended ultimately to his salvation, so did the preservation of the others from a like fall to theirs. As his fall led the proud St Peter to humility, so their preservation in the same peril as that under which St Peter succumbed, confirmed the rest of the disciples immoveably in their confidence in that divine grace which had preserved them.

Ver. 19—23. Here commences the discourse of Annas with Christ. It was evidently the offspring of mere inquisitiveness rather than a formal examination. As afterwards Herod, so on this occasion the high priest, desired to look upon the extraordinary man, and to see something very wonderful effected by him. Hence, also, the form of Christ's answer. Indeed, it would not have been suitable for a judicial examination. The party accused, whether rightly or wrongfully, and even when interrogated in an illegal manner, ought both to hear and to answer the language of magisterial authority. This submission to the magistracy we find observed by the Saviour, in the most delicate

is less to be objected against him," he says, than "that Jesus gave a command 'to confess him before men.'"—*Exposition of the Gospels*, Bk. iii. p. 649. This astounding assertion, however, needs no further confutation. We merely mention it here as a psychological curiosity.

manner. He replied decorously, even to the unjust, wicked judges, or where all defence would have been in vain, he kept silence, Matthew xxvi. 63. Here, however, submission was no duty, for Annas was no longer high priest. On this account, the Lord could censure the equally impertinent and sinful curiosity of the priest. The demeanour of Christ, during his rude maltreatment by the servant, is also highly worthy of notice. We have here an authentic practical exposition of the command, Matt. v. 39. As was observed in the Commentary, Part I. on Matthew v. 43, it would have been an encouragement to further insolence, if the Saviour had not asserted his right to legal protection, since the injury was done him in the presence of the servant's master, whose duty it was to reprimand him.

When he was afterwards abandoned a solitary prey to the rude caprice of the soldiery, there remained to the Redeemer no other weapon than that of silence ; for an appeal to justice made in the midst of mockery, is merely a provocative of further mockery. Besides, this one act of violence was probably a signal to several others after Annas had retired. Matt. xxvi. 67, 68 ; Mark xiv. 65 ; Luke xxii. 63-65. It is wonderful that the spirit of prophecy considered it not unsuitable to its dignity, to predict this maltreatment minutely, Isaiah l. 6, Micah iv. 14, and at the same time to intimate the contrast which the state of mind of the holy one of God should present to that of the wicked multitude. "The Lord helped me," says the Messiah in Isaiah l. 7, "therefore was I not put to shame: therefore did I set my face like a flint." Here he expressed his unwavering faith in God's eternal love, even in the deepest extremity. In like manner the prophet in another passage depicts that inexpressible meekness and patient resignation, which no malice could disturb, when he says: "He was oppressed and he was afflicted; yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth." Isaiah liii. 7. In order to estimate the entire greatness of this conduct, we should be constantly persuaded of the fact, that it was on behalf of us, and of all such as we, the eternal word of the Father became flesh, and suffered thus.

Matthew xxvi. 59-61 ; Mark xiv. 55-59 ; Luke xxii. 66-71.

After the Lord had been led away to Caiaphas, John xviii. 24,

immediately followed the formal trial before the collective Sanhedrim. In the interim, according to Luke xxii. 66, and whilst the Sanhedrim were assembling, the morning dawned. Matt xxvii. 1, and Mark xv. 1, state that the judgment was pronounced in the morning, and John xviii. 28 the leading away of Jesus to the judgment hall of Pilate. If, however, we consider that the first gray of dawn may be called morning, there will be no discrepancy between the two accounts. Besides, the summoning of the whole Sanhedrim might well have occupied so much time, that the chief part of the night would have elapsed. Now, as concerns the position assumed by this high council, the examination of the cause of Christ was not in itself irregular.

This tribunal was not merely permitted, but was expressly bound, to test according to the word of God the pretensions of every one laying claim to be a prophet, or the Messiah. Compare Matt. xxi. 23, in the Commentary, Part I. But it was at first a false proceeding of the Sanhedrim to arrest Jesus, since they had already received, in reply to their inquiries, the most open declarations of his dignity as the Messiah: and still more so, when, contrary to their better knowledge, they sought out false witness against the Holy One of God. It is manifest that they had prepared these pretended witnesses against him beforehand, for otherwise they could not have procured them during the night. In this proceeding their ill-will towards Christ is expressly manifested, and therefore he preferred keeping silence during their accusations. It was in the further inquiry only that he expressed the duty of a true subject before his unjust judge. There appeared first against Christ several false witnesses, according to prophecy, Ps. xxvii. 12. But, as St Mark observes, xiv. 56, their statements did not coincide, they contradicted one another in their asseverations. [The reading is uncertain in the text of Matt. xxvi. 60. The usual text reads: *καὶ ὁχλὸς εἶπον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν προσελθόντων ὁχλὸς εἶπον.* According to the best authorities, this reading contains the thought to be expressed, only somewhat amplified by transcribers. Griesbach and Schultz have determined the text as follows: *καὶ ὁχλὸς εἶπον πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν προσελθόντων.*] At last there came two witnesses who impeached Christ for his assertion relative to the destruction of the Temple. We have already, John ii. 19, 20, discussed the question—"to

what extent can those latter persons be styled 'false witnesses,' since Christ in fact did utter this assertion?"¹

Matt. xxvi. 62-66; Mark xiv. 60-64. Now, when Caiaphas, who presided over the assembly, perceived that by these means nothing was to be gained in favour of their design, he sought to neutralize the silent, yet eloquent, testimony of Christ against the false witnesses.

He summoned him to defend himself, and, as Jesus still kept silence, he adjured him to declare if he was Christ, the Son of God, to which question the Saviour then gave a direct affirmative answer. Immediately before this decisive question and answer should perhaps be placed that sentence in Luke xxii. 67, 68, which declares the Saviour's motive for keeping silence. The latter Evangelist states, it is true, that that expression was preceded by the question, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς εἰ-πε ἡμῖν; yet this may be attributed to his want of precision and arrangement, several instances of which occur in the last chapters of St Luke; for, in verse 69, the declaration of Christ's sitting at the right hand of God does not concur happily with the motive of Christ's silence. But it stands very appropriately before the question of the high priest, and softens down what would otherwise seem harsh in Christ's utter silence at the high priest's question. It is probable, therefore, that the Lord only delayed his answer in order to give them the impression that he knew how useless any defence would be, since his death was already resolved upon. Thus he preserved decorum before the magistracy, which, even in the abuse of its authority, is God's ministry, and yet, by his conduct, bore witness against the iniquity with which they desecrated their sacred office.

In the question of the high priest, Χριστὸς and υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ are again placed together. But since the name "Son of God" here stands last, nothing can be more simple than to perceive that it is a particular determination of the first expression. But, because the high priest uses the name "Son of God," it does not follow that that name was then generally known. We must rather, in accordance with John x. 33, understand the question thus: "Art thou THE Son of God, whom thou professest thyself

¹ How such an assertion offended the Jews, who were so attached to the sensible Temple, is shewn in Acts vi. 13, 14, where they accused Stephen of having said something similar.

to be?" The continuation of the narrative shews that the high priest—as previously the people—regarded this pretension as blasphemy;¹ which would not have been the case, had he only declared that he was the Messiah. The accusation, "he has declared himself to be the Son of God," was, therefore, in itself a charge involving life and death; for it was, as the passages in John v. 18, x. 33, prove, held to be blasphemy. On the other hand, the accusation, "he hath declared himself to be the Messiah," would have required proof before the Sanhedrim that he was not the Messiah; but in no part of the trial of Christ is there any reference to such proof. It is moreover evident that the Pharisees would not allow the Messiahship of Christ to be decided by examination of proofs, for Jesus had performed too many miracles to fail in demonstrating his Messiahship for want of evidence.

This passage serves as a decisive proof that, υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, at the time of Christ, was not a usual title of the Messiah. Compare upon υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Luke i. 36, and Matt. xvi. 16. Ἐξουζίζω equivalent to ἐξουζίζω, equivalent to עֲזִיזָה, Mark v. 7; Genesis xxiv. 3. The name: Θεὸς ζῶν in this connection signifies God as the omnipresent punisher of falsehood.

Now the open and solemn affirmation of Christ that "he was the Son of God," and the direct statement of his future manifestation in the glory of the Father, is very important, because it enables us to perceive how the commands of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew v. 34, are to be understood; namely that they should not bind believers in their relations to the νόμος. But this passage is also important, because in it Jesus officially expresses before the highest theocratic authority, that which hitherto he had but privately taught. Thus Christ completed the idea of Messiah's character, and just as completely confirmed the certainty that in him this idea was perfectly realized. In like manner, this discourse of Christ to the Sanhedrists, brought before their consciousness, in all its force, the import of that moment.

They must have known that they were then giving judgment against the king of their people, against him of whom all the prophets had prophesied. This plain declaration of the Saviour thus determined the essential character of their guilt. At this sublime

¹ Compare on this subject the comment on John xix. 7, where the charge against Christ before Pilate was, "He hath called himself God's Son."

moment the discourse of Christ assumes a character of kingly dignity: He speaks as the Lord of heaven, not as a helpless prisoner; and, the confession of his Messiahship, is followed by the threatening of his second advent.

A grand and profoundly affecting contrast is also presented in this event, as happens so frequently in the evangelical history.

The judge of both quick and dead stands as an accused prisoner before a human judge! and is by him condemned: yet in this humiliation the Saviour gives a glimpse of that glory in which he shall yet appear as judge of all the world, even of his own judge (Πάσι is used adversatively, but, in the beginning of the discourse it is equivalent to ὅτι, as imo, utique.) For ἀπ' ἀξίτη Luke xxii. 69 has ἀπὸ τοῦ ὧν: we shall be most correct in referring it merely to the sitting at the right hand of God, which is so prominently revealed in the spiritual agency of Christ; for then we entirely avoid the difficulty as to how Christ, even at present, can represent himself as coming. Another reason for making this reference of the word is, that to the idea of the ἐξέρχεται, only ἀξίτη would be suitable, but not ἀπ' ἀξίτη; for by the latter expression, the coming of Christ would be represented as a continued activity, whilst yet it is but one event. If, however, we wish to retain the connection, then the thought embodied in the speedy coming in glory, may be explained according to Matthew x. 23, xvi. 28, xxiv. 30. The idea of the coming in glory is assumed as generally known in Matthew xxiv. 30; But the καθίσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν, requires here a particular discussion. Instead of this expression, there occurs in one place, Acts vii. 55, 56, ἵσταν ἐκ δεξιῶν, with a slight modification of the same meaning, and in a few places, viz. Rom. viii. 34; 1 Peter iii. 22; Heb. i. 3, viii. 1: εἵλαι ἐκ δεξιῶν. The formula does not occur in any of St John's writings, not even in Revelations. Yet the Apocalypse describes Christ as sitting on the throne of the Father. Rev. iii. 21, xxii. 1, 3. To understand the force of this form of expression, it is of the utmost importance to observe, that it is never said of Christ, before his incarnation, that "he sat at the right hand of God." Thus, doubtless, the expression refers to the exaltation of his glorified humanity, in which the Lord is represented as partaker in the divine sovereignty of the universe.¹ But

¹ From this fundamental idea Luther's theory of "the ubiquity of the right hand of God" is to be estimated; a theory which he surely could never have sanctioned had not the Reformers objected to his doctrine of the "ubiquity of the body

the reasons of the writers of the New Testament for selecting this particular designation are doubtful.

J. D. Michaelis understands it to imply a reference to the Ark of the Covenant, which is represented as the throne of God; but it is not evident how even by the Ark of the Covenant the idea of the right hand of God can acquire significancy. Better, therefore, to regard the position on the right hand as a place of honour. This is done by Knapp (*scr. var. arg.* p. 39, *sqq.*), who makes it out by an induction from the general custom of all nations. (Compare Just. Lipsius *quis locus honestior priscis, dexter an sinister?* *opp.* i. p. 759, *sqq.* Callimachi hymn. in Apoll. v. 30, says of Apollo: *ὀβριεταί γὰρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ ὀβριόος ἦσται.*) The expression implies therefore the idea of the most exalted honour, a participation in God's universal sovereignty. Accordingly, Christ was convinced of this, even in the depth of his humiliation, and ventured to urge it upon his unjust judges. When we consider the solemn earnestness and energy of spirit with which the Lord must have uttered these words, we may conjecture that an indistinct apprehension, lest he may have been speaking truly, must have thoroughly intimidated the priests. But they had now proceeded so far that they could not retreat. In hypocritical sorrow the high priest (though inwardly he must have been rejoicing at having thus entrapped Christ through his own confession) rent his garment. (Compare Joshua vii. 6: Judges xi. 35; 2 Samuel i. 11.) Declared Jesus a blasphemer,¹ (John x. 33,) and then the Sanhedrim condemned the Lord of Glory! They hated even unto

of Christ," the sitting at the right hand of God. For if it be said that the right hand of God is omnipresent, the reality of Christ's glorified body is manifestly annihilated." The anxiety, lest in this restricting of the right hand of God, the omnipresence should be involved, is just as unfounded as the notion that, supposing the soul dwells in a man's head, the filling of his whole organism by the soul's being may be considered as destroyed. God, as is self-evident, is everywhere present, yet, as we formerly observed, he reveals himself variously in the hearts of the righteous and the godless, in heaven and upon earth respectively. The being of God in heaven—which is the highest concentration of his power—is that which is meant by the right hand of God, and Christ's sitting on the right hand of God accordingly means nothing more than his being associated in the most intimate communion with the Father, and in the exercise of all the divine attributes, and his participation in the divine universal sovereignty.

¹ Here we ought to give prominence to the fact, that if the Lord were not in deed and in truth the being whom he professed himself to be, then must he, by such a name, have been miscalled. Hence, every hypothesis which disputes the heavenly dignity of Christ is liable to the danger of damaging his moral character.

death him who loved them even unto death ! They certainly had not a thoroughly clear knowledge that he was the Lord of Glory 1 Cor. ii. 8 ; Acts iii. 17 ; Luke xix. 42. They may have regarded the very fact of Christ's being a prisoner, as a proof that he was not the Messiah, still less the Son of God. Yet their insincere hearts were affected by the splendour of his divine essence. And it was only because they had closed up the eyes of their spirit through fear that they might learn too much, and be forced to abandon their sinful courses, that they did not attain to a perfectly clear understanding. Hence their very ignorance was their guilt, and the fearful curse of this guilt was, that they became in their blindness the murderers of the holy one of God.

§ 4. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE HEROD AND PILATE.

Matthew xxvii. 1—21 ; Mark xv. 1—20 ; Luke xxiii. 1—25 ; John xviii. 28 et seq. xix. to v. 16.

Matthew xxvii. 1, 2. The sitting of the Sanhedrim was held on the night of Jesus' arrest. Now when morning approached, the council sentenced him to death, and led him away to Pilate ; for the Jews themselves had been deprived of the jurisdiction concerning life and death. Compare Josephus's Antiq. xx. 6, as regards the remark of St John, "that the Jews went not into Pilate's hall of judgment," in order that they might be entitled to eat the passover, we have already given the necessary explanation, Matt. xxvi. 17. Under the word *passover*, the *Chagigah* must be understood, for it was eaten on the same day, and they would have been debarred from partaking of this feast by the defilement contracted by entering a heathen house. It would not have excluded them from partaking of the paschal lamb, because this would be slaughtered and eaten on the following day only, at which time they would be again clean according to law. In this place St Matthew completes the history of the unhappy Judas, who becomes the second figure in the sublime picture of Christ's passion. The history of Judas is impressed with a peculiar and unique character ; we shall therefore collect here all the particulars referring to him and to the condition of his spirit.

Ver. 3—10. We shall first consider the statements made concerning his external fate. Judas, when he perceives the issue of

his treachery, terrified, and seized with remorse, cast down the pieces of silver¹ before the high priests. Μεταμέλομαι is also used to express true repentance (μετάνοια). Compare Matthew xxi. 29, 32. But here it signifies remorse for the consequences of sin merely, not for the sin itself. That feeling of remorse proceeded from a lively consciousness of his having betrayed an innocent person, for as such he had known Christ. Compare upon αἷμα ἀθῶον Matthew xxiii. 35, where αἷμα δικαίων is employed. With icy coldness the hypocritical Pharisees dismissed² the ill-fated wretch: they laid on him the burden of the guilt, and persuaded themselves that they were free from it; whilst they were in all respects like him, culpable in the highest degree. Σὺ ὁψεί, the attic for ὁψή,³ is parallel with the Hebrew שָׁרִיף אֶתְּ, 1 Samuel xxv. 17. The LXX. give: οὐ γινώσκει καὶ ἴδεν σὺ τί ποιήσεις. Reduced to despair by this cheerless reply, he threw the money from him and hanged himself.

The ἐν τῷ ναῷ in this passage causes a considerable difficulty; since the ναός, the temple proper, might be entered by the priests only. If we suppose that the money was thrown in through the opened veil into the holy place, then of necessity εἰς should be used, and besides, this act would be somewhat strange. Hence, it is better to conjecture that ναός in this passage is employed somewhat loosely, like ἱερόν, and that the scene occurred in some outer hall. But again, St Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, seems to come into opposition with the ἀπήγγξατο of St Matthew. In St Luke's history, for instance, it is mentioned that Judas fell headlong downwards: πρηνὴς γειόμενος, and burst asunder in the midst, ἐλάλησε μέσος. (Λαλέω in the first intention signifies to sound, to make a crash—and more remotely, with a crashing noise, to burst asunder—'Ελάλησε is equal to διεξέσχαλγε—so that his bowels gushed out. In order to reconcile this disagreement, very violent and altogether untenable hypotheses have been framed. Some

¹ The expression: πρῶτα ἀργύρια, is from the Hebrew שְׁכָרִים, which is often connected with שֶׁקֶל. Here, doubtless, 30 shekels—about 15 dollars—are meant. There is something contemptuous in the fact that this was the lowest price of a slave. Compare Exodus xxi. 32. Zechariah xi. 12.

² The Pharisees expressed that shameful exultation, which often arises in the human heart, when one sees a brother fallen into sin. Yet in this emotion, hateful as it is, there is also expressed, from the greater depth of the mind, the wish to be free from sin. In so far, therefore, it is a corrupted expression of what is noble in man.

³ Compare similar forms in Winer's Grammar, s. 72.

would have ἀπῆγγαστο to refer to his trouble of mind, "he was benumbed with agony and remorse." Others would understand πῆγῃς γειόμενος like ἀπῆγγαστο, "he hanged himself." Rather than give assent to these forced interpretations, we would prefer the supposition that a twofold tradition obtained concerning the fate of Judas, since in such secondary matters, disparities otherwise occur. Yet we must confess that the accounts may be so connected as to permit the conjecture that Judas hanged himself, and, falling down, was so injured that his bowels gushed out. We may then translate the πῆγῃς γειόμενος, "as he fell down prone," *i. e.* in reference to the position of his body.¹

After Judas had got rid of the money, a new trait of hypocrisy displayed itself in the Pharisees and high priests. As it was blood-money, they would not place the thirty pieces of silver in the treasury of the Temple, lest they should defile it. But they had no consciousness of their own sin in condemning the innocent! Καὶ ταῦτα, ἱερεῖς is the sacred treasure of the Temple, which was kept in seven chests called trumpets טְרִיפִי. Comp. Mark vii. 11. Τιμὴ αἵματος, the reward of blood, money paid for the betrayal of one who was innocent. They therefore applied the thirty pieces of silver to the purchase of a place of burial for pilgrims, ξίμα. St Matthew accurately designates this field by means of the: ὁ ἀγρὸς τοῦ κεραμικοῦ. The article intimates that there was a spot which bore the name of the potter's field; perhaps because it belonged to a potter; or because potters' clay abounded there. The field is now called ἀγρὸς αἵματος, equivalent to ἀνιθάρα, Acts i. 19, according to the Hebrew טָרִיפִי. According to Acts i. 18, Judas would seem to have acquired possession of the place himself. But ἐκτεταστο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ is easily explained so as to obviate such an impression, *e. g.* the purchase is attributed to Judas himself, because it took place in consequence of his deed of treachery. St Matthew discovers the fulfilment of a prophecy in this occurrence. But it is very remarkable that the prophecy mentioned does not occur in Jeremiah.² Several manuscripts, for

¹ Papias seems to have held another tradition concerning the end of Judas. Judging from Oerumenius on Acts i. 18, and from Theophylact on the same passage and on Matt. xxvii. 5, it was, that Judas was crushed to death by a wagon, according to which therefore his suicide would entirely be done away with. Comp. Schleiermacher's essay concerning the evidence of Papias, in "Ullman's Studien," year 1832, heft. 4, s. 743.

² The reference of the quotation to Jeremiah xxxii. 6, et seq., is so uncertain that it deserves no regard.

that reference, read Zechariah, and others Isaiah. The latter name has nothing whatever to do with the quotation, and has been introduced into this passage merely through the neglect of transcribers, for there does not occur in Isaiah anything at all resembling the passage before us. But in Zechariah there is a passage bearing a real affinity to St Matthew's quotation, Zechariah xi. 13, 14. The simplest solution of the difficulty is therefore to suppose that the Evangelist mistook the name of the prophet, or the earliest transcribers might have read some contraction for the name falsely; or perhaps there was no name at all there at first, and that some transcriber supplied its want erroneously. Yet this hypothesis seems contradictory to the affinity between the passage in St Matthew, and that in Zechariah. Between these two passages, however, there is but a distant resemblance. There are on the one hand allusions in Zechariah which must have appeared important to St Matthew, but which he does not notice as fulfilled prophecies (*e. g.* the throwing down of the money in the Temple, which St Matthew particularly mentions, ver. 5); whilst on the other hand St Matthew adds many circumstances which are not even alluded to by Zechariah. Some have thought therefore that this citation (of St Matthew) must be traceable to an apocryphal writing, and consequently to an apocrypha of Jeremiah. Some have thought this view to be particularly plausible from the circumstance, that Hieronymus declares he had seen such an apocrypha.¹ So in like manner does Kuinoel. But this apocrypha, which is in the Hebrew language, like others under the name of Jeremiah, in the Arabic and Sahidic languages, was not written till after the birth of Christ. We have no trace whatever of such apocryphas existing prior to that event. Far more certain is it, that they arose out of the great religious excitement which characterised the first century after Christ. Then probably the originators of such writings made use of this particular passage, in order to publish surreptitiously, under the name of Jeremiah, a book of which this passage formed the principal topic. Thus Fritzsche correctly interprets the passage. Hieronymus also declares himself favourable to the hypothesis, that the quotation was from Zechariah. Whether then the Evangelist interchanged the names, or that in after times the name of Jeremiah crept in falsely, is a matter of but little con-

¹ Compare my History of the Gospels, p. 57.

sequence. If we but compare the passage more closely with the original text, we shall see that every thing which St Matthew gives is contained also in Zechariah. There fails only the one reference in St Matthew, viz. that of throwing down the money, which the prophet plainly predicted.¹

But the order of thought is different, and also St Matthew does not follow the LXX., hence the discrepancy appears greater. As regards the appended statement of St Matthew, τῇ τιμῇ τοῦ περιμηνέουσ, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ οὐδὲ Ἰσραήλ, it is clearly referable to Zechariah xi. 12, 13, where the LXX. for τιμὴ read μίσθος, and have ἐκτιμᾶζεσθαι for τιμᾶσθαι. In the Hebrew מִשְׁכָּר is put for μίσθος μου. The Hebrew מִשְׁכָּר which is given by the LXX. as εἰς τὸ χυμευθήναι, i. e. in the smelting furnace, is by St Matthew, conformably to his object, more precisely determined by means of the subjoined ἀγέρας. Finally, the words κατὰ συνταξίαν καὶ νόμον in St Matthew correspond to the: εἴτε νόμος πύξ με in the LXX. The κατὰ, equal to κατ' α, which is identical with κατὰς, occurs only in this passage of the New Testament. Hence the only question to be considered is, "whether this passage, Zechariah xi. 12, 13, is really to be understood as containing a reference to the Messiah?" Now, as regards its exposition, the second half of Zechariah is one of the most difficult parts of the Old Testament. As to its authenticity, compare Hengstenberg's treatise upon Daniel, Berlin 1831. Appendix.

But since we may comprehend this part of the oracle of Zechariah as a connected whole, we shall find, upon thus considering it, that it is full of remarkable allusions to the Messiah. Con-

¹ Comp. Hengstenberg's Christology, vol. ii., s.s. 258, 465, sqq. This scholar thinks that the difficulty can be solved by this means, viz. he, as in Mark i. 2, 3, supposes that the prophet Zechariah, in the passage Zech. xi. 12, 13, has taken a retrospect of the antecedent prophecies of Jeremiah: to wit, of Jeremiah, chs. xviii. xix. Now since St Matthew quoted the passage from Zechariah, he would, if this view hold good, have attributed the prophecy to its first source, namely, Jeremiah, whence it was quoted by Zechariah himself.

But the correctness of the assumption, that Zechariah borrowed from Jeremiah, seems to me to have been left unproved by Hengstenberg. In the two chapters of Jeremiah, the 18th and 19th, the discourse refers to the potter only, as in Romans ix. 21, sqq., to wit, in so far as he is a symbol of creative agency. The crucible purchased from the potter, which Jeremiah dashes to pieces before the ancients of the people, symbolizes the divine retributive justice. On the contrary, in the whole connection of Zechariah, the discourse refers to the ingratitude of Israel, which blinded that people to the grace of Jehovah. How this thought can have been borrowed from these chapters of Jeremiah, I confess I cannot perceive.

pare especially Zech. ix. 9 ; x. 11 ; xii. 10 ; xiii. 1, 6, 7 ; xiv. 7. If, therefore, as it seems to me, the immediate reference of this passage is not to the person of Messiah—yet without any doubt it refers to the people of Israel, who must be regarded as a type of the Saviour, and whose fate was therefore typical of his in the prophecy.

After this discussion of the historical statements concerning the end of Judas, let us now proceed to an estimate of his personal character.¹ On this subject the question immediately suggests itself: from what motive could the Lord have called him into proximity with himself? Certainly the fearful sin into which he fell became possible only by means of that calling. The easy answer, "Christ made a mistake in the selection," must be rejected; partly because it tends to impugn the character of the Saviour, and partly because it stands in manifest opposition to John vi. 64-70. As Jesus knew perfectly what was in man, John ii. 25, he knew what was in Judas, and therefore that he would betray him. We must therefore penetrate deeper into this difficult question.²

It would be no true benefit to a man if the evil germ which lay within him did not advance directly to maturity. Hence, even if Judas had not actually betrayed Christ, yet that would not have changed his nature, and, therefore, not have profited him anything. Again, his proximity to Christ might and ought to have been to him a means of facilitating the annihilation of the germ of iniquity within him. Judas, accordingly, was in this respect like all persons to whom abundant means of spiritual support have been vouchsafed, but who neglect to profit by them.

¹ It is remarkable how the most opposite extremes combined in the character of the people of Israel. That which was of the holiest nature, just as well as what was most unholy, issued from them; the most exalted fidelity, and the blackest treachery! In Genesis xlix. 17, the treachery of Judas is perhaps prophetically intimated. If so, we may thence conclude that he was descended from the tribe of Dan.

² Compare Doctor Schollmeyer's treatise, "Jesus and Judas," Lunenburg, 1836. He is of opinion that the sinfulness of Judas was not developed until after his entrance into the company of the Apostles, and also that the Lord did not err when he chose him. But, still the question remains to be answered; for what reason did Jesus retain him amongst his followers, till he had an opportunity of carrying out his wicked intention? Thus the difficulty is by this view not solved, but removed farther off; the more so, since Jesus must have foreknown that the germ of sinfulness, hereafter to be developed, was already existing in the heart of Judas.

We may say, "it were better for him that this privilege had not been extended to him," but in that case, all possibility of help would have been removed. The case of Judas, however, assumes a peculiarity of character by the fact that a necessity of effecting the deed seems to have been imposed on him. According to the prophecies of the Old Testament, Christ was to die. His death was to become the foundation of the world's redemption. It seems, therefore, that there must have been some one who should betray him, and hence that Judas only had the misfortune to be obliged to play this part, but that the guilt thereof was foreign to him. This remark leads us back to what has been already frequently touched upon, the relation of free will to necessity; in reference to this subject, the observations on Matthew xxvi. 24 should be consulted. There the Saviour expresses the necessity for his own death, yet declares, that notwithstanding this, the whole burden of the guilt rested upon Judas; that is, that he had acted freely. To sit brooding over this abyss leads to nothing. The human mind must ever come to the conclusion already expressed, that in man everything is free, in God everything is necessary; that, consequently, the divine knowledge of man's moral development and action is necessarily the knowledge of man as a free agent. The very same difficulty which is here presented to us, is involved also in the development of every sinful life; hence it by no means belongs peculiarly to the history of Judas. We ought to remember, in respect to Judas, that his selection was not accidental, but that Jesus, from his profound knowledge of man's inmost nature, had chosen the twelve; then it will be evident that he could not have excluded Judas. Though his great privilege of having been called brought Judas into this position, yet it and it alone gave a possibility of his salvation, but certainly with this possibility was associated the alternative, which, through Judas's free self-determination, became the actual consequence, namely, that he might despise the offered grace, and plunge himself into the abyss of perdition.

But let us now glance at the gradual manner in which the sinfulness of his nature was developed. The Scriptures specify covetousness as his master passion, John xii. 6. This vice is called in 1 Tim. vi. 10, *ἡ ἰζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν*. The meaning of which we may easily comprehend, if we reflect that the essence of

covetousness is nothing else than absolute self-seeking ; to appropriate to one's self.¹ In the accumulating of external wealth, this passion appears in its rudest form only. Spiritually, it is the sinful motive ; to an absolute appropriation of everything to its individual self. All the efforts of Judas for the promotion of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, proceeded without doubt from the expectation of becoming some great personage. Vain wishes of the kind may have shewed themselves in the minds of the other disciples also, but their hearts were filled with a different love from that of their mere selves. The design of Judas developed itself at first but gradually. The petty dishonesties on which he ventured, and after which he yet could bear the presence of the Holy One, without repenting and confessing his sin, gradually hardened his heart, and subjected him to the influence of the power of darkness. And now, when the hour came that it had full authority, and when its infernal purpose was infused into his heart, all power of resistance failed him. The pieces of money which the priests offered to him blinded his perverted judgment. Matt. xxvi. 14.

That which was better in him, may have struggled long against the Satanic thought, but the fetters of darkness had now bound him : he yielded himself captive. The tragic fate of the unhappy disciple, together with the remorse that arose in him, upon beholding the consequences of his act, have in modern times given occasion to many divines to mitigate his guilt, and to attribute to him this and the other less guilty motive for his deed. Viewed in one aspect, such attempts certainly are evidences of a charitable judgment, which loves to view the sins of a brother in the mildest light. But in another point of view they are conversely not unfrequently evidence of a want of moral decision, and of that secret horror that fears to behold in prospect the whole extent of sin's development, because we trace its actual root in our own breast.

It is in the faithful disciple only who acknowledges the sin within himself in all its magnitude, and who has learned by the power of the Saviour to control and subdue it—that lenity of judgment appears associated with the full power of truth, and this in reference to sin expresses itself best by calling what is evil, “evil.” If veritable repentance had been awakened in Judas, he

¹ Meanwhile this lust, because it is like the sinfulness which rejects God, is the reason why, in Ephesians v. 5, the covetous man is called *ιδωλόλατρες*.

would have expressed sentence of condemnation against himself; and commensurately with truth, have entitled his sin a fearful, a devilish act; a sin, of such deep premeditation, that it could only result from the full development of a completely wicked life. But his weak remorse was merely horror at the consequences of his deed, and therefore could lead to nothing but despair. But although this morally strict view of the conduct of Judas may be maintained, yet we can by no means ascribe to him an ordinary character. The remorse he felt for his deed, although a fearful evidence of his unbelief—for had he any feeling of the love that was in Christ, he would have sunk into his arms—nevertheless clearly proves, that his better self was capable of shuddering, on viewing the fruits of his crime, whilst his suicide, the new sin, offspring of the first, still removes him from the rude ordinary character, that would enjoy quietly the fruits of his treason. But yet the sublime spiritual calling, which had introduced him into the circle of the apostles, only plunged him into the deeper perdition, upon his so entirely missing its object. Common men become but petty villains, if they yield themselves to the power of darkness; great characters become greatly wicked, when once they allow sin to dominate within them. We may suppose, that Judas presented to himself every possible kind of exculpation for his treachery; how his vanity had been wounded by the reprimand of Jesus, John xii. 7; how his ambition desired a more sudden revelation of the Messiah's kingdom, and that he hoped to hasten it, by delivering Jesus into the hands of his enemies, convinced that Jesus could at any time free himself by a miracle; but the deed of Judas is not essentially altered by such considerations. His traitorous act acquires its horrific character, not from the external circumstances of the perpetration, but from the root of the intention out of which it grew. This was alienation from God, the absence of faith and love; attachment to the creature, and to his own mere self; hence his first sin became in turn parent to another, and his end was that he went to his own place. Acts i. 26.

We might imagine, that in his fiery self-willed nature, St Peter would have conceived the thought, that if he were only to deliver Christ into the hands of his enemies, he would reveal his glory; but if we institute such a comparison, we shall be obliged to admit, that however similar in external respects, there would yet be

a specific internal difference between his act and that of Judas. For assuming that it was actually done by St Peter, and that the Saviour was condemned, as happened after the treason of Judas, how would St Peter then have demeaned himself? Sorrow indescribable would have seized him; but because in St Peter such perverseness would at least have been uprightly meant, he would not have relinquished his faith in Christ's pardoning love. His sin would therefore have led him, not to a sorrow that has no hope, but to the true repentance of faith—and thus his deed would have become, not the parent of fresh disobedience, but a source of thorough regeneration. Upon the literature of the question just treated, compare Hase's *Leben Jesu*. s. 163, ff.

Ver. 11-14. In all the following section the Evangelists mutually supply each other's omissions very admirably. St Matthew and St Mark give only brief notices of the trial of Christ before Pilate. St Matthew, however, introduces the interesting incident concerning the dream of Pilate's wife, xxvii. 19. St Luke communicates the proceedings before Herod, xxiii. 4-12. But St John narrates the most important circumstance, that is, the conversation of the Lord with the Roman statesman. By means of these communications we are placed in a proper position to take a deep glance into the heart of Pilate, and to regard him as the third most significant figure in the picture of Christ's last moments. Thus whilst St Peter represents the weak in faith, and Judas those who apostatise and go over to the ranks of the Lord's declared enemies, Pilate stands before us in the character of a natural worldly-minded man; of one who indeed is not void of susceptibility to the operations of the divine being—nothing of which susceptibility shews itself in the Pharisees—but who is immersed in the scepticism of the then fashionable world; and who, bound by worldly regards of every kind, sacrifices his conscience to circumstances, for circumstances are his god. Pontius Pilate was the fifth procurator of Judea, and the successor of Valerius Gratus. Compare the first chronological table, at the end of the introduction to the Acts of the Apostles.

In the thirteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he entered upon his office, Josephus's *Antiq.* xviii. 2. He bears here the name ἡγεμῶν, but the proper title of his office was that of ἐπίτροπος. The former title was specially given to the independent administrators of the Roman provinces, viz. to proconsuls = ἀνθυπάτοις, and

propractors = ἀντιστατήγους. But the title was also frequently given to the procurators (ἐπιτελείουσι) who yet were properly subject to those former officers. This practice of bestowing higher titles, resembled the custom, which prevails at present, of placing each officer by courtesy a step higher in rank than that to which he is actually entitled. Compare Acts xxiii. 24, xxiv. 1, xxvi. 30. The procurator of Judea was subject to the proconsul of Syria, who resided in Casarea. According to the account of Josephus, Pilate was guilty of much oppression, and practised many cruelties against the Jews. To these, however, he may have been excited, partly by their frequent insurrections and his dread of Tiberias, and partly because it was customary with all the Roman officers of state, in the provinces, to practise extortions of every kind. The accurate description given by St John is distinguished for its delineation of his moral character. He was susceptible of the operations of the divine being. Against his will, he believed in Christ. But the scepticism, which at that time influenced so many of the nobility, and his fear of man, caused him also to fall. According to the account of John xviii. 29-32, Pilate enquired into the grounds of the accusation brought against Jesus. He might have already heard much concerning Jesus—which conjecture is sustained by the dream of his wife—and have known that it was on account of spiritual matters the Jews persecuted him¹. Hence he requested that they would take him before the forum of the Sanhedrim, and punish him according to their own law. But this they refused to do, observing that he was adjudged worthy of death, but that the execution of the sentence was not permitted to them by law.

It has been noticed above, that—according to Josephus, Antiq. xx. 6, with which the accounts of the Rabbis coincide—the Jews lost the authority to decree punishment of death forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Accordingly, the meaning of the passage, where the Jews require Pilate to acknowledge and approve of the sentence of death they had passed, is quite simple

¹ Compare Matthew xxvii. 18, from which passage we may see that Pilate judged quite correctly, as to the position of the Pharisees, relatively to Jesus. If not previously, yet from the fact of their arresting Jesus, he must have learned it, since he was obliged to issue orders to the Roman soldiers for that purpose. But it is probable that the fame of Jesus had already reached him.

when thus understood. But, because of the stoning of Stephen, Acts vii., several scholars have supposed that it must be inferred, that the high council retained the capital jurisdiction in affairs of religion, and therefore, that in this case the appeal to the Roman jurisdiction was adopted only because they wished to put Jesus to death, from political motives, as an usurper of the kingdom. But it is nowhere to be discovered by what authority the high priests could have sentenced him as a political criminal. We must say that the evangelical history at least contains no grounds to justify this particular view of the subject. We see rather, from St John's careful description, that the sole cause of the political charge was their hope by that allegation to conquer the obstinacy of Pilate. To this it must be added, that the stoning of Stephen was not the legal punishment of a criminal, but the tumultuous vengeance of the mob. Every other explanation of the passage, as we have it, will contain something forced. For example, in the words *ἡμῶν ὡς ἔξασιν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν*, we must supply "on account of political offences," or "on the Sabbath day," as Augustin thinks, who is followed by Kuinoel; but for these changes of the text, there manifestly is no ground whatever. The circumstance is however by no means insignificant, that, according to the ordinance of God, the Saviour was to be delivered over to the jurisdiction of the Romans; for, since the Jews could not inflict the punishment of crucifixion, which, for heavy offences, the Romans decreed to such persons as were not Roman citizens; therefore this manner of punishment was the consequence of the transference of Christ to the Roman authorities. For, most assuredly, if Pilate had been pliant, and sentenced Christ immediately upon the religious accusations, he would probably have delivered him to the Jews to be stoned. But, when the Jews saw themselves compelled to charge him with political offences, then Pilate was obliged, through his soldiers, to execute him according to the Roman law.

This fact appeared important to St John, who considered it to be a fulfilment of one of Christ's prophecies concerning the manner of his death, xviii. 32. Compare John viii. 28, xii. 32, 33, with Matthew xx. 19, and the comments on the latter passage. But this prophecy was full of significance, not merely as foretelling an accidental circumstance, but also because crucifixion was at one time understood to be a symbol replete with allusions—

we shall, in a later part of this work, introduce the particular facts concerning this last-mentioned circumstance—because the crucifixion connects itself essentially with the resurrection. Dreadful as was this mode of execution, yet it did not destroy the bodily organization, nor deform it, like stoning, and other death-punishments. Hence, divine wisdom ordained that the Son of God should be executed in this way, in order that his sacred body might be preserved from any species of mutilation.

Now, the following dialogue of Christ with Pilate, John xviii. 33, et seq., clearly proves that, at first, there was no mention made of political accusations. That conversation arose concerning the notion of the Messiah's kingdom, whence it is evident that the Jews at first accused him as a false Messiah only. The same appears from Matthew xxvii. 11, and Mark xv. 2. Luke xxiii. 2, on the contrary, has, at the very beginning of the trial, given prominence to the political element; but that must be allocated to the sequel of the examination. Now, when Pilate saw that, during all these accusations, the Lord maintained a calm and dignified silence, he marvelled at what appeared to him such extraordinary conduct, Matthew xxvii. 12, 13; Mark xv. 3—5. He therefore ordered Jesus, who was all this time standing before the multitude of people, to be led into the *Prætorium*, and there held with him a private conversation.

John xviii. 33—38. In order to a distinct apprehension of the proceedings of Pilate with Christ, we must endeavour to realize the scene itself as described in this passage. The Procurator occupied the palace which in former days was the palace of Herod, in Jerusalem, an extensive and stately edifice. (Josephus' Ant. xv. 9, 3, B. J. I. 21, 1.) In front of this building stood the judgment-seat—βῆμα—John xix. 13, on which Pilate sat when he adjudicated amongst the Jews. But, in order to speak with Christ in private, he several times entered the palace. (John xviii. 33, xix. 9.) Just like the residence of Annas, this palace had a vestibule or court, αὐλὴ, in which was stationed a cohort of Roman soldiers, Matthew xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16; and which was enclosed towards the street by a Pylon through which a door conducted. The Jews would not enter through this lest they should be defiled, John xviii. 28. They therefore remained outside, standing around the judgment-seat. The edifice itself, together with the court, is called by the Evangelists πραιτώριον. This

is seen in Mark xv. 16, where it is said: *οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον, αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶ πραιτώριον*. Hence, in those passages of the history of Christ's sufferings, no unusual sense of the word need be supposed. The meaning is different in Acts 23, 35, where it is used—not for the official residence of the Roman magistrates—but merely for the Palace. The usage is similar in Sueton. August. 63, 72. Calig. 37, Titus 8. In like manner it occurs in Philippians i. 13, in a different sense.

Pilate having retired into the Prætorium, perhaps merely to the court, he immediately ordered Jesus to be brought before him—*ἐφώησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν*—he asked him if he were the king of the Jews. The Lord's reply as to whether Pilate made this enquiry merely of himself, leads to the conclusion that, in the public accusation which had been brought against him at the commencement of the trial, the expression *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, had not occurred. It was therefore important to Christ, as helping to inform him of Pilate's disposition towards him, to know in what sense he took the expression, whether as a Roman, in a merely external sense, referring to a political ruler, or in the Jewish sense of the theocratic king Messiah. Pilate, in reply, declared publicly that he was no Jew, and therefore that he was incapable of judging concerning questions of the Jewish religion, but that the high priest had brought Christ before his tribunal, as one who ought to be punished.

When the Saviour perceived that Pilate rightly understood the state of the case, and that no misconception was to be apprehended, he openly declared that he was a sovereign, and had a kingdom, ver. 36.¹ The nature of this kingdom, however, he described but negatively, "It is not of this world." The proof of which was given by the Saviour in a way strikingly calculated to impress the Roman procurator, viz. Jesus had suffered himself to be arrested without making any resistance to the orders of the magistrates, thus giving it to be understood that he had no desire to undertake anything of a hostile character.

These words of the Lord, *ἡ βασιλεία ἣ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, have been employed by many to prove that "the kingdom of Christ" should be understood as confined to the internal or moral world. But, in this instance, the discussion merely con-

¹ The Lord confessed his regal dignity in presence of the highest political authority, and his sonship to God before the highest theocratic council.

cerns the relationship of Christ's kingdom to the kingdoms of the world: (*εἰ* points towards its origin. This the kingdom of God does not spring from the *κόσμος*, like the kingdoms of the earth); but in no way whatever does it limit the boundary of the kingdom of God itself. Just like the kingdom of truth, it necessarily has the tendency to become universal and all prevalent, and that not only internally, but it shall manifest itself at last in the external form also.

From the meaning given by Christ to his kingdom, *βασιλεία*, Pilate now gives prominence to the idea of the *βασιλεύς*, and repeats the question as to whether he considered himself a king, to which Christ simply gives an affirmative reply. Very many exegists, and Tholuck¹ amongst the rest, perceive mockery and contempt in this question of Pilate. But it appears to me, that the gravity of the Redeemer's answer is not at all consistent with such a view. Besides, the description which follows of the moral operation that was going on in Pilate, will testify that his mind was affected. The demeanour of Christ had made an impression upon him; he felt at least that there was something noble and dignified in the Redeemer's person. But the more accurate definition which the Lord added to his declaration, embraced the idea of the *βασιλεύς* in its most profound essence.

For, first, he stated his origin to be from beyond this world, by which he also signified that his kingdom itself is not of this world. In *γενέσθαι*, the act of birth is signified, the words *ἐκ τῆς οὐρανόθεν* *εἰς τὸν κόσμον* indicate abiding existence in the world, the two forms of expression are therefore not of like meaning.

But here Christ steps forth as a conqueror for that truth which constitutes his true kingdom; or rather as a sovereign who, having been absent from his kingdom, comes to resume its possession,

¹ In the last edition of his commentary, Tholuck however declares himself favourable to the opinion that, in the explanation of Pilate, there may be perceived an expression of sorrowful complaint that the truth should be veiled from mortals. With justice he recalls attention to the scepticism which at the time of Christ had taken possession of many distinguished Romans and Greeks, who regarded as vain every more profound inquiry after truth.

In this sense, Pliny the elder, in the preface to his natural history, penned the words: "Solum certum est, nihil certi esse, nec miserius quidquam homine, nec superbius." The fearful laxity of morals at that time must doubtless, to a great degree, be traced to this mental scepticism. The revelation of the eternal truth alone was able to breathe new life into human nature, thus ruined and in progress towards utter dissolution.

Luke xix. 12. Every one who springs from his kingdom bears the truth in him, and is born of it, hearkens to its call, and rallies beneath its banner.

This announcement ought evidently to have been an incentive to Pilate to acknowledge himself as a friend of truth, and as a subject of time who was truth itself; but unbelief was too deeply rooted in his heart.

The summons of Christ thrilled within him, but worldly fetters restrained him from obeying it. And here the question arises: "Who then, in this sinful *ῥέσμιος*, can be called an *ὢν ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*?" If we compare John x. 14, we shall see that this expression does not signify perfect sinfulness, but only a susceptibility of the truth; for the Apostles hearkened to the voice of Christ, but that they were not sinless is sufficiently shewn by the denial of St Peter. There are unsusceptible dead souls in which the voice of truth awakens no resonancy; but there are other spirits whose inmost nature vibrates when a sound of the eternal truth reaches them: for they feel that it alone has power to still their secret yearnings. The Redeemer, the Lord, and king of truth, calls all such to himself, and his will strives to rule without limits in their hearts. Now Pilate being brought up in the Hellenistic philosophy, knew very well that the Lord had used the term *ἀληθεία* in its most absolute sense, John i. 14, but the possibility of attaining to a knowledge of absolute truth was that which was to him doubtful.

Like so many of the noblest men of that singularly stirring time, Pilate had fallen into the depths of scepticism. He had passed through the circle of philosophical systems without having discovered the truth; and the question, *τι ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια*, alone expresses his despair of finding the truth: instead of mockery or scorn, therefore, these words are the sorrowful utterance of the comfortless condition of his mind.¹

The Roman, deeply affected, breaks up the dialogue; and, heathen though he was, defends the king Messiah against the Jews, against the people of the theocracy, Christ's own people, John i.

¹ As the answer to the question "What is truth?" the only correct Biblical answer is, "Christ is the truth." For absolute eternal truth is not a mere representation nor a relation of any kind, it is both Essence and Being. Now the Spirit is the true being, but the Spirit is Person, and Christ is the most exalted personality.

11, who were breathing out nothing but vengeance against the holy one of God ! He proposed to them, that according to the custom of releasing a prisoner at the feast, he should liberate the imprisoned Jesus : that he should make them a present of the Christ. But here the question arises, whether—according to the account of Luke xxiii. 7–17, sqq.,—this proposal of Pilate to set Jesus at liberty ought not to be placed immediately after the account of his transmission to Herod ? There is nothing to be said concerning any formal discrepancy between St Luke and St John in this question, for the latter does not mention the sending of Christ to Herod at all, though the verses 39, 40 of John, xviii., connect themselves so immediately with the foregoing transaction, that everything favours the conclusion, that St John meant the events to be regarded as having transpired in this order of sequence. If we consider that St John has here narrated with uncommon precision, whilst, in this part of the evangelical history, St Luke appears to be much less careful ; and, further, if we take into consideration, that it was the first refusal of Pilate to pronounce judgment upon Christ which gave occasion to the political accusations before mentioned, Luke xxiii. 5, which in turn occasioned the sending of Christ to Herod ; it will appear highly probable that the whole scene, in which the people desired the liberation of Barabbas, ought to be referred to the period previous to the sending of Christ to Herod. As regards the custom of releasing a prisoner at the feast, it is uncertain whether it was of Roman or Jewish origin. According to Livy, Book V. 13, during the Lectisternia, of the Romans, all prisoners were freed from their fetters. Here, however, there appears to be only one spoken of who was to be set at liberty ; hence it may be the more probable conclusion that it was a Jewish custom.

There is something so very natural in it, that even at the present day it prevails in many states, especially in the East, and even in the west something similar takes place upon the accession of a new king to the throne.

According to Matt. xxvii. 15, sqq. ; Mark xv. 6, sqq. ; Luke xxiii. 13, sq. Besides the Saviour, there was proposed to them another prisoner for liberation ; one who in an insurrection had committed a murder. Mark xv. 7 ; Luke xxiii. 19.

This man, of whom nothing else is known, was called Βαρ-
αββᾱς = 𐤁𐤁𐤅𐤁. But it is remarkable that three manuscripts,

besides the Armenian and a Syrian translation, give him in addition the name Jesus, Ἰησοῦς. That this reading is very ancient, is shewn by Origen in his exposition of this passage in St Matthew. He observes that "several manuscripts also had not the name Ἰησοῦς" (consequently the greater number must have had it) and that it might have been added by heretics.

Griesbach has sought to deprive these words of Origen of all signification, where he states that he himself had found this explanation of Origen's to be contained nowhere but in the Latin translation, in which much was corrupted, and that therefore it might really be the fact, that this statement did not emanate from Origen at all. But this conjecture is highly improbable, for no dogmatic interest could be subserved by the interpolation.

If the passage is actually from Origen, then it is in the highest degree probable, that Ἰησοῦς Βαραζζαῖς is the correct reading. This father, for instance, indicates how Ἰησοῦς might have disappeared from the text. It was thought unseemly that a murderer should have also borne the sacred name of Jesus, and therefore Barabbas only was retained in the text.

It is a most striking circumstance that two Jesuses should have thus met. From this circumstance Pilate's question would take the form, "whether do you wish that I should release Jesus, who is named the Christ, or him who is called Barabbas?" How applicable is the sentence: "Iudicium in humanis divina potentia rebus" to this transaction!

We find more than once, in the history of Christ's suffering, similar marvellous instances of providential control in matters apparently unessential. But even the other name, (*i. e.*) Barabbas is specially significant; it means "Son of the Father." All therefore, which in the Redeemer was essential, appeared in the murderer as a caricature. It is not improbable even that his whole enterprise had been a caricature of the most holy undertaking of Christ; that probably he had pretended to the plenipotential character of the Messiah.¹ But the blinded multitude, in their

¹ It is quite in the order of things, that, in giving prominence to such allusions, unbelief and estrangement from God will see only a reprehensible play of the fancy. But if unbelief were to express itself without reserve, it would say precisely the same of similar allusions, which are stated by the writers of the holy Scriptures themselves; for instance, that preserving the limbs of Christ from being broken, and the streaming forth of water and blood from his wounded side, should be significant. But he, to whom the Bible is the true word of God, and who believes that Christ is indeed the Son of the living God, will know how both these and similar references are to be honoured.

insanity, chose the hellish caricature, in preference to the heavenly original.¹

All the endeavours of Pilate, who well knew the secret motive of the high priests for their hatred against the person of the Saviour (namely, envy, for they feared that through him they should lose the favour of the people, Matt. xxvii. 18; Mark xvi. 10), were fruitless. The high priests demanded the release of Barabbas, and desired that Jesus might be crucified.

As the procurator from the judgment seat thus strove to save Christ from the hands of the blood-thirsty priests, he received a message from his wife directing his attention to the righteous character of the person whom he was called upon to judge, Matt. xxvii. 19. Tradition gives the name of this woman as Claudia Procula,² and states that she had accompanied her husband into the province. According to Tacitus. Ann. iii. 33, it was forbidden to the officers of the Roman government to take their wives into their respective provinces in company with them; but the mandate was not rigorously enforced.

She had probably heard a great deal concerning Christ, and knew therefore the danger to which her husband was exposed of perpetrating an awful act of guilt, by passing on him sentence of condemnation.

The strange conceits that the vision of Procula was a piece of sorcery on the part of Christ, in order to save himself! or, indeed, magic of the devil to hinder Christ's atoning death, require no refutation. Yet, in considering this remarkable event, we cannot avoid reflecting upon the purpose for which an overruling Providence permitted this intimation. For since the death of Christ was pre-ordained, the effect of this dream could be injurious only, for

¹ The ideas which stir within the soul, and strive to take form and utterance in action, always appear caricatured in the impure minded. They are affected by them, without being able to grasp their true form and import. At the time of Christ, the striving after freedom was, as in our time, universal; the idea in this struggle was correct, but the manner in which its realization was sought was false, for it referred merely to externals, and by that means did injury in all its relations. Whom the Son maketh free, he alone is truly free, John viii. 36.

² So Nicephorus names her, in his Church history, i. 30. Of late days, some persons have regarded the account of Procula's dream as an interpolation in the text of St Matthew of a subsequent period; but without a trace of probability. It is a 'prurience peculiar to modern critics to desire, by means of the charge "*Interpolation*," or otherwise, to remove every peculiarly interesting feature of the evangelical history, in order that every thing may be strictly commonplace

it must have augmented the responsibility of Pilate, who already knew too much to be innocent, and yet was he too firmly bound by worldly lust to venture boldly to defend the right. It may be said, however, that the dream might have been advantageous to Procula herself, and it is not impossible that by its silent agency she was converted to the faith as it is in Christ. But, above all things, we must take care, as has been frequently remarked, that the idea of necessity be not comprehended as if it circumscribed the freedom of individual agents. In a humanly-subjective point of view, there remained at any moment the perfect possibility to Pilate of releasing Christ, and even of confessing him. Just as it remained possible that those members of the Sanhedrim favourable to Christ, Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, might have openly confessed their faith, and effected a reversal of the sentence of the council. If anything of the kind had happened, then the world's history would have been entirely different. This remark leads attention to the higher objective necessity. But this necessity is only in God, not in human individuals, whose actions, though free, carry into perfect effect the divine necessity. Judged thus, it consisted with the councils of God, that Christ's death should not be a merely apparent but a veritable result of human sin—that to Pilate everything should be brought home that could give him certainty concerning the sinlessness of Christ. If Pilate's own guilt was aggravated by this, it was only the curse of his utter want of truth, which made even his susceptibility for what was godly, and all the offered means for its discovery, tend to his destruction, since they could not bring him to a decision for that which was good.

Luke xxiii. 4—12. In order to recall Pilate from his exertions on behalf of the Saviour, the priests brought accusations against Jesus which were very distressing to Pilate; they accused him of political offences.

Jesus was charged with having excited an insurrection of the people [Luke xxiii. has at ver. 2 διαστέφειν, at ver. 5 ἀνασείειν, and at ver. 14 ἀποστέφειν,] and with having dissuaded them from paying the tribute, Luke xxiii. 2. The power of darkness had so completely blinded them, that they did not see the contradiction involved in their desiring the actual insurrectionist to be released, and falsely charging with insurrection him who had delivered the precept, "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Matt. xxii. 21.

But whilst, to the anxious Pilate, they repeated these dangerous accusations, with the most virulent emphasis, (ver. 5 ἐπισχυον, ver. 23 κατισχυον), they also mentioned that he had commenced his operations in Galilee. Luke xxiii. 5.

This statement is eagerly seized upon by the unhappy Pilate, who hoped he might thus free himself from the burden of the responsibility, by devolving it upon some one else, whilst at the same time he was evidently placing in jeopardy the life of the righteous One, which he should have shielded with his own, since Herod could have taken the resolution to surrender him, as his own subject, to death. Here then we find him already toppling to his fall. The transfer of Christ to the jurisdiction of Herod was but a brief respite for his smitten conscience. Herod Antipas, who was then ruler of Galilee—compare the first chronological table in the introduction to Acts—was in Jerusalem at the time of the solemnization of the feast. Pilate therefore ordered that Christ should be conducted to him. It may be necessary to state here, that Jesus was not born in Galilee, but in Judea. Herod on this account sent him back, without having brought the case to a hearing. From this fact, then, the conduct of Christ towards him admits of explanation. Though Herod was in some respects the ruler of Christ's district, inasmuch as Christ had lived a long time in his territory, yet he was not born under him, nor did he now stand before him as an accused person before his official judge. Here, therefore, Jesus gave as little satisfaction to the reprehensible curiosity of his seeming lawful prince as to that of Annas, in his former conversation. In ver. 8, 9, *ιζαρόξ* is employed = *πρώτος*, εἰς *ιζαρόν* scil. *χρῶμα*. The desire of Herod—mentioned in this passage—proves that the fame of Christ, and of his works, had been generally spread abroad. The vindictive priests accompanied the Lord to Herod. They surrounded him, and accused him violently.

Ver. 10. *ἐπιδρώξ* occurs only once again in the New Testament, Acts xviii. 28. But when Herod saw no miracle performed, he ascribed it to the want of power in Jesus, and, with his body-guard, made sport of Jesus, and sent him back again to Pilate, clothed, in mockery, in an (old) purple mantle.

Ver. 11. The *συνατεταγμένα* here mentioned were the followers in the suite of Herod who had attended him to Jerusalem. The word elsewhere, in the New Testament, signifies invariably an

army. Kuinoel, however, contends erroneously, that in Acts xxiii. 10, it also signifies a body-guard. The λαμπρότης, which indicates the colour of the garment Christ wore, expresses the brightness of the colour, and may just as well signify a white colour as any other. According to John xix. 5, and Matt. xxvii. 28, however, it is most probable that the robe was of a purple colour, and therefore must have been a scoff at the kingly dignity of the Lord. In conclusion, St Luke notices further, that on this day Pilate and Herod were reconciled to each other, for formerly they were at variance. It cannot now be shewn, whether it was the cruelty of Pilate to any of Herod's subjects that had excited this enmity, Luke xiii. 1. Nor is it said that the sending of Christ to Herod was the occasion of their reconciliation. We are informed merely that both events occurred on the same day. This observation would be entirely superfluous, had not St Luke meant something more profound. This deeper idea of St Luke was the significant fact, that it frequently happens, when anything more noble is to be opposed, that the interests of worldly men, which were previously hostile to one another, all unite to smother in its birth the element foreign to them; and this arises, though not always consciously, from the correct apprehension, that the unrestrained development of this adverse element would annihilate their common interests. Hence, individual considerations are merged, in order to preserve those which are common. The persecutions of the church exhibit the same drama at large. Psalm ii. 2.

John xix. 1—16. With what feelings must Pilate have observed the tumultuous concourse again wending towards his palace! He had hoped to free himself from the responsibility, and lo, the burden will again be devolved upon him! He repeats that he finds no fault in Jesus, and reminds them that Herod also had found none. Luke xxiii. 13—16.

In order meanwhile to give some satisfaction to their wild hatred, he commanded Jesus to be scourged. In his view, this must have been an act of lenity, for he meant by it, if possible, to save the life of Jesus. Luke xxiii. 16, 22; John xix. 1. Whilst the soldiers scourged Jesus in the court of Pilate, he probably retired into the interior of his dwelling.¹ In his absence, the

¹ Tholuck thinks with others, that the mockery was enacted in the presence of Pilate. This view is incredible, if but for the reason, that the dignity of his magistracy could not suffer it.

soldiery indulged their ungoverned passion, in mockery of the sublime prisoner.¹ But without knowing what they did, they were bodying forth a profoundly significant symbol. It awakens a consciousness of thoughts the most contrasted. They crown with a coronet of thorns the king of heaven and earth, as if to intimate how painful to him was the sovereignty he exercised over the souls of millions. When they had thus invested the Redeemer, Pilate again led him forth from the court,² in his sad finery, and in his crown of thorns, exhibited to the people their king, and said, *ὁς ὁ βασιλεὺς*. The only true interpretation of this expression is that according to which it is regarded as the overflow of the Roman's deepest sympathy with the fate of the being who had exercised on him so mighty an influence. Those views can in nowise be defended, according to which the words were expressed out of scorn or mockery, or for the purpose of presenting to the Jews their king, as an insignificant, not a formidable being. To estimate Pilate as a thoroughly superficial man of the world, destroys the profound character of the scenes between him and Christ. He appears to have felt but too much of the greatness of the Lord, and thus to have rendered himself infinitely more culpable than he would have been otherwise.

The view we have here taken of Pilate is corroborated, first, by his scepticism, to which thoroughly superficial minds are never attracted; and again by the conversation that ensued with the Lord, which discovers, in a striking manner, the inward moral struggle of the unhappy Roman, and reveals the germ of belief which would unfold itself in his heart.

Whilst the stubborn Roman, who had grown up amid the din of battle, and had familiarized himself with hardship and suffering, was thus seized with a feeling of tender sympathy upon beholding, in his crown of thorns, the king in whom were so wondrously commingled the most exalted heavenly dignity and the deepest humiliation—the attendants of the sanctuary, who all their life-

¹ Both Matthew xxvii. 26, et seq. and Mark xv. 15, et seq. somewhat vaguely allocate the scourging and the mockery of Christ subsequently to his being sentenced. The mockery of Christ may have been repeated after Pilate had withdrawn, but certainly not the scourging.

² Verse 5 is a parenthetical sentence, in which the discourse of Pilate breaks off. He went forth, verse 4, addressed the people, and during his address, perhaps at a signal from Pilate, Tr.—the Redeemer came forth through the door, from the court, and shewed himself to the people.

long had been employed about the sacred law and its prophecies, vociferated their merciless "Crucify him, crucify him !" Once more did Pilate desire to deliver him over to them for punishment, which, in that case, could not have been the punishment of death ; but they longed for his blood. They therefore brought forward a new accusation, which was punishable with death according to the law, viz. "that he was a blasphemer, because he made himself out to be the Son of God," verse 7. Now this passage proves clearly that the Jews did not employ *υἱὸς Θεοῦ* as equipollent with *Χριστὸς* or *Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων* ; because they had charged Jesus at the beginning of the examination with having assumed the latter title, whilst the other appears to have been perfectly new to Pilate. Moreover, in this name alone did they perceive a blasphemy, which, according to the law, demanded death. Compare on John x. 34, et. seq., and also Leviticus xxiv. 16. This new statement terrified still more the already frightened Pilate, *μᾶλλον ἐφοβήθη*. He descended once more from his judgment seat, ordered Jesus to be led into the Prætorium, and began to enquire more particularly concerning his origin. As the earthly origin of Christ was already manifest, by his having been sent to Herod, the enquiry *πότεν εἶ σὺ* could refer to the name *υἱὸς Θεοῦ* only.¹ Pilate thus wished to know if he actually was of higher origin : a son of God. His notion of "a son of God," like that of the centurion, Matthew xxvii. 54, may in some respects have been very obscure.

But in any case, even if only in the most indefinite and general manner, he must, in his conception of Christ, have had the idea of a heavenly being. The fact that such a conception could be suggested to this sceptic, from distant contemplations, only decidedly contradicts the idea that he was superficial. By the presence of the "essence," his empty "system" of scepticism was overturned. The reality of the divine nature affected him by its indwelling power, whilst he, in his conception of it, denied its actuality. The deep inmost necessity of his nature, which from misunderstood speculation had conducted him to scepticism, now made itself felt with all its power. The eye of his mind saw light, and he could no longer persuade himself that light was not. What glory and dignity must therefore have shone forth from the being of Christ, since, in his lowest humiliation, in the midst of Jews, a person

¹ Compare concerning the *πότεν* in this sense, the passage, John vii. 27, 28.

hateful to the heathen, and in his raiment of mockery, he could thus triumph over the mind of a Pilate ! But now the Saviour answered no farther to the question of Pilate. He perceived that Pilate would not be able to fight through the battle, therefore he wished not to lead him into a greater trial. This silence, however, impressed the Roman at the same time with amazement and anxiety ; he sought to compel Christ to answer, by reminding him of his own authority. But the Lord employs this allusion to Pilate's power, in order to admonish the magistrate of a superior power, which was above even *him*. By this remark, he once more awakened the feeling of dependency in his judge, but at the same time intimated his sacred consciousness, that Pilate himself was ruled by the superior power of God, and not by his own power. Yet with deep sympathy for the condition of the unhappy man, the merciful Redeemer added—foreseeing the issue of Pilate's moral struggle—that those hard-hearted priests, who not only thirsted for his own blood, but had also brought Pilate into so heavy a temptation, had sinned more heavily than he. Thus the accused, the deeply humbled, here again appears, as he appeared before the Sanhedrim, the judge and commander of the Roman governor, whilst he computes the amount of his sin, and suffers a ray of hope for pardon to shine in upon him. If these priests sinned against the Holy Ghost, or even bordered upon that sin, Pilate certainly sinned only against the Father or against the Son of Man, and that in proportion to the lesser degree of his moral or religious consciousness, therefore, if not on the latter ground, at least on the former, there might be forgiveness for him. (Compare upon Matthew xii. 31.)

With what sublime dignity must the Saviour have thus spoken to Pilate ! And Pilate, instead of feeling offended at him, began now to strive for his deliverance with earnestness, if he had not done so from the beginning. His exertions, however, were powerless. The secret ties of this world's love held his feeble moral nature in fetters. At the popular exclamation *ὁὗτος ἐστὶν φίλος τοῦ καίσαρος*, he was a fallen man. The name *φίλος τοῦ καίσαρος*, is not to be apprehended in the sense of the honorary title, *amicus Caesaris* ; but must be understood as referring to his loyal adherence,—faithful towards the emperor. Accordingly the meaning is, “If you liberate this man, you thus prove that you are not faithful

to the emperor." Now, to a Tiberius,¹ a mere suspicion was as bad as an actual offence. Therefore Pilate hastily commanded Jesus to be led forth, seated himself upon the judgment-seat, and after he had again cried out Ἰδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν, verse 15, on this occasion, less in order to excite compassion, than to shew his scorn of the people, who had so cruelly urged him to act in opposition to his conscience,—he delivered the Saviour over to them to be crucified. Verse 13.—The place where the βῆμα stood was named λιβίστρωτον, equivalent to סָעֵרָא. The Hebrew name indicates the elevation of the place from סָעֵרָא to be high; the Greek from a Mosaic paving which formed the floor beneath the βῆμα. The Roman magistrates and generals carried similar pavimenta tessalata with them on their journeys into the provinces. Compare Sueton. cæs. 46. Upon the παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα compare the commentary on Matthew xxvi. 17. The expression must be understood as relating to the usual day of preparation, that is Friday, which was called the preparation day of the passover, because it occurred during the feast. This conclusion is supported in an especial manner by the fact, that the Synoptics distinctly name the παρασκευὴ as the day of the Saviour's death. Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54. Mark indeed subjoins the further explanation ὅ ἐστι πρὸς ἑξαήμερον. And besides John writes παρασκευὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, for the same day, which can in no case be understood as relating to the preparation day of the Paschal Festival, and indeed this expression is never used in that sense in any other connection.

There remains a chronological difficulty in determining the hour at which the passing of the sentence took place. St John, in this passage, names the sixth hour as that of the sentence, whilst, according to Mark xv. 25, the third hour was that of the crucifixion. If this passage of St Mark were the only one under discussion, we should certainly prefer the account of St John; but according to Matthew xxvii. 45; Mark xv. 33; and Luke xxiii. 44, when the sixth hour arrived, the Saviour had already hung a long time on the cross. I declare myself favourable with Theophylact, Beza, Bengel, and Lücke, to the reading τρίτη in the text of John, for the following reasons: Several MSS. (as D.L.) read τρίτη in St John; the numeral signs of 3 and 6 may be easily mis-

¹ Tacitus, writing of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, says, "Magentatis crimen omnium accusationum complementum erat."

taken one for the other ; and besides it might easily have happened that some transcribers transposed the events, and, as in St John, no further specification of the hour occurs, they might, on the authority of Matthew xxvii. 45, and the parallel passages, have transferred the number 6 from the crucifixion to the time of the sentence.

Should it be thought necessary, however, to defend the $\frac{1}{2}$ 77, as Tholuck does, who thinks it improbable that any discrepancy could have crept into the MSS., if the correct number stood in them originally, we are compelled to say that the variation in the statements of the hour arose from the circumstance, that these statements were made originally according to the divisions of the day. By this method, the day was divided into four sections of three hours each. Hence, the second section of the day included the time from the third to the sixth hours. Of this section, then, St Mark mentions the beginning, St John the end. But even according to this view, there will yet remain a discrepancy on the part of St John ; since the passages Matt. xxvii. 45, and parallels, shew that at the sixth hour the Saviour had already hung a long time on the cross. We must therefore prefer to this the hypothesis of Rettig, who here, and at John i. 39, iv. 6, applies the mode of computing the hours from midnight to midnight ; which Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, iii. 2, and Pliny, *Natural History*, ii. 77, shew to have been the practice of the Romans. The fact that St John wrote for the people of Asia Minor accords well with this hypothesis ; but the circumstance, that according to John xviii. 28, it was already morning when they led Jesus away to Pilate, is less consistent with Rettig's view. The proceedings before Pilate and Herod must, however, have consumed considerable time. Compare Ullman's *Stud. Jahrg.* 1830, h. 1, s. 101. ff.

Finally, it is recorded by St Matthew alone, xxvii. 24, 25, that Pilate, by a symbolic proceeding, in the view of the multitude excused himself from guilt, as regarded the murder of the Lord. But his having pronounced the sentence, as well as his declaration, that he whom he delivered to them to be crucified was a righteous person, must naturally give to that ceremony a character of mere emptiness. Compare upon the symbolic ceremony, Deut. xxi. 6. Ἀδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵ? ἵ?. But the blinded multitude cried out, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν, with which imprecation they, unknowingly to themselves, were

invoking the greatest blessing, because, whilst the blood of Abel cries for vengeance, the blood of Christ calls only for forgiveness, Heb. xii. 24. After the departure of Pilate, who had now released Barabbas to the people, the barbarous soldiery might, as was observed above, have further mocked and ridiculed the Saviour, who still wore the purple robe and the crown of thorns. When they were about to lead him to the place of execution, however, they again clothed him with his own raiment—Matt. xxvii. 31; Mark xv. 20—and then laid upon him his cross.

In this place, upon concluding the examination of Christ before Pilate, some notice concerning the fate of the unhappy Roman will not be inappropriate. No account is given us of the effect produced upon Pilate by the tidings of the resurrection. According to Josephus, he afterwards indulged in such gross oppressions and malversations, in the province under him, that, in the last year of the reign of Tiberius, the Proconsul of Syria deposed him from his government, and exiled him into Gaul. Compare Josephus *Antiq.* xviii. 5; Tacitus' *Annals*, xv. 44. As to what the ecclesiastical fathers recount concerning the "Actis" of Pilate, which he is said to have sent to the Emperor Tiberius, in relation to the death of Christ, and which, on the authority of tradition, occasioned the latter to order that Christ should be included amongst the number of the gods, the story is doubtless tricked out with legendary ornaments. But, according to the evangelical history, it is in the highest degree probable that Pilate did actually write to Tiberius on the subject; for, since the affair had reference to political relations, Pilate would not have wished that any information whatever concerning a king of the Jews should reach Rome before his own report. But, now that he had sentenced Jesus to death, he had no longer any motive to conceal his favourable opinion concerning the Saviour.

Hence, from the benevolent opinions of Pilate concerning Christ, a legend might have originated in after days, that Tiberius had ordered that Christ should be admitted by the Senate into the number of Gods. Justin Martr. *Apology*, i. 76–84; Tertullian's *Apol.* v. 21; Eusebius. *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 2; Epiph. *haer.* L. 1. Compare Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterb.* under this word.

§ 5. CRUCIFIXION AND DEATH OF JESUS.

(Matt. xxvii. 32-56; Mark xv. 21-41; Luke xxiii. 26-49; John xix. 17-30.)

In the following description of the Saviour's crucifixion and death, the narrative of St John falls very far short of being a complete picture. On the other hand, however, St Luke supplies several particulars which render the awful scene uncommonly vivid, and which are peculiar to him. Of these, for example, are the address of Jesus to the women of Jerusalem who were lamenting over the Lord, Luke xxiii. 27, et seq., and the transaction which took place with the two malefactors, Luke xxiii. 39, et seq. Some few particulars, also, are peculiar to St Matthew, and chiefly the description of the astonishing phenomena that occurred at the death of the Redeemer, Matt. xxvii. 51, et seq.

In wild haste the high priests now, contrary to all usage, caused the scarcely sentenced prisoner to be conducted to the appointed place of execution. Guarded by some Roman soldiers of the German legion, which was stationed in Palestine, the guiltless Jesus,¹ the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, goes forth bearing his cross, John xix. 17.

The symbolical expression, *λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ*, which often occurs in the Gospels—*e. g.* Matthew x. 38, xvi. 24—is sublimely consecrated by this affecting incident. But the Redeemer was probably so exhausted from the severe conflicts of both his body and soul, that he sank beneath the heavy burden. They were therefore obliged to compel another, a certain Simon of Cyrene, to bear the cross for him who was the helper of all. Some are of opinion, with Grotius, that this Simon was known to be an adherent of Christ, and that he was chosen on that account.

¹ Those who love myths should seek the Christian myths in the Christian poets, where they are to be found clothed with all the charms of fancy, not in the historical incidents of the time of Christ. Dante and Calderon are amongst these poets. In his beautiful drama, "The Prophetess of Morning," the Spanish poet has invented a marvellously beautiful myth concerning the wood of the cross. He makes it to have sprung from a shoot of the tree of life, which withered after Adam's fall in Paradise. Had the history of Jesus been an embellished legend only, there would have been no want of all kinds of fabulous poetic descriptions, concerning the potency of his blood, his garments, and such like; for in all ordinary martyrdoms, superstition has employed itself in misapplying to various purposes the blood and raiment of those who have suffered.

This supposition, however, appears to me but little probable, for the reason that, if he were such, he would certainly have been in the city, and present at the examination of Christ; but since he was coming in from the country, it seems to me the more probable opinion that he had not known Christ previously. Perhaps, however, this service which Simon rendered to the Redeemer may have been the means of leading him to God, so that his bodily toil was recompensed with a heavenly reward. The observation in Mark xv. 21, leads to the certain conclusion that both Simon and his family afterwards attached themselves to Christ; for "he was the father of Alexander and Rufus," persons who must undoubtedly have been known to the first readers of the Gospel. Upon ἀγγαρεύειν compare the Commentary on Matt. v. 44. In Christ's progress to the place of execution, he was accompanied by many, especially by persons of the female sex, who uttered their tender sympathy with wailings and tears, Luke xxiii. 27—34. And the words which the Lord spoke to those sympathizing hearts seem to contain something surprising. They import nothing, apparently, of a comforting, beneficent character, but rather something calculated to produce terror. We cannot, however, suppose that those believing women who, according to Luke xxiii. 48, et seq., beheld the death of the Lord from a distance, were amongst this company of females. To the former these words of Christ would not, indeed, have been suitable, because they certainly had no reason to be alarmed at the heavy retribution of which Jesus spoke as approaching, since, according to the promise of the Lord, they were, like Noah and Lot, to be preserved from it. Compare Matt. xxiv. 37, et seq. And then the sympathy of those women must be regarded less as a true expression of their full consciousness concerning the event that was then occurring, than as that mere natural feeling of pity which we find so frequently expressed by the excitable female sex. Nevertheless, it certainly made a grateful impression on the Saviour, to perceive this warm participation and sympathy after the rude violence he had suffered.

But his sublime soul, even in the prospect of a bitter death, thought not upon his own personal gratification, which would have been promoted had he tendered these women his cordial thanks, and thus caused the gentle stream of their tears to flow afresh, whilst he took to himself the praise of such conduct. Much rather did he desire to secure a blessing that should be permanent

to their well-meaning hearts. But this could result only from their being brought in sincere repentance to a full conviction of the great importance of the event, and of its necessary consequences. Therefore the Saviour exhorted them to turn their attention from him to themselves, not to weep for him but for themselves. They, as members of the populace, partook of the guilt of the people, (compare at Acts ii. 23), and the punishment of the people must therefore fall upon them also. The magnitude of this retribution is described by the Saviour in Old Testament language, Isaiah ii. 10—19; Hosea, x. 8; and Rev. vi. 16. With a proverbial form of expression, in which the righteous are compared to green trees, and the godless to dry, he concludes his address to them. Hence its meaning tended to awaken in them a consciousness of their alienation from God, and to occasion them to seek with earnestness after the way of salvation. Upon *βρωτός* compare Luke iii. 5. Now there were also led forth with Christ two malefactors, Luke xxiii. 32, who were crucified with him on Golgotha, one on his right hand and the other on his left, Matt. xxvii. 38; Mark xv. 27, 28; John xix. 18. The word of prophecy, Isaiah liii. 12, *μετὰ ἀνέμου ἐταφίσθη* was therefore literally fulfilled, as regarded Christ, in a manner which could not have been expected, Mark xv. 28. The quotation in the text of St Mark is wanting, however, in several codices, especially A.B.C.D., therefore it does not appear to be authentic, but to have been derived from St Luke, and its having been thus supplied is easily explained, whilst its omission is a matter of considerable difficulty.

As regards the crucifixion itself, it was accomplished at the common place of execution, called the *κεκρυμένος τόπος*, or according to Luke xxiii. 33, the *κεκρυμένος*. (The latter is a literal translation of the Hebrew *מָקוֹם סְתוּר*, Chaldee *ܡܩܡܐ סܬܘܪ*—skull), the place of a skull, from the accumulated skulls of the wretched persons who had there lost their lives.¹ Respecting the manner of the crucifixion, only one point further needs to be investigated, viz. whether it was customary to nail or only to bind the feet of the crucified.

¹ According to the Christian myth, Golgotha was the place where Adam was buried. Out of the grave of the Old Adam sprung forth the second Adam, who, like ripe fruit, depended from the tree of life. With this myth should be compared, the Manichean view of the *Ἰησοῦς παάντοῦς*, who is regarded as being diffused throughout all nature.

The whole church, both ancient and modern, understand this in accordance with the prophecy of Psalm xxii. 17, in connection with Luke xxiv. 39, in which latter passage the risen Redeemer even shews that his feet were pierced through. The first person in modern times who has asserted the contrary is Dr Paulus, and he is followed by Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, and Fritzsche. The only positive fact which they have adduced in support of their view, is, that the feet were bound. But this was unquestionably done also with the arms, whilst it is acknowledged that the hands were pierced through. Hence the binding does not exclude, but rather implies the nailing. Again: there are several distinct authorities for the nailing of the feet, *e. g.* [Plautus *Mostellaria*, Act. ii. sc. 1. v. 13: Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 19. The principal work is that of Justus Lipsius *de cruce*, Antwerp, 1595. Amongst modern works, Hengstenberg's *Christology*, Bd. i. s. 183, ff. should be compared, and the very circumstantial and erudite treatise of Bähr, preacher in Baden, in *Heidenreich's and Huffel's Zeitschr. f. Prediger-Wissenschaften*, Bd. ii. h. 2 and 3. The two latter oppose Dr Paulus. This scholar, in his rejoinder, appeals to *Socrat. H.E.L.*, 17, according to which Helena, the mother of Constantine, found only two nails near the cross. But to this legend we can attach no historical importance, for it is not founded upon any proved fact. The *Zeitschrift, für die Giestlichkeit des Erzbisthums Freiburg*, Jahrg. 1830, heft 5, s. 1, ff., also contains very instructive statements on this subject.]

Just before crucifixion, the Romans were accustomed to present to the wretched culprits a stupifying drink—wine mingled with myrrh—in order to deaden their sensibility to the awful agonies of this dreadful punishment. Mark. xv. 23 contains the usual expression *οἶνος ἐσμύρνισμένος*, from *σμύρνα*, which is equivalent to *יב*, Matt. ii. 11. St Matthew, on the contrary, contains the expression, *ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον*.

This expression, however, and that of St Mark, may be reconciled as to signification. For *ὄξος* was nothing else than the common sour wine, and *χολή*, like *כסר* (for which word it is employed by the LXX. in Psalm lxix. 22), was used for bitters of every kind. Compare further Luke xxiii. 36, where it is expressly included under the acts of mockery practised by the soldiers, that they gave *ὄξος* to the Saviour. And in Psalm lxix. 22, it is reckoned amongst the sufferings of Messiah that he

should receive ἔξας and χαλκή. Thus there is certainly no doubt that the Evangelist understood this very event to be an aggravation of his sufferings. That such cruelty was not the original intention in giving the drink by no means contradicts this conclusion. For, although apparently an act of charity, still it was the expression of a most unholy charity. And to the Saviour it assumed the appearance of a fresh mockery; therefore as soon as he had tasted the drink, he rejected it, for he did not desire to meet death otherwise than in the full possession of his consciousness. Probably it was whilst being nailed to the cross that the Lord uttered the affecting prayer: *πάτερξ ἄφεξ ἀποταῖς· ὁ γὰρ ἀδυνασὶ τί ποιοῦσαι*. The address *πάτερξ* directly expresses the fact that even at this moment when he was fixed upon the cross, he was vividly conscious of his sonship to God. In his prayer, he included not only the soldiers who were carrying the crucifixion into effect—these were mere irresponsible instruments, and even guiltless in what they were doing, that guilt excepted which they themselves incurred by unnecessary violence. The Saviour's prayer in its widest comprehension embraced all those who were in any way inculpated in his death. And therefore it had reference even to the high priest and to Pilate. But since their ignorance of the true character of the deed they perpetrated seems to be rendered prominent by being pleaded as a ground for their forgiveness, it will thence follow, as we remarked at Matthew xxvii. 1. that as their very ignorance of the fact that they were murdering the holy one of God was itself their guilt, the high-priestly intercession of the Lord was necessary in order to their forgiveness. Compare further the observations upon Acts iii. 17, and 1 Cor. ii. 8.

The Synoptics give only very brief notices concerning the parting of the raiment of Jesus and the superscription upon the cross. But these minute events are very circumstantially narrated by John xix. 19—24. It was customary amongst the Romans, as it is still, in the Turkish empire, in all executions of persons, to suspend a tablet which expressed the cause of their punishment. In the official language of the Romans, this was called *Titulus*. See Suetonius. Caligula, cap. 32, and Domitian, cap. 10. At the beginning, Pilate may have ordered the superscription to be made out without regard to its import; but when he noticed that the style in which it was composed was unacceptable to the priests, whom he detested, he adhered firmly to it, and would admit of no

alteration. The subtle priests apprehended an evil impression from the circumstance that Jesus was represented as "King of the Jews," without limitation of meaning to the title: this was thought to correspond too closely with those passages of the Old Testament, in which the Jews are described as despisers of their king, and the king himself as deeply humbled, passages which might have been employed as means of proving that Jesus was the true Messiah; and therefore it was not without reason that they feared the effects of the inscription. After the crucifixion had been completed, the four soldiers, who had been appointed to that duty, took their stations round the cross, and divided the clothing of Jesus into four parts, but cast lots amongst themselves for his tunic, which was formed of a single web. The Evangelist here makes a reference to Psalm xxii. 19, in which this proceeding is foretold with astonishing precision, furnishing a new proof of the manner in which the Lord, in himself, and in his fate, represents the greatest and the least in unparalleled union. The quotation follows the LXX. closely. In the passage, Matthew xxvii. 35, the same quotation occurs, but it is rejected by the best critics. Without doubt, it was written on the margin from St John, and gradually became incorporated with the text. The *χιτών*, equivalent with *ἱμάτιον*, was the under garment, and was made in one piece. This epithet must intimate its costliness, so that thus the Saviour was not clothed remarkably meanly. Even in this respect he observed the middle course. The expression *ἀπὸ ἄνω* and *ὑφαντὸς ὁ ὅλος*, occur only in this place. They signify the unity of the web, which was without seam, or the addition together of several pieces.¹

Thus hung the Son of God between heaven and earth, nailed upon the beam of the cross as upon his altar, like a patient lamb bearing the sin of the world, and yet the measure of his sufferings was not filled up. They who passed by blasphemed him, and the priests, with venomous malignity, shouted out in mockery the words he had spoken, Matthew xxvii. 39, et seq. According to Luke xxiii. 36, even the soldiers also mocked him. Those particulars were partially prophesied in Psalms xxii. 7, et seq. The wagging of the head is often mentioned in the Old Testament as

¹ The ecclesiastical fathers understand this account of the garment of Christ in an allegorical sense, and explain it to signify the one indivisible Church of the Lord upon earth.

a gesture of ridicule. Compare Job xvi. 4; Psalm cix. 25; Isaiah xxxvii. 22. Luke xxiii. 35 contains the word *ἐμυνητέλλειν*, upon which should be compared the remark of the same Evangelist at ch. xvi. 14. As regards the allusion to the words of Christ concerning the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple, there appears to be, as we remarked at Matt. xxvi. 61, an inverted application of the word, since to the Saviour is ascribed the *καταλίσσειν*, whilst he himself vindicates his own power only in the *αἰδοῦμαι*. The abbreviated form *κατάλα* for *κατάλεξι* occurs frequently in the New Testament. In Revelations iv. 1, we find *ἀράλα* and in Acts xii. 7, and Ephesians v. 14, *ἀράστα*, but the longer form is the more usual. (Compare Winer's Gramm., s. 72.) In Matthew xxvii. 42, and the parallel passage of Mark xv. 32, the readings vary uncommonly in the construction of the *πιστεύειν*, for it is sometimes without an object, and sometimes connected with *αὐτόν* or *ἐπ' αὐτόν*. The Evangelists probably read variously, and indeed the readings in St Matthew *ἐπ' αὐτόν*, and in St Mark *αὐτόν*, are respectively correct. In Matthew xxvii. 43, the *εἰ θέλει αὐτόν* is after the LXX. in the passage, Psalm xxii., where these words stand for *יְהוָה יִצְחָק*.

Luke xxiii. 39—43. Now whilst it is stated without any distinction by Matt. xxvii. 44 and Mark xv. 32, that those who were crucified with Jesus ridiculed him also, St Luke records with precision the fact that but one thus inculpated himself. Concerning the other, he remarks, on the contrary, that in the prospect of his approaching death, he besought Christ that he might be admitted into his kingdom, and that the Saviour granted him his prayer.

A mysterious charm is shed over this little narrative.

So unexpected is the joyful and sublime incident which it recounts in the midst of a multitude of the most mournful events, that it takes us by surprise. Whilst all the disciples disperse themselves, the faithful John alone excepted, who stands at the foot of the cross,—whilst a Judas betrays his Lord, and a Peter denies him,—whilst, from both the priests and the people, wild enmity pours forth against the Saviour,—and whilst Pilate displays his weakness, the living faith appears under the most unfavourable circumstances in a robber and murderer, with most marvellous power. As long as Christ remained unfastened to the cross, many a person attached to him might have cherished the

hope that he would even yet free himself by a miracle. But who could have deemed that right hand which was pierced by the nails that fastened Jesus upon the cross sufficiently powerful to sustain and conduct the spirit through the dark valley of death? Who could have esteemed him who was himself dying the death of a criminal, worthy to command the gates of Paradise.

We must suppose that this unhappy man was still possessed of some nobility of character. He might also have previously heard something concerning Christ, and have experienced many powerful emotions. He must remain for ever an actual demonstration of the fact that Jesus Christ came to save sinners, and stand, whilst time endures, as a hero of the faith; for he believed when faith forsook even the very persons who had previously professed aloud that they acknowledged in Christ the Son of the living God. But again, the unprejudiced observer will perceive, in the history of Christ's sufferings, a certain character which its introduction hinted at and which has been but too frequently misunderstood, that is, its symbolical character.¹ The suffering Christ, as a symbol of a fulness of truths the most profound, and references the most significant, speaks a language to the world which his living word could scarcely have uttered.

If, regardless of this or that dogmatic view, we were simply to interpret the history of the dying Jesus just as it is given by the Evangelists, we should be constrained to acknowledge that even the most boundless imagination could never have produced a poetic composition corresponding in effect to this history. The imagination usually pictures forth its objects according to analogy, but there is here something altogether different from the suggestions of analogy; a power going forth anew from the divine Creator. The same being, who was in the beginning with the Father, who could say, "he that seeth me seeth the Father," that "men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father," relinquishes all his glory in order to assume our flesh and blood, —John i. 1-14, v. 23, xiv. 9, xvii. 24—and hangs naked upon the tree of the cross.

¹ Compare Calderon's *Prophetess of the Morning*, as translated by the Lord of Malsburg, vol. 4, s. 76, et seq., where the symbolic character of the history of the crucifixion is expounded with profound sagacity. Each of its graphic descriptions gives to this character its due embellishment and spiritual import. According to this poem, Christianity is in its principles favourable to science, since it presents the most profound ideas in a typical form.

Already sunk deep in poverty, he now abandons everything, in order, by his poverty, to make us rich, 2 Cor. viii. 9. Yet do all his own forsake him and throw away their faith. Only murderers and heathens, consciously and unconsciously, believe, and bear witness of his sonship to God, and of his ability to save. Above his head, which is crowned with thorns, as typical of the sufferings which the sin-defiled earth, the mother of thorns, prepared for him, waves his sacred name as an unfolded banner. The cross publishes, in the three chief languages of the earth, that it is the king of honour whom the race of man has nailed to it. His arms are extended as if they would embrace the world for whose salvation he yet thirsts, though it thrusts him from it, John xix 28. On his left hangs the infidel malefactor, who with the barbarous mob ridicules the holy one of God. On his right is the sinner brought to repentance; so that around the Saviour of the world the various representatives of the human race are assembled—representatives alike of those who are lost and of those who are saved. In his deep humiliation, however, the Saviour now exercises an act of divine glory. He receives the homage of a believing soul, he opens to him the gates of the kingdom of heaven. The cross of Christ becomes, as it were, a throne, the place of skulls, the tribunal of universal judgment.¹ As regards the particulars of this record, there have not been wanting attempts to rob them of their grand character; yet, without exception, these attempts have issued in utter weakness.

The prayer of the thief: *μνησθητί μου, κύριε ὅταν ἐλθῇς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*, some would understand, as requesting a mere friendly reminiscence in the world of the blessed. But it is clear that *ἐμχεσθαι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*, viz. to enter into His kingdom, and then abide there, cannot possibly be said of mere happiness. But if the man thought that in Christ he addressed the Messiah, and had applied to him what was foreshown concerning the sufferings of the Messiah; then the astonishing circumstance would be, that this man could do so whilst the disciples themselves failed to make the application. On this matter, however, there is nothing explained further. The sublime promise of Christ: *ἀμὲν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ*

¹ The suffering Christ is also naturally a type of the church's destiny, and of that of many of its individual members. The church, too, seems at one time to have been abandoned of God, and forgotten by her children. And murderers and heathens, to whom grace was given, were the only witnesses who bore testimony to its divine original.

παράδεισος, has been superficialized to such a degree by some, that they render the words thus: "I *to-day*, say unto thee," *i. e.*, *now*, so that the comma—,—is made to stand after σημερον—"Thou yet shalt enter into Paradise. God is love, and he will yet make thee also happy." But, as Kuinoel observes on this passage, the impressive ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, does not at all harmonize with such a mere assurance, one which any person could have expressed.

It is manifest that the evangelical history so represents the incident that the two essential elements of salvation, faith and repentance, existed in the mind of the man. That these elements might have had their preparatory causes is very probable. But that does not destroy the astonishing character of the occurrence: that with a faith generating repentance, this man could have embraced Christ, which no other person could have done at the same moment.

As to what concerns the term παράδεισος, it appears, as we remarked at Luke xvi. 24, et seq., that this expression is by no means synonymous with *heaven*, as heavenly world. This passage leaves no doubt whatever on this point, especially since σημερον is annexed, and since it is expressly stated that the soul of Christ, at his death, went into *Hades to the dead*. 1 Peter iii. 18. Hence it follows, that Christ could only say: ἔση μετ' ἐμοῦ, if the soul of the person crucified with him also went to the place of general assemblage of the dead.¹

Further, the whole condition of the thief considered, will lead us to this conclusion. For with whatever readiness of mind we acknowledge him as a truly converted man, yet we cannot in any way speak of him as a regenerated man, one to whom it is allowable to apply the word of promise, "Where I am, there also shall my servant be;" and at a time when as yet Christ was not exalted to the right hand of God. Still in 2 Cor. xii. 4, we find that the τριτος οὐρανός, or heavenly world, seems to be styled *Paradise*.

But, as we observed previously, the Jews used to distinguish the superior or heavenly paradise, Παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rev. ii. 7, from the lower Paradise. The later is synonymous with Κόλιπος Ἀεζαάμ, and signifies the place of joy in the kingdom of the dead,

¹ Samuel, whose spirit had been evoked from the dead by the witch of Endor, addressed Saul in the contrary sense where he said, "to-day shalt thou and thy son be with me (in Scheol.)" 1 Samuel xxviii. 19.

as Γέννα signifies the place of suffering. The form of the name Παράδεισος equal to פֶּדֶס Hosea iv. 13; Ecclesiastes ii. 5, springs confessedly from the Persian. The word primarily denotes a pleasure garden, a park, and hence is used for any pleasant place of residence.

John xix. 25—27. In this infinitely sublime scene, where the Saviour acts as Lord of the heavenly world, another event took place which shews how the Lord, in his most violent struggle, whilst offering up the sublime sacrifice of his life, remembered also the little relations of earthly interests, from which he seemed to have been long since removed. In the force of perfect love, which is ever regardless of self, and consults the happiness of others, he remembers Mary his mother. Whilst her divine Son hangs upon the cross, that sword of which Simeon once prophesied to her, pierces through her soul. Luke ii. 35. Everything which she experienced in the happiest period of her life, now becomes darkened to her; doubts agitate her soul. The moment of her own new birth is come: the earthly mother of Christ must now also bear the new man, the Christ within us!

To St John, the faithful disciple, it is natural to suppose that no exhortation was necessary to induce him to take to his own home the mother of his Lord.¹ She dwelt indeed in the bosom of love, so that nothing could ever have been wanting to her. But for her sake, the Lord spoke from his cross the word of consolation. The feeling of abandonment would have been too powerful to her, therefore Jesus presents to her a second son, instead of the beloved one she deemed herself to have lost.

In reference to the persons who have been mentioned as standing near the cross, John xix. 25, it is to be observed, that according to Matthew xxvii. 55, and the parallel passages, the persons named as well as others. (Luke xxiii. 49, even says πάντες ἐκ γυναικῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ, where it is plain the πάντες is not to be strained), beheld the occurrence from a distance, μακρίθεν. This statement harmonises very simply with the description of St John, if we suppose that afterwards some few of them approached near to the cross. Of the disciples, only the faithful St John seems to have thus ventured. Amongst the women yet a third Mary is named,

¹ This passage is to me decisive on the question, that Mary had no actual son, else would not the Saviour have entrusted his mother, as a solitary widow, to a stranger. This would have been an open slight to a brother.

besides Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene and Salome. John xix. 25, expressly calls her the sister of the mother of Jesus, and the wife of a certain Cleopas. But St Matthew and St Mark distinguish her as the mother of James, (whom Mark xv. 40, names "James the less,") and of Joses. If on this point we compare Matthew xiii. 55, it will appear, that amongst the so-called ἀδελφοί τοῦ κυρίου, were the two persons thus named. Hence the supposition is rendered very probable, that those brothers of Christ were sons of his mother's sister, and consequently his cousins. The name "James the less" was employed to distinguish, as an ordinary disciple, that brother of the Lord thus named from St James the Apostle. According to John vii. 5, and Acts i. 14, it is quite certain that amongst the twelve there was no brother of Jesus.

Matthew xxvii. 45—50. After these affecting incidents upon Golgotha, the moment at length approached in which "the prince of life" expired, Acts iii. 15. The sublimity of this moment seems to have been symbolically solemnized even by nature herself; and whilst the light of the world appeared to have been extinguished from the sixth until the ninth hour, darkness extended itself over the whole land. γὰρ is to be understood as referring to the land of Palestine. St Luke remarks further, and very expressly, ἐσκότισθη ὁ ἥλιος. This might be explained by the supposition of a solar eclipse, were it not that, the full moon occurring at the period of Easter, forbids such an hypothesis.¹

¹ Concerning the darkness at the death of Jesus, compare the treatise by Grausbeck, Tübingen, 1835. How deep lies its foundation in human nature to regard natural events symbolically as manifesting a sympathy between the life of nature and the incidents of humanity, is shewn by parallel passages from the profane writers. Amongst these the passage of Virgil, Georgic. i. 463, et sq. is particularly worthy of note:

Sol, tibi signa dabit; solem quis dicere falsum.
Audeat? Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus.
Saepe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.
Ille etiam extincto miseratus caesare Romam:
Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine (i. e. caligine) texit,
Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.

Such parallels are so little calculated to favour a mythical interpretation of the evangelical history, that they afford distinctive evidence of its historical character. In the history of Immanuel, appear in their complete and actual truth what were but erroneous, and diversely distracted, suppositions of mankind. The passage quoted from Virgil acquires a peculiar interest, if we compare the description

But, on the other hand, nothing hinders the supposition of other general physical causes to account for this darkening, for neither is it mentioned that anything peculiarly miraculous was involved in it, nor can there be any object subserved in making such an assumption. We would merely suggest the idea, that with the Lord of Nature the creation itself suffered: that it spread around the tragedy of Golgotha the curtain of night, to veil the guilt which was now being consummated, and for that object God might have controlled and directed even natural circumstances. The Scriptural doctrine of Providence, which excludes all chance coincidences, warrants no other view of this event than that which we have given. When the moment of his death drew near, a still severer trial befel the Saviour.

It was the last of his mortal life, replete with trials, but perhaps the severest, since the soul was forcibly divorced from the bonds of the sacred body, which was of necessity the more exquisitely sensible to agony because of its freedom from sin.

To this event applies in general what was observed on Matthew xxvi. 36, et seq., in reference to the conflict of Christ in Gethsemane.

But what we had to assume, in order to explain the phenomena of that conflict, is here clearly expressed. Here for example the Saviour openly complains of his being forsaken of God, in the words of Psalm xxii. 1. Every attempt to superficialize this mysterious exclamation must be rejected at the very first. The Saviour expresses nothing to justify such explanations, for the 22d Psalm directly contains the words he quoted. In accordance with the inward truth and harmony of his whole life, the Saviour spoke no word which did not perfectly correspond with the reality. But to refer the abandonment to his outward sufferings, is forbidden by every more profound interpretation of the event; for the most extreme physical suffering is no abandonment of the being whose internal nature is filled with divine energy and happiness. Now, the immensity of the sufferings of Christ consisted in the fact, that his physical torments, united with the divestiture of his

by Dante (*Inferno*, Canto 34), where the death of Cæsar and that of Christ are brought forward associated: Since the poet discovers in the former sufferer, the representative of all earthly power, and in the latter the possessor of all spiritual might.

After Judas, Brutus and Cassius appear to the poet as the greatest criminals in the history of the world, and as such are placed in the lowest depth of hell

soul of all spiritual energy. His bodily nakedness was, as it were, a type of his being inwardly divested of all heavenly adornments. When we reflect that such abandonment was experienced by him who had said, "I and my Father are one. He that seeth me seeth the Father also. The Father leaveth me not alone," John viii. 29, we shall perceive that the object of that abandonment, like that of the death of Christ generally—(which is to be regarded only as the acme of all sufferings)—must have been unique and infinitely great. Compare the Commentary on Matthew xxvi. 36, where intimations of the ensuing inferences have been given.

According to Scripture itself, this object was twofold. First, the course of suffering, and the agonizing withdrawal of God from him, were necessary to render perfect the human personality of the Lord. In the epistle to the Hebrews we have the clearest and most direct statements to this effect. Sufferings, it is said—Heb. ii. 10—had made the captain of salvation perfect; and, although he was the Son of God, yet did he learn obedience in that he suffered, Heb. v. 8, 9, vii. 28. In this epistle especially prominent reference is made to the compassion of Christ. Hence it is said, ii. 17, in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God. Compare Heb. iv. 15.

But, secondly, the Saviour in himself, and in his personality, at the same time completed the entire work, of which, as the second Adam, he bore in himself the potency; as it is mentioned in Heb. x. 14, "by one offering, hath he perfected for ever them that are sanctified." But this "perfecting of all" has both a negative and a positive character. These indeed always occur together, and in close connection, yet they cannot be regarded as interchangeable. The negative character consists in cancelling the guilt of the sinful life, the reconciliation with God;¹ the for-

¹ Compare on the idea of satisfaction, the profoundly intelligent essay, published, with a particular reference to Göschel, on this question, in Tholuck's "Litter. Anzeiger, Jahrg. 1833, Num. 10, ff.," with which should be compared the particulars in the observations on Rom. iii. 25. When Schleiermacher, in his "Glaubenslehre," interprets the reconciliation as merely "the reception into the community of the happiness of Christ," the necessity of the objective character disappears, namely, the harmonizing of justice and grace in the divine nature itself. Ritzsch Christl. Lehre. s. 186, in the forcible style of a realist, expresses this opinion very suitably as follows: "Christ, following the impulse of divine mercy, produced in himself the principles of life and death."

givenness of sins. As shall be explained, when we come to treat of Romans iii. 25, and Hebrews ix. 22, this negative efficacy would have been impossible, in consequence of the absolute justice of God, without the shedding of blood ; in submitting to which condition the Saviour presented the most exalted manifestation of the voluntary self-devotedness of sacrificial love. In this respect, therefore, the dying Redeemer appears as the “lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.” The positive character consists in a participating of the principle of superior life ; emancipation from the slavery of sin ; the creation of the new man, of Christ within us.

The resurrection indicates the positive character which is the necessary sequel of Christ's death. The death of Jesus indicates the former (or negative character), the ultimate point of his self-sacrificing love, Rom. vi. 1, et seq. In regard to the idea of his abandonment, it is necessary to remind the reader that none of the Gnostic explanations, such as the withdrawal of the celestial Christ, so that only the man Jesus suffered,¹ are to be accepted.

Passages such as John viii. 29, xvi. 32, shew that the union of the divine and human natures in Christ was such that they were and are immiscible, and at the same time inseparable. The withdrawal of God therefore took place as a *zēbēlē* only of the divine nature, not as a proper removal of it. As regards the form of the citation, Mark xv. 34 gives the Aramaeic text precisely. For

¹ Sartorius, in the excellent treatise upon the relation of the divine and human natures in Christ (in den dorpatischen Beiträgen, ersten Heft, im auszuge in der Evang. K.-Zeit. Feb. 1833), expresses himself concerning the relation of the divine nature in Christ, to the sufferings of his human nature, in the following manner:—“ God limited the fulness of the divine nature in the human by the veil of the flesh, but without, on that account, altering it. In the same manner as the eye, when it lets down the eyelid, suffers no change or limitation in the nature or possession of its peculiar faculty of operating at an immense distance ; but merely experiences a restraint in the exercise of this faculty. Without this enshrouding, no incarnation, in the form of a servant, would have been possible, because the infinite brightness of deity would have repelled altogether the darkness of human suffering. But the shadows of death might in this manner surround the veiled majesty. Or rather, not merely might its shadow obscure the veiled majesty ; but, through the unity of the divine and human consciousness, the veritable feeling of sufferings might penetrate the very mind of deity. Thus, though the soul, by its very nature, is immortal and lives, whilst the body is dying, and after the body is dead, yet by reason of its personal union with the body, it experiences, in the union of consciousness, all the bodily pain of sickness, and all the horror of death.

the Hebrew 'חלי, which is equal to 'חל, he has 'Ελωι = 'חל. For the Hebrew 'חל both have the Aramaeic 'חל. The vocative form 'חל in St Matthew is entirely unusual. Compare Winer's Gramm. s. 62, and upon 'חל in the signification of "Wherefore," s. 145.

In the following verses, 47 et. seq., we are informed that the bystanders misunderstood the exclamation of Christ. They thought he called for Elias, whom they expected as the forerunner of the Messiah. Several commentators have been disposed to regard these words as additional mockery, but this conclusion is not intimated by even one syllable. We must rather infer, that a secret horror now overspread their minds, a feeling which the most daring are often the first to experience, and that it subsequently affected them powerfully. Matthew xxvii. 54, Luke xxiii. 48.

Those rude mockers may have feared that there might be something real in the professed Messiahship of the crucified Jesus, and have trembled at the thought that Elias might appear in a hurricane. Psychologically considered, this conclusion is very probable. For even the rudest nature, when it has wearied itself with mockery and insult against suffering innocence, feels it necessary to pause, and some nobler feeling, if only the terror of a guilty conscience, for a time assumes the mastery. Hence, when the Lord cried out "I thirst," John xix. 28, 29, a person immediately ran and presented him with a draught. St John calls to mind that even this exclamation fulfilled a prophecy, Psalm lxix. 22. (In the Comment. of St John, 'חל τειλωθ' (the latter word is equivalent to τειλωθ'), the 'חל must not be referred to Jesus as if his only object in uttering the exclamation was the fulfilment of this prophecy; it must be taken as referring to the general purpose of God. The reference of the formula to εἶδώς, which is maintained by Bengel and Tholuck, I regard as entirely untenable. 'חל in this passage must be taken with the force of τειλωθ'.) Whilst St Matthew and St Mark mention that the sponge filled with sour wine, 'חל, was tied upon a reed, St John says more particularly it was tied upon a stalk of hyssop. This plant has indeed but a short stalk, but then the cross was very low, and therefore only a short reed was requisite for the object contemplated. After Jesus had received the drink, he cried yet again, with a loud voice, and expired. According to John xix.

30, the Redeemer uttered the saying *τετέλεσται*. That this expression did not refer to what was merely physical, is evident from the preceding sentence, *εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὅτι πάντα ἤδη τετέλεσται*. But, irrespective of that sentence, a reflection upon the personal character of the Lord will lead to a more comprehensive signification of that great saying. Ever filled with the remembrance of the sublime object of his mission, he now regarded it as completely fulfilled and accomplished.¹ His victory over all the assaults of darkness, was the pledge of his complete triumph, just as by Adam's fall under similar assaults, all was lost. (Compare Rom. v. 12, et seq.)

According to Luke xxiii. 46, Jesus, conformably with the words of Psalm xxxi. 5, uttered the further exclamation *πατερ εἰς χεῖράς σου παραδίδωμαι τὸ πνεῦμα μου*. In the address, "Father," he expresses the full consciousness of his sonship, which was undisturbed even by his extreme sufferings.

Now, whilst the soul of Christ went to the dead in "Scheol," 1 Peter iii. 18, his body rested in the grave, and his spirit returned again to the Father. In the resurrection, all three were again conjoined in harmonious unity.

Ver. 51—54. To this plain description, given without comment or reflection, of the greatest incident in the history of the world, the turning-point of the old and new worlds, the Synoptics add an account of certain phenomena which accompanied and followed it, in which the material universe, by physical occurrences, gave witness of that which was accomplished: as in the vision of angels, the sympathy of the spiritual world took utterance at the birth of Jesus.² At the moment when the Prince of Life, Acts

¹ The Christian poet has expressed himself in accordance with this interpretation:

"That too, which day and night I perfect,
Is by e'en thee, in me perfected."

The perfection of every particular is therefore not needed in the first instance, but will be received in faith from the riches of Christ.

² In the Christian Treasury of Song, the ethical importance of these occurrences is strikingly represented in those celebrated lines:

If, when Christ dies, creation heaves around,
Thou too, my soul, shouldst not unmoved be found.

Da selbst die creatur sich regt,
So, sey auch du, mein herz bewegt.

In the turning point of man's moral history, the *πνεῦμα* always appears in peculiar co-operation with the spirit. Several interesting parallels of this kind, present a comparison of the history of the fall with the history of Christ's sufferings.

By a tree, viz. the tree of knowledge, mankind fell: by a tree, that of the cross,

iii. 15, expired, the earth quaked, the rocks were burst asunder, and the veil of the Temple was rent. In St Matthew the *καὶ ἰδοὺ* affirms that these were simultaneous occurrences. St Luke has anticipated the date of these phenomena in his account, xxiii. 45. The *καταπίεσμα* corresponds to the Hebrew *קִרְיָה*, which signifies the curtain in front of "the Holy of Holies."

The curtain in front of the holy place was called *קִרְיָה*, which is rendered by *κάλυμμα* in the LXX. (Compare the words in Gesenius' lexicon.) Here again it is quite indifferent whether we regard the earthquake as a usual one or not. For mere chance, as is self-evident, must be totally excluded; and therefore the event must for ever remain a profoundly significant symbol. With the death of the Saviour, a light penetrated into all that was hidden. The graves were opened. Hades and its dead beheld the celestial radiance. The barred entrance to the heaven of God, which was typified in the earthly temple, was thrown open to man. Now when those who stood around observed those movements of nature, an indistinct apprehension led them to the correct conclusion, that there was a connection between these appearances and the crucifixion of Christ. The Roman centurion even uttered his conviction, that this person might well have been a Son of God. According to Luke xxiii. 47, he gave glory to God, *ἐδόξασεν τὸν Θεόν*—he was probably a proselyte—since he termed Jesus a *δίκαιος*. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 19.

In Mark xv. 39, the description is inaccurate, for the reference to the earthquake is not made in its proper place. Even the rest of the multitude, who came merely to see a sight, were seized with a feeling of horror. They smote upon their breasts and turned away; they knew not that they had just beheld an event, which the angels desired to contemplate, 1 Peter i. 12. St Matthew, anticipating its date, subjoins a very remarkable statement. He informs us, that at the earthquake not only did the graves (cut in the rocks) open, but that many of the saints arose, and (afterwards) went into the holy city, and appeared there to many. The

he was redeemed again. In the garden, Eden, the first Adam ate the fruit and fell: in the garden, Gethsemane, the second Adam conquered the powers of darkness, and enjoyed in the grave the Sabbatic rest. In the fruit of the tree of knowledge the first man ate to himself death: in the fruit of the vine believers at the Lord's supper enjoy eternal life. And sin caused those very thorns to grow which were to form the regal coronet of the Son of God.

only interpretation of this statement which, next to the literally historical one, can gain currency, is the mythical. For the (so-called) natural explication, viz. that the loss of some of the bodies, which the earthquake had projected from the graves, taken in connection with certain casual dreams of some citizens of Jerusalem, account for the event, is much too poor.¹ But in so extraordinary an occurrence, the mythical interpretation certainly appears to commend itself; and hence it is no wonder that the numerous opponents of the doctrine of a bodily resurrection all incline towards it.

Here, however, as in all similar cases, the nearness of the time would not permit the construction of a myth, since numerous contemporary witnesses of the event would have been able to contradict it. The defenders of the mythical view may, however, in this case, take refuge under the facts of St Matthew's condition, which has led many to believe that the Gospel which bears his name was not written by the apostle Matthew himself, at least in the form in which we possess it. Now, improbable as this conjecture appears to me, yet we may at any moment concede its probability, and still maintain decisive ground against interpreting the passage mythically, namely, that this account is formed throughout, in contradiction to analogy, and even to the generally received dogmas of the faith.

We certainly consider Christ himself as the $\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega\tau\omega$, Coloss. i. 18; Rev. i. 5—a view with which this statement (of St Matthew) appears to be irreconcilable. Were the passage a myth, this statement would undoubtedly have been interpolated into the account of the resurrection of Christ, not into the description of his death. But, if the resurrection of the dead became generally manifest to the consciousness of Christians only, then this occurrence expresses merely the simple thought that the resurrection took place gradually, and that with the Saviour the saints of the ancient covenant attained to the glorification of the body. Isaiah xxvi. 19. (This thought, in another relation to the righteous under the New Testament dispensation, has been already discussed at Luke xiv. 14.) In any case, the hypothesis of the late Steudel ("Glaubenslehre," s. 455), with which Krabbe

¹ Just as little does the notion of Stroth, that the passage is not authentic, need a particular contradiction. (Comp. Eichhorn's Bibl. B. ix.). For this latter conjecture, no proofs, external or internal, can be adduced.

("Von der Sünde, s. 297") agrees, is altogether untenable; namely, that there is here no mention at all of a bodily resurrection, but only of mere apparitions of the dead, by which a guarantee was given concerning their life. This hypothesis is contradicted in the most decided manner, by the plain meaning of the words πολλὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἡγέζεθαι. A bodily resurrection, with which there should be associated a subsequent liability to death, is naturally inconceivable; hence there remains no other tenable view than that which we have explained; it is also that which corresponds most closely with the whole doctrine of the resurrection in the scriptures. The difficulty just touched upon respecting the relation of this resurrection to Christ, as the πρῶτος τοῦ θανάτου ἐκ νεκρῶν (this discussion cannot be affected by the cases of Enoch and Elijah, because they did not taste death at all) might be removed by supposing that the actual going forth out of their graves, did not occur until after the resurrection of the Lord; so that μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν should be taken in connection with ἐξελθόντες. The death of Christ thus appears as a stroke, which vibrated through all things; but his resurrection as the peculiar ξωποινήσις to the sleeping world of the saints. The first advent of Christ would possess in this event a peculiar grace, by means of which it would have been a more intelligible antitype of the future glorious appearing of the Lord. Everything which shall yet occur in the fullest extent in the Parousia,¹ was thus indicated partially in Christ's first advent.

§ 6. THE BURIAL OF JESUS.

(Matthew xxvii. 57—66; Mark xv. 42—47; Luke xxiii. 50—56; John xix. 31—42.)

After the soul of Jesus had forsaken the pure temple wherein it had dwelt, his sacred body was not left unregarded, as the mere insignificant envelope of a heavenly essence; a wondrous providence of God hovered over it, and averted from it every kind of injury revolting to the feelings. John xix. 31—37, conscious of the importance of this circumstance, has given the most careful

¹ Compare Rev. xi., where the resurrection of the two witnesses, the earthquake accompanying that event, and the opening of the temple of God, are described. This stands in parallelism with the rending of the veil, and the other incidents of the crucifixion.

information concerning its particulars. In this account we possess as decisive a guarantee as was possible, especially in a physical point of view, of the reality of the death of Jesus; and also a proof of the significance which corporeity ought to have in the doctrinal views of Christians. Christianity is far from conforming to that comfortless view of things, according to which the body is merely the prison of the human spirit; a view which conducts to rigid asceticism only. And just as foreign is it from the hollow notion that sin arises merely from the attraction of what is sinful, and hence that at death, with the cessation of the latter, ceases also the existence of the former: a view which favours Epicureanism. Much more does the gospel regard it as the object of the connection between body and soul, that the former should be glorified as the temple of the Holy Spirit, so that the word of a certain intellectual thinker is quite scriptural, "without body no soul, without corporeity no felicity."

According to the Jewish custom, Deuteronomy xxi. 22, 23, the bodies of persons who had been crucified, were required to be removed on the same day on which they died. The Jews besought Pilate, therefore, that they might end the lives of those who were crucified, as it was then the preparation day before the Sabbath.¹ (παρεσκευή, it is so named also by Mark xv. 42, and

¹ Compare the observations on Matt. xxvi. 17, and John xix. 14. Lücke erroneously supposes, that contrary to the view of the παρεσκευή which we have stated, some objection may be made; since he says, "The annexed expletive would have no object, if the παρεσκευή was the ordinary Sabbatical one." On the other hand, however, Tholuck has correctly remarked (on John xiii. 1, s. 250), that the object of annexing this expletive is sufficiently plain, from the circumstance that the Sabbath, falling during the Paschal festival, and yet not coinciding with the first holy-day of the Passover, thereby gained a particular dignity. Besides, in the latter event, no mention would have been made of a great Sabbath day, by way of distinction, for if the first day of the passover were to fall upon a Sabbath, the same should be the case with the last day also. As we have already remarked on Matt. xxvi. 17, all the Evangelists are agreed unanimously in respect to the week days of the passion week; it is only concerning the time of the paschal feast that they seem to vary in their accounts. Hitzig's representation of the case, "Easter and Pentecost, s. 38," according to which St John's account is made out to be correct, and that of the Synoptics erroneous, is untenable, for the following reason, namely, because, between the Sabbath, in which the Lord lay in the grave, and the day of the resurrection, he quite arbitrarily intercalates ἀλλήλων δυοῖν παρεσκευή. But in reference to this hypothesis, nothing in the evangelical history can guarantee as correct this specification of the time, that the Messiah rested in the earth three days and three nights. Matt. xii. 40. Yet however we may attempt to explain this passage (of Hitzig), in no case could the sequence of events,

by Luke xxiii. 54, who calls the succeeding Sabbath "great," because occurring during the Paschal festival.) It was (considered) requisite that the limbs of those who were suffering crucifixion, and who were invariably persons of the meanest condition, should be broken, in order to hasten their death. This was done with clubs, after which a stroke on the breast terminated the sufferings of the unhappy beings. Compare Lactantius' Divine Institutes, iv. 26. Pilate probably sent a distinct section of soldiers on this duty. These completed the punishment, in reference to the two malefactors; but when they came to Jesus, to whom, in accordance with their orders, they would have shewn no distinction or partiality, they found that he was dead already.

In order, meanwhile, to assure themselves of his death, one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and immediately there flowed forth blood and water. But in other respects they did not touch him, so that by the most remarkable providence his body was left free from even the slightest mutilation. (Νόσσω, in ver 34, certainly often signifies only to rend, but it signifies also "to wound deep," "to pierce into." As, for instance, in the Iliad of Homer, E. v. 45, et seq.:

Τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἔγχει μακρῶ
Νύξ, ἵππων ἐπιθήσόμενον, κατὰ θεῖόν ᾤμον.

In immediate sequence it is then mentioned that he who was wounded with this spear-thrust died.) St John was himself an eye-witness of this transaction. With the most energetic impressiveness he gives assurance of the truth of his record (v. 35), and does so in order to produce faith in his readers. At the same time he introduces two quotations from the Old Testament in which these events were intimated, namely, Exodus xii. 46, and Zechariah xii. 10. The former, Ex. xii. 46, refers to the paschal lamb,¹ of which a bone was not to be broken. In this St John therefore discovered a type of the Saviour. In the Septuagint the passage reads thus: καὶ ὅστων οὐ συντρίψετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. In the second passage, Zech. xii. 10, not only the wounding of Christ,

in the days of the passion week, be determined agreeably to it; and least of all, in its explanation, could so obscure an expression as *συμβατον δευτερόπρωτον*, be here introduced. Compare Luke vi. 1.

¹ Upon the question whether the paschal lamb was a sacrifice, and therefore capable of being regarded as a type of the sacrificial Christ, compare the observations upon Matt. xxvi. 17.

but also the circumstance that his wounds should be a mark by which he might be known, in the first instance, to the Jews, and then to the world at large; compare particularly the passage Rev. i. 7. The translation which St John gives is not different from that of the LXX. in consequence of mere accident, but was made expressly in reference to the facts lying before him, and in accordance with the original text. The LXX have, for instance, *καὶ ἐπιέλεψονταί πρὸς μὲν, ἀνθ' ὧν καταρχήσαντο.*¹

St John could not at all have employed the passage for his object in this form. He therefore translated the Hebrew *וְשֵׁנָה* *וְשֵׁנָה* that is, the very person whom they pierced *εἰς ὃν ἐξικίνησαν.* The LXX. could not make these words intelligible, as said concerning God. They therefore took *וְשֵׁנָה* in the sense of “to despise,” and explained the words *וְשֵׁנָה* *וְשֵׁנָה* as if the expression were *וְשֵׁנָה*.

After this general explanation of the passage, the question now arises, for what reason did St John attach so much importance to this fact? Some may think that it was meant to be a medium of proof as to the certainty of the death of Jesus. And in modern times it has been actually so regarded; yet we nowhere find any trace in the ancient church that the reality of Christ's death was doubted. Nor are such doubts at all accordant with the views of Christian antiquity.

Far more probable is it that this account (of St John) had reference to doketic views, and was meant therefore to establish the reality of the corporeity of Christ. This conclusion is further sustained by the observation of Celsus, that many Christians inclined to Gnostic opinions, ascribe to Christ a kind of ichor, because they regard his body as ætherial. Compare my History of the Gospels, p. 350. The remarkable way in which St John understands the water and the blood which issued from the wound in the side of Jesus, as being of a symbolic character, will be particularly treated on at 1 John v. 6, et seq. A second question, however, besides what St John immediately intended in these words, is the following, namely, “What says the passage to us?”

Now, since some have begun to doubt as to whether the Lord actually died on the cross, we require, as has been just observed,

¹ Phavorinus explains the *καταρχήσαντο* by means of *ἐνέταιξαν*, “they ridiculed,” “mocked.”

the account of this subject delivered by St John, in order to prove the fact that the spear-thrust, which most probably penetrated the pericardium which was filled with water, and the heart (wherein was the blood, T.), must have caused death to Christ, if there had been life yet in him. And so much is certainly clear, that the design of the soldier in giving the spear-thrust was to end his life,¹ if he should by any means have only fallen into a swoon. It certainly is more advisable, in so important an enquiry as that concerning the truth of the death of Christ, not to conduct it upon external data exclusively, for by the doubting mind these may be readily interpreted either for or against the fact. Since the event of his death (as we observed in the account concerning the awakening of the dead), regarded physically,² cannot be demonstrated, we must adduce internal proofs of the fact, which will be more particularly examined in the history of the resurrection.

At present we shall content ourselves with making this general remark on the subject, that it must be regarded as a particular providence of God, that in the Redeemer the heart should have been pierced, and the conduits of the blood opened in his hands and feet, yet without destroying or altering his perfect organism.

After this event the Synoptics (see Matt. xxvii. 57—61, and parallels, and compare therewith John xix. 38—42), record the exertions of certain influential friends of Jesus in reference to his body. John, ver. 39, names Nicodemus, and alludes to his former visit to Jesus by night, as narrated in John iii. 1, et seq. The principal person, however, was Joseph of Arimathea. Ἀριμάθαια is either אֲרִימָתַי in the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned in Matthew ii. 18, and which is named in Syrian אֲרִימָתַי. Or, since that town is called 'Pamā by St Matthew, it was probably אֲרִימָתַי, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, 1 Sam. i. 1, which the LXX. call by the name of Ἀραμαθαίμ.

This city, it is true, stood originally in the territory of the Sama-

¹ This has been ascertained upon medical principles by the physician Gruner, and more recently by Schmidtman. Compare also the treatise entitled "Is the death of Jesus to be understood as merely an apparent death?" In Klaiber's Stud. vol. 2, H. 2, s. 84. et seq.

² The piercing of the heart would indeed have been an absolutely mortal wound, but as the heart is not here expressly named as the part that was wounded, to him who wishes to doubt, the resource is constantly available of regarding the wound as a less dangerous one. The Scriptures will never force men to believe, hence they permit on this point a possibility of doubt to the unbelieving.

ritans, but it was afterwards annexed to Judea, 1 Maccabees xi. 28–34 : and hence Luke xxiii. 51 might with propriety designate it as a πόλις τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

This worthy man was an enquiring disciple of the Lord, but the fear of man had hitherto prevented him from openly professing his attachment to Jesus, John xix. 38. Meanwhile what he could not prevail on himself to do whilst Jesus was living, he had resolution to do now that he was dead. He besought Pilate for the body of Christ. Notwithstanding his infirmity, Joseph certainly belonged to the nobler minded class of the Jewish people, who waited with longing expectation for the fulfilment of all the prophecies. (Compare upon the περὶ ἐλπίσθαι τὴν Βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Commentary on Luke ii. 25.) He was a man of a benevolent character, (Luke xxiii. 50, ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος.) Besides, he was wealthy, (Matt. xxvii. 57,) and an influential member of the Sanhedrim—(ἐνδοξήμων Βουλευτής—Mark xv. 43.)

Many would have him to have been a counsellor of Arimathea, but this supposition is forbidden by Luke xxiii. 51, in which passage it is expressly mentioned that he had refused his concurrence in the sentence against Jesus, or rather that he opposed it. Jesus then may have been sentenced by a majority of voices in the Sanhedrim, whilst such men as Gamaliel and others may have voted in opposition to the view of the majority. (Συγκατατίθεσθαι scil. ψῆφος, signifies calculum adjicere—to vote. It occurs here only in the New Testament. Yet in Acts i. 26, the synonyme συγκαταψήφισεν is employed, and still more frequently in the Septuagint. Compare Exodus xxiii. 1–32.) After Pilate had learnt that Jesus was dead, from the centurion, who had been commanded to hasten the death of the three that were crucified, Mark xv. 44, he granted his body to Joseph. (The ἐδώκεν, in Mark xv. 45, is to be understood in its proper force ; only thoroughly avaricious men, such as Verres (Cicero in Ver. v. 45, 51), required to be paid for delivering up the bodies of condemned persons to be interred by their relatives or friends.) Joseph, when he had received the precious boon, enfolded the body of Jesus in a roll of linen, with a mixture of sweet spices—John xix. 39—placed it in a new sepulchre in his garden, and rolled a stone to its front. The fact of the sepulchre having been new, and unused previously, is prominently noticed as implying a mark of honour. It was probably the vault intended for the interment of his own family,

which Joseph devoted to the body of Christ. But the whole proceeding took place hastily, for the Sabbath was already drawing nigh, Luke xxiii. 54. Meanwhile, oppressed with anxiety concerning Jesus' body, a few women who had faithfully accompanied their beloved Master from Galilee, followed him still, even to his grave, where they sat down, sunk in dejected sorrow, Matt. xxvii. 61, in order to be near at hand to see how his body would be placed.

After their return, they prepared at home an ointment of sweet spices, in order, immediately after the Sabbath, to place the beloved body in a meet condition for its rest. For on the Sabbath-day itself they were compelled to be still, according to the ordinance (ἐπιτολή) of the law (νόμος,) of Moses. (Upon ἀνδών, compare the Comment. on Mark xiv. 51. St John, for the same word, employs xix. 40, ὀδύνα, which is equivalent to κειρίαι. Compare at John xi. 44, by which are meant the swathes in which it was customary to enfold the corpses—'Εντυλίσσω, (St Mark has ἐνελίω) to wrap up. In Hebrew פָּרָז. Compare Buxtorf's Lexicon, p. 1089.

The burying places of the Jews were frequently hewn out in rocks—λατομέω from λαῶς and τέμνω,—a block of stone closed up the door way, or horizontal entrance. (Comp. at John xi. 40.) St Luke has the unusual expression λαξευτός, xxiii. 53, from λαῶς and ξίω, to polish, to hew out smoothly. A difficulty still appears in the narration of St John, where he states that Nicodemus provided a μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὥσει λίτρας ἑκατόν. (John xix. 39.) If we take the pound here to have been the corresponding weight in use amongst the Romans and Greeks, containing twelve ounces, then the quantity will appear too great. Hence Michaelis would have us to understand under the name λίτρα, a lesser weight. But that the litra can signify such a lesser weight, is entirely without proof. We must consider, therefore, that this extraordinary quantity of spices was employed, partly as an expression of secret reverence, (like the superfluous quantity of ointment used by Mary, John xii. 1, et seq.), and partly in order to surround with it the whole body of Jesus.

Ver. 62–66. There is something remarkable in the specification of the time: τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν, for by these terms the Sabbath would have been characterized. Such a description could not with propriety be applied to that which was customary, since the important day could not be mentioned after the unimportant one.

Yet here this mode of expression is perfectly in its place, because the *παράσκη*, from the fact, that the death of Christ occurred upon it, acquired a greater importance than that which belonged to the Sabbath. Compare the particular discussion of this question, in my programme, upon the authenticity of St Matthew.

The struggle and contest being completed, the Sabbath was now the day of rest¹ for the friends of the Lord. Yet the enemies of Christ rested not. The torture of a guilty conscience drove them again to Pilate.

They told him of the prophecy concerning the resurrection, and requested that a watch might be placed over the sepulchre until the third day. At this communication, what a feeling must have agitated Pilate! It may be conceived, by reflecting, how powerfully he had been affected already, upon learning that Jesus had called himself the Son of God. Perhaps he gave his consent so hastily, in order that he might receive certain information as to what might occur relative to Jesus. Indeed the least conceivable thing to him, even in imagination, was the return (to life) of a dead person, yet it is characteristic of the mind, that its more divine faculties often prevail over unbelief, so that he who has least of true faith may notwithstanding become very credulous, since the pertinacious conviction of the realities of the unseen world predominates in antagonism with his imaginations. (*Kustodia* belongs to that class of Latin words, which being derived chiefly from military transactions, were borrowed by the Greeks and other people.) But as regards the circumstance of the sepulchre of Christ being surrounded by a guard of Roman soldiers, modern criticism¹ has disputed the fact upon very specious grounds. On the other hand, many of the remarks made in opposition to this

¹ The signification of the great (still) Sabbath is not yet rightly understood in the church, as is shewn by the fact that it is not solemnized as it ought to be, and not less by our want of more suitable hymns for the day, which yet as the day of rest of him who is life itself, as the memorial of his repose after the work of creation, has so lofty a poetic significance. But the two chief features of the great Sabbath, in a dogmatical sense, are,—that it constitutes a type of the rest of the general church in the kingdom of God—and that the soul of Jesus was meanwhile actually in School. But the church has not yet rightly tasted the rest, nor carried out completely in practice the important doctrine of the descent into Hell. Hence the neglect of this day.

² Comp. Stroth in Eichhorn's Repertorium, vol. ix. and Dr Paulus' Comm. "do custodia ad sepulchrum. Jesu disposita, Jenæ 1795."

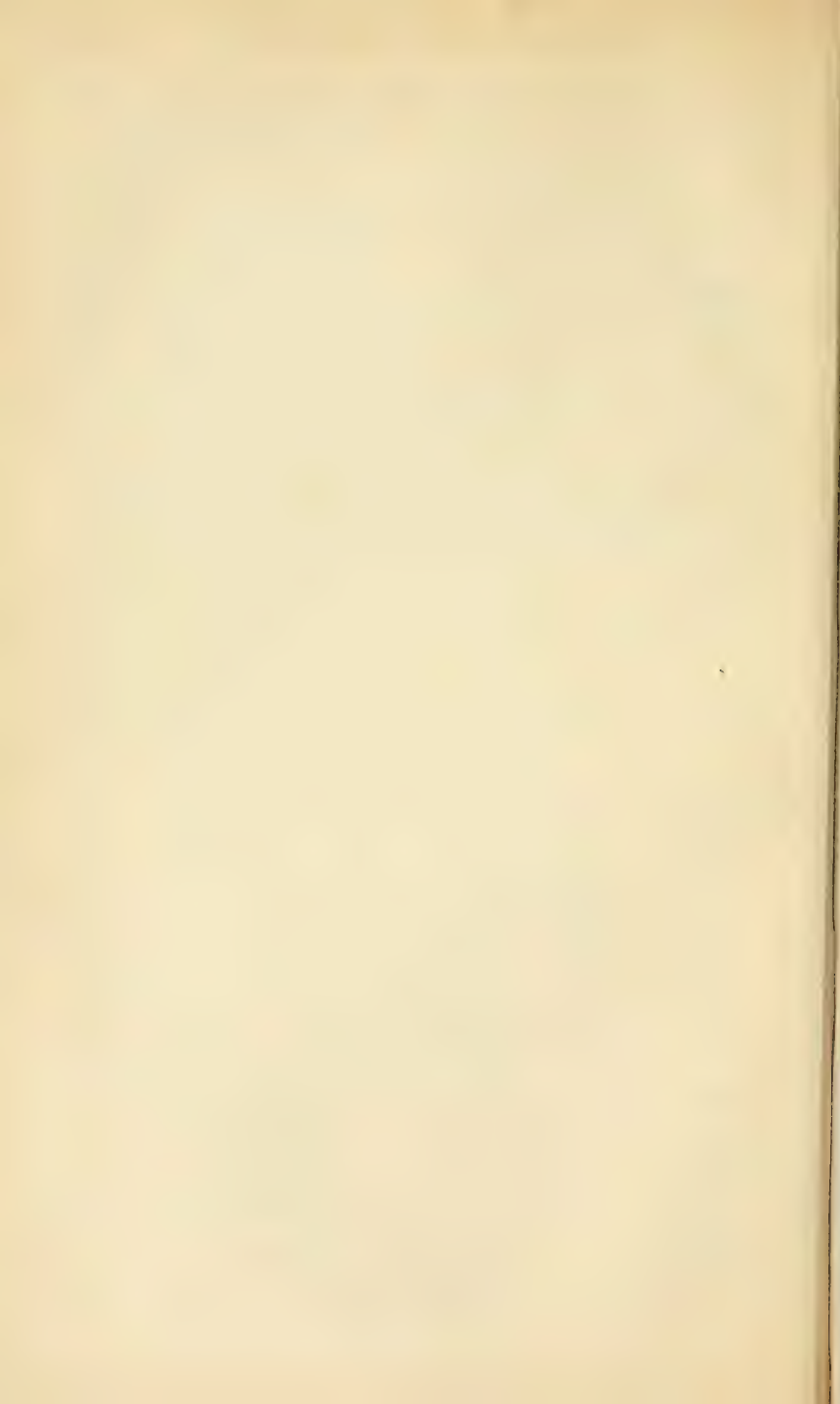
fact, disprove themselves, as, for instance, that it is improbable the Jews would on the Sabbath have requested the guard from Pilate, or that, when charged afterwards with having removed the body, the apostle should have appealed to this fact. The other arguments, however, require investigation.

And first, the silence of the other three Evangelists is remarkable, since this event would have so strongly confirmed the truth of the resurrection. If, however, we take in connection the more recent statement of Matthew xxviii. 11—15, it will be evident, that the Evangelists might have had a positive reason for leaving untouched the occurrence regarding the guard at the sepulchre. For if once such a report, as that the disciples had stolen away the body of Christ, had gained currency, it is manifest that the event (of the watch having been set, T.) could not have been employed with sceptics as a proof of the fact of the resurrection; hence, St Matthew does not apply the fact to that purpose, he merely reports it.

But, secondly, some have adduced an important objection from this very narrative itself, Matthew xxviii. 12, where it is stated that the Sanhedrists held a formal sitting, *συμμοῦλον λαβόντες*, in consequence of information given by the soldiers, and in this assembly passed a resolution to bribe the soldiers.

Now this proceeding appears to be inconsistent with the decorum of such a college, and also to the later explanation concerning Gamaliel's not having consented, Acts v. 34. For Gamaliel desired merely to leave it to time to discover whether or not there was anything divine in the newly arising church of Christ. We must also believe that such a piece of deception could not have escaped the knowledge of Pilate, who, considering the position he stood in towards the Pharisees, would have been well inclined to expose it. As to the circumstance that the women, whilst going to the sepulchre, had no thought about the watch, to that I should attach no importance, for the guard had received no orders to prevent the body of Jesus from being properly arranged. Besides, they may not have had any knowledge of the occurrences during the preceding Sabbath. Whether these difficulties can be completely obviated or not, I do not know; but a certain hesitancy still remains in my mind. Pilate himself indeed might have wished that the resurrection of Jesus should prove to be without foundation, oppressed as he was by a feeling of guilt, and on that

account might have desired to silence the report. But I cannot believe that such a cheat would have been sanctioned by the resolution of a college, especially since such men as Gamaliel, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus, were members of it. No less untenable is the hypothesis that the whole account is but a tradition of a later date. St Matthew, who, as an eye-witness of the event, wrote in Jerusalem at a time when many persons must still have been present there who had had contemporaneous knowledge of the fact, could not have published a thoroughly false statement of this kind concerning an event which had become so notorious. Hence, the most prudent course is to accept the statement as essentially correct in its facts, but to concede some want of precision in the account of the assembling of the Sanhedrim. Probably Caiaphas, as officiating high priest, disposed of the case alone, in an underhand way, and in this acceptation the narrative contains nothing improbable. Compare Hase's *Leben Jesu*, s. 194.



II.

SECOND PART.

OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

(Matthew xxviii. ; Mark xv ; Luke xxiv. ; John xx., xxi.)

The death of the Lord, and the shedding of his blood (Hebrews ix. 22), were essentially involved in the prosecution of the work of redemption. But it was equally necessary that death should be vanquished¹ by his subsequent resurrection.² The very notion of a Saviour from sin and death, involves, as a necessary consequence, the idea of that Saviour himself being free from sin ; and therefore incapable, except by his voluntary self-devotion, of dying that death which was necessary to the redemption of man, but on that very account, incapable also of being holden by death. By his death, and by the resurrection essentially connected with it, he stripped of authority him who had the power of death (Hebrews ii. 14), in order that men, his brothers reconciled to God by his death, might be redeemed and translated into a new life. Hence the death and resurrection of Jesus represent the two parts of his collective ministry ; the negative as well as the positive. Romans vi. 1, sq.

¹ Amongst interesting writings upon the resurrection, the reader should consult Griesbach, "De fontibus unde Evangelistæ suas de resurrectione Domini narrationes, hauserint," Jenæ 1793. Niemeyer, "De evangelistarum in narrando Christi in vitam reditu dissensione," Halle, 1824. Further, compare the treatises by Velthusen in "Sylloge Commentt., vol. iv. page 77, et seq.," and by Seiler in the same work, vol. vi. page 503, et seq. (The latter treats rather of the ascension into heaven.) And especially as regards the nature of the resurrection, Krabbe on the doctrine of sin and death. Hamburg, 1836, p. 275, et seq.

² In connection with the following observations upon the resurrection, consult what has been stated at Acts i. 11, concerning the ascension into heaven.

From what has just been stated, it appears that the resurrection was an event in the highest degree essential to the completion of the sublime development of the Saviour's life, and it is in this light that the history of the Apostolic churches represent it. The resurrection was the great fact which the Apostles published, and that peculiarly and alone. After the ascension to heaven, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which were the first acts of the glorified Saviour, those disciples who exhibited such weakness but a few days before when Jesus was arrested, appeared thoroughly transformed in their moral nature ; endowed with invincible boldness, with wisdom, calmness, and clearness of intelligence.

The origin of the Christian church is an incontrovertible matter-of-fact proof, that a great event, a searching process must have taken place, which was capable of supplying the principles upon which that church was founded, and the persevering energy necessary for such an enterprise.¹

Yet this signification of the resurrection will be perceived, only when we feel firmly persuaded that the Saviour did not rise again with the mortal body which he bore before his crucifixion.²

If, we should think, like many well-meaning persons, that the Saviour, when truly dead, was again quickened by an act of divine Omnipotence, without any change of nature having taken place in his body, we should carefully consider in what the importance of this fact consists.

The raising of Lazarus would in that case have been a precisely similar event, and in no manner could the Apostle Paul, as in 1 Cor. xv., have been able to represent this occurrence as the foundation of the faith, and the consummation of the victory over death and the grave, since the body of Christ would have still continued subject to death. The ascension into heaven, then, to which the advocates of this view are accustomed to attribute the

¹ Hase, in his "Leben Jesu, s. 199," is entirely correct in saying—"Not only does the essence of Christianity depend on the resurrection, but even its very appearance. The church was founded by means of it." But it is hard to discover how the scholar just named can ascribe this importance to the event of the resurrection, whilst he regards it as merely an awakening from apparent death.

² This has been ably demonstrated by Krabbe (Loc. cit. s. 300, et seq.) In the passage, Romans vi. 9, the Apostle asserts the impossibility of a recurrence of death to the risen Saviour. This passage, taken in connection with Philippians iii. 21, where a *σῶμα ἡδὲ δόξης* is attributed to Christ, warrants the inference, that Paul himself regarded the resurrection body of Jesus as one that was glorified, since with the resurrection of his body the *δόξα* of Christ commenced.

glorification of Christ's body, would have to be viewed in accordance with their notions, as the victory over death ; but this cannot be, since all the apostles regarded the ascension as only a consequence of the resurrection, which last event was to them the chief and peculiar fact. But it is certain that this mode of comprehending the resurrection, and of which even Tholuck approves (on John xx. 19, 20), could never have been maintained for a moment, if the statements relating to the appearances of the risen Redeemer did not seem to vouch for its correctness. The Lord, for instance, appeared with a body possessing flesh and bone, Luke xxiv. 39, a body which bore in it the wounds he received, John xx. 27 ; one that partook of food, Luke xxiv. 42 ; one, in short, bearing a complete resemblance to an ordinary mortal body, and such expressions and statements do not seem to be suitable to the idea of a glorified body. But, however specious these remarks may appear at the first view, they will be found, upon more careful investigation, to be altogether untenable.

In the first case, for example, the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* must not be confounded with the *πνεῦμα* properly so called.¹ According to the express description by the Apostle Paul, the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* became a *πνευματικόν* in the resurrection, but it still remained a true *σῶμα*. But further, if we consider that whilst the body of Christ, from his birth upwards, was in all respects similar to ours, yet it was also distinctly different, since to it appertained a *possibility*, but not the *necessity* of death.² And hence the alteration it underwent during the process of glorification would have been the less striking ; we shall be able to understand on the one hand how the disciples could recognize him, and examine the marks of his wounds, and on the other hand, why they discerned in him an alteration so great that frequently they did not know him. This consideration acquires the greater importance when we suppose that the process of glorification went on during the

¹ Hase, in his "Leben Jesu," s. 202, falls into an error as to this confounding of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* with the *πνεῦμα* as such, when he asserts that the doctrine of a glorified body is a doketic doctrine. The little identity between the two doctrines is shewn in the best way by the polemical discourses of the most ancient fathers of the church against doketicism ; although, without one exception, they taught the doctrine of the glorification of the body.

² That this character belonged to the body of Christ is proved by facts ; for instance the walking of the Lord upon the sea ; as well as his transfiguration and other events of the evangelical history.

forty days (Christ remained on earth after his resurrection, TR.), and was not thoroughly perfected until the period of his ascension to heaven. Lastly, in the history of the resurrection, Luke xxiv. 42, no mention is made of his partaking of food, because he required material nourishment, for his sole object in eating the food was to convince those who were present of the *reality* of his body. Besides, it is always assumed in Scripture, see Revelations xxii. 1, that the bodies of the glorified may partake of food, though no doubt the physical process which takes place is expressly excluded, 1 Cor. vi. 13.

According to Genesis xviii. 8, even the three men who appeared to Abraham,—(of whom one was the Angel of the Lord, κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, Jehovah,) actually partook of food, though they must be regarded as being destitute of corporeity, and merely invested with apparent bodies. The difficulties involved in the hypothesis, of the glorified nature of the Lord's body in the resurrection, may therefore be thus removed, and at any rate they are not of a nature to cause any error in that which is the essential point of this whole occurrence, namely, that the Redeemer must have so arisen that henceforth it is impossible for him to die again, which could only be the case with a glorified body. An entirely different view of this subject is entertained by some persons, who are not merely without any clear apprehensions as to the temporal event of the glorification, but who regard with suspicion the doctrine, if they do not altogether deny the resurrection. Alas, that modern philosophy, in accordance with its predominating idealism, should not yet be able to appreciate the idea of a glorification of the body and of matter generally! (Compare at Romans viii. 19, et seq.) Only a few men, especially Schubert and Steffens, who, for that mere reason, are distinguished as *searchers of nature* as well as philosophers, have acknowledged the truth and importance of that doctrine.¹

¹ It is surprising that the Holy Scriptures do not, for the purpose of elucidating the relation between the new body and the old nature from whose elements it evolves itself, make use of so immediate an analogy, as that of the butterfly and the chrysalis, from which it releases itself. It would seem that the reason of it arises from the fact that Holy Scripture leaves animal life generally in the background, and borrows its figures more frequently from vegetable nature. The twilight existence of animals, and their obscure intellectual yet unconscious character, unfits them for the illustration of the phenomena of consciousness, arising from the development of mental life from its feeble dawn in infancy.

The sacred Scriptures do not recognize that Dualism, which is involved in the doctrine of an absolute separation of matter and spirit. As in man the spirit appears to be invested and bound up with the material frame, so are we taught by Scripture that the material nature exercises an influence upon the spirit, defiles, or aids in sanctifying it, and, in fine, is susceptible itself of being glorified. Instead of making this profound and comprehensive doctrine their own, and of examining by degrees their speculative penetration, some persons at once transplant everything it includes into the region of mythology.

The mere idea of a return to the visible world of one who had come from the world of spirits, is all that, according to their view, is expressed in the resurrection. But the sober narratives of the Evangelists, which have descended from a purely historical period, and were written by actual eye-witnesses of the fact, stand—as we have already observed more than once—in the most glaring contrast with the hypothesis of a *myth*. And, besides this, when we explain away the fantastic glitter of the myth (which some suppose to have been framed concerning the resurrection, T.), we discover beneath it an assumption which would annihilate the effective agency of the Redeemer and which yet must be received for truth, if we reject the description of the event given by the Evangelists.

If, for instance, the corporeal frame of the Lord had not actually risen again, and had not been glorified, it follows, that the very victor over the grave must in every case, and by all means, be himself still the captive of the grave,¹ for his spirit only has withdrawn back to the spiritual world.

After these remarks, there still remains to be noticed a view which not only places the resurrection in a peculiar light, but totally denies the whole doctrine. One class of the advocates of this view, (Dr Paulus and Henneberg,) firmly maintain the fact itself, but in the resurrection of Christ will allow only an awakening from a swoon. By the holders of the view we first touched upon, who maintain that the Saviour rose again in his mortal body, this opinion of Dr Paulus and Henneberg cannot be easily confuted with arguments of a physical kind.

For the medical proofs as to the reality of Christ's death, from

¹ Thus Hase, in his "Leben Jesu," s. 204, expresses it openly.

the wound made by the spear-thrust, are at least not irresistible.¹ But, on the other hand, according to our interpretation, this hypothesis has not the slightest degree of importance. For, assuming that the Redeemer was only apparently dead, yet that circumstance would by no means alter the signification of this event. For its proper significancy does not consist in the return of Jesus to life (that would have happened in the other case also—*i. e.* the case of mere apparent death, T.—without involving anything particularly important), but in the impossibility of dying again, which was given in the glorification of his body at his return from the dead. This latter view really assumes a peculiar agency of God in the resurrection, which can never be evaded by the flimsy hypothesis of an apparent death. But, leaving aside all uncertain physical proofs, still we have in Christ's prophecies concerning his death, an immovable foundation whereon to base our conviction of its reality.

As in the case of Lazarus, and all other persons who had been dead, and were awakened again to life, it is only from the word of Christ we can conclude with certainty that they had been dead; since he openly declared, in cases where death had not taken place, that the persons only slept.² Therefore the word of Christ—the testimony of him who is the true witness—is the rock whereon alone rest the certainty that "He was dead, and is again alive," Rev. i. 18.

Attempts have not been wanting to obviate those clear, direct expressions of Jesus, in reference to his prospective death and resurrection, which we have in Matthew xvi. 21, xvii. 22, xx. 19; in Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34; and in Luke xviii. 33; besides, the less determinate passages, Matthew xii. 40, xvi. 4. But so very weak are the grounds upon which it is sought to make it appear probable that these were put into the mouth of Christ, post

¹ Compare Bretschneider's essay in opposition to Dr Paulus concerning the apparent death of Jesus, in "Den Studien," 1832, h. 3, s. 625, et seq. He exposes an instance in which Dr Paulus misunderstands Josephus, vit. c. 75, from which he concluded that men, after having hung three days upon the cross, had been restored to life, but, as Bretschneider shews, the passage contains nothing of the kind.

² Compare my explanation of the awakening of the daughter of Jairus, Comm. Part I. on Matt. If we must invert the signification of the simple, distinct declaration of Christ, "The maiden is not dead, but she sleepeth," into the assertion, "The maiden sleepeth not, but she is dead," I then freely confess that I cannot see how we can speak of any certainty resulting from Exegesis.

eventum, by the disciples, that the irresistible consciousness only that in this way alone was the great fact itself likely to be rendered suspicious, could have induced the originators of this attempt to lend to these grounds the slightest importance. For in the first place it is said "the risen Redeemer appealed to the prophecies of the Old Testament, Luke xxiv. 46, to shew that Christ must needs suffer and rise again, T.—but not to his own prophecies."¹ Now any one may easily see for what reason the Lord made reference to the Old Testament; because, for example, it plainly devolved upon him, under such circumstances, to demonstrate to the disciples the common connection of the New Testament and the Old Testament economies to his own personal history. A retrospective reference to his own words would therefore be of no importance to his object.

But again—some persons refer to the hopelessness of the disciples, which would not have been conceivable, if they had known anything of the resurrection. But if we consider how hard it is to believe in the fact of the resurrection, so hard, indeed, that even after the lapse of 1800 years, many are still unable to believe it, although the church has received the doctrine into the strictest circle of its dogmas. We shall be disposed to form a milder judgment of the apostles' inability to believe in the resurrection before it had taken place, nor shall we be able to ascribe to that circumstance the slightest force in disproof of the clear prophecies of the Redeemer.

St Peter did not believe that he could deny Christ, although it was foretold to him, not to mention other circumstances, which shew that the Lord had uttered many sayings which the disciples were not able entirely to comprehend.² There now remains to

¹ Luke xxiv. 6-8. The angel, too, referred to Christ's prophecies concerning the resurrection. This circumstance leads to the conclusion, that the Apostles had noticed similar pre-announcements of it in his discourse, which in after times they called to mind. The Lord's appealing to the Old Testament had besides the most important significance in his lips, for thereby he acknowledged it as the eternal word of God, Matthew v. 17.

² A remarkable external evidence of the resurrection of Jesus is contained in the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 6, from which it appears that many of the 500 disciples who beheld the risen Lord in Galilee, were living at the time when the Apostle wrote to the Corinthians. A more striking fact, in contradiction to the hypothesis, that the history of the resurrection is of a mythical character, is scarcely imaginable. The defenders of the myth have not permitted themselves to feel their weakness, by attempting to invalidate such decisive evidences as these—

be noticed by us, only that obsolete opinion, which (like the Woolfenbottle Fragmentist) employs the seeming discrepancy that exists amongst the four Evangelists, in order to make it probable that there was a deception in the whole occurrence of the resurrection. Now the account would have been far more suspicious, if, in unessential points, it were entirely free from discrepancy. It is now perfectly harmonious in the main facts of the narrative, but moves independently in reference to secondary matters. Assuming, further, that the discrepancies were utterly inexplicable, yet even this circumstance would not damage the credibility of what is essential in the narrative. But an explanation of particulars would shew that the disagreements of the Evangelists are merely the results of free interpretations of the same occurrences. A contrariety of statement generally arises where several persons, unconnected one with another, recount the same event. (Upon the literature of this question compare Hase's *Leben Jesu*, p. 196, § 135, and the subsequent paragraphs.)

The history of the resurrection possesses a peculiarity of character from the fact, that the holy Scriptures themselves make use of it, to typify the spiritual and corporeal resurrection, alike of the individual Christian and of the whole church. As in Romans vi. the Apostle Paul treats of baptism, in the twofold reference of that ordinance, to immersion and emersion, as typical of the death and resurrection of Christ.

§ 1. THE HISTORY OF THE RESURRECTION.

(Matthew xxviii. 1—15; Mark xvi. 1—11; Luke xxiv. 1—12; John xx. 1—18.)

The act of the resurrection itself, like every new process of production, is enveloped in obscurity. The writers of the New Testament make mention of what they themselves saw only, as that "the sepulchre was already empty." The creative energies operated in silence, and unobservedly, and wove, for the sublime person of the Lord, as it were, a raiment of celestial light, worthy of investing the King of the world of light. Even so, no evidences which, in connection with the notorious authenticity of the Pauline epistles, possess so much the more importance.

human eye, at that moment when the energies of life flowed into it, beheld how the body of the holy One arose. This may have been meant to typify, that the resurrection at the end of time, to which we look forward, will also be an unseen act of divine omnipotence. The great Sabbath on which the Lord, a second time, rested from his work, was spent, by the male and female friends of Jesus, in pious association, still thinking that they had lost him whom their souls loved. But this mistake did not cause them to err in their love, for, carried out to its proper consequences, it would have forced them to conclude definitely, that Jesus was not the Messiah. So far were they from this conclusion, however, that scarcely had the light of another day begun to dawn, when they hastened to complete the anointing of the Lord's body. Now in the account of this visit of the women to his tomb, very remarkable differences appear amongst the Evangelists. These require to be stated at the outset. In the first place, then, as regards the Synoptics, they are in the main unanimous.

Mary Magdalene, and Mary the wife of Cleopas (and—according to the statements of St Mark and St Luke respectively—Salome, and Johanna, the wife of Chuza—Luke xxiv. 10, comp. Luke viii. 3)—went about day-break, Mark xvi. 2, towards the sepulchre with the spices. On their way thither, they were speaking to each other on the difficulty they should find in rolling away the stone from the entrance to the sepulchre, Mark xvi. 3. But as they drew nigh to the tomb, they found that the stone was removed, and near to the place where Jesus lay, they saw an angel.

Here the first discrepancy occurs ; Luke xxiv. 4, deviates from St Matthew and St Mark, by mentioning two angels, whilst they make mention of one only. These angels addressed the women, informed them of the Saviour's resurrection, and directed them to publish the tidings to the disciples. Luke xxiv. 7, 8, in the address of the angel, contains something indeed which the other two writers have not, but the peculiar formal discrepancy proceeds from Mark xvi. 8, in which passage it is said : *ὠδὸν αὐτῶν εἶπον.*

At this point St Luke breaks off his account, only remarking in a cursory manner at xxiv. 11, 12, that the apostles did not believe the report of the women, but yet that Peter hastened to the sepulchre. The other two Synoptics append to those facts the additional one, that Christ himself appeared on the occasion. St

Matthew observes that he met the women when they were returning. St Mark speaks merely of his appearance to Mary Magdalene, without particularizing how she had separated herself from the other women,—compare Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, and Mark xvi. 9, 10. Now if we had only the accounts given by the Synoptics, the narrative might be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as unanimous. For, so far as the number of the angels is concerned, to any one who desires such minute accuracy, it is sufficient to say, that that apparent diversity occurs in the statement, because St Matthew and St Mark allude only to the angel that spoke to the women, whilst St Luke mentions also the less active heavenly messenger. Those words of Mark, οὕτως οὕτως εἶπον, ver. 8, will, however, harmonize easily with the whole account, provided we limit their comprehension, by supplying the sentence: “in the first moments” of their astonishment. To this mode of interpreting it, we are guided by the ἐπεὶ οὕτως γάρ which follows. The deviation of St Mark’s account appears to be the most conspicuous, Mark xvi. 9, where he suddenly names Mary Magdalene alone, and states that Jesus appeared first to her. Still if we had not the narrative of St John, even this diversity would not appear at all essential, for we need only to suppose, that a separation took place between Mary and the other women, which has been left unmentioned, in order to regard the two statements as nearly coincident. But the question assumes a totally different aspect, when we compare the narrative of the Synoptics with the account given by John. According to the latter, Mary Magdalene went alone to the sepulchre, whilst the morning was yet dark; she found the stone rolled away from it, and hastened back immediately to Peter and John, to whom she expressed her apprehensions that the body of the Lord had been taken away by some persons. On hearing this, the two disciples ran to the sepulchre. St John arrived at it first, but St Peter ventured to enter the sepulchre before him. After they had convinced themselves that the body of the Lord was not there, they returned back. Mary, however, still remained at the sepulchre weeping. Whilst she sat thus, she beheld two angels, and immediately after this vision, she beheld Jesus also, upon which she hastened to the disciples, and mentioned what she had seen. John xx. 1—18.

On a first view, there appears no similarity whatever between

this account and that of the Synoptics. Only in the passing observation of Luke xxiv. 12, that St Peter entered into the sepulchre, is there any appearance of an echo to the narrative of St John. Just as in Mark xvi. 9, 10, where it is stated that Jesus appeared first to Mary. But upon closer investigation, it will be seen that this great discrepancy, by the help of some inconsiderable assumptions, resolves itself into a perfect harmony, and that the several accounts blend together exactly as they might be expected when several persons, in narrating the same transaction, state merely those portions of it which they had observed themselves.

Even the accounts of several eye-witnesses, concerning events that occur in their very presence, almost always present a diversity of character, since the manner in which those events are conceived of varies with the point of view from which each has contemplated them. Griesbach and Hess have therefore adopted the following method of harmonizing the several narratives in opposition to the unhistorical objections to the truth of the resurrection, which have been founded upon these discrepancies.

The narratives of the Synoptics form two concurrent series: St John recounts merely what he himself had witnessed, but the Synoptics derived the knowledge of what they relate from others, probably from one of the women. Now, by simply assuming that Mary separated herself from the other women, came at first to the sepulchre alone, and then summoned St Peter and St John thither, the parallelism of the two accounts will become plain and perspicuous. The order of sequence in the events will then be as follows. Early in the morning, Mary betook herself to the sepulchre in company with the other women. But hastening in advance of her female companions, to her astonishment she found the sepulchre empty. Immediately Mary runs in haste to St Peter and St John. And in the meanwhile, the other women arrive, see the angels, and receive their commands and tidings. After they had gone away, Mary arrives with the two disciples, who, having seen the empty sepulchre, return home. Mary still remains by the tomb weeping. And now the angels appear to her also, and next the Lord himself. After this appearance of the Lord, which was witnessed by Mary alone, the Saviour again revealed himself to the women, who were returning from the sepulchre. According to this interpretation, all discrepancies vanish.

There is only one circumstance against which any one can object,

namely, "if the events occurred so near one to another, how could St Mark, as at xvi. 9, 10, have declared so decisively that the Lord appeared first to Mary? The other women certainly saw him about the same time, or at least so soon afterwards that the fact of Mary's having seen him first could not be specially remarked. Now, if in reference to this objection, we suppose that St Mark in his account of it deviates from the narrative of St Matthew, and relates this appearance independently as having occurred to Mary alone, whilst it was also true that Jesus shewed himself to the women on their return, then in relation to this point, it is most probable that St Matthew somewhat loosely extended to all the women the appearance, which had been witnessed by Mary only.

This discrepancy, however, is so unimportant that it in no way affects credibility of the narrative. It serves rather to establish the independency of the Evangelists, and that freedom from any collusion, which they exhibit in connection with the most perfect accuracy in the principal details. Having made these general remarks, we shall now treat of the particular events of the whole occurrence, according to the parallel passages specified.

Ver. 1—10, and the parallel passages in the Synoptics. As to what directly concerns the determination of the dates, the expression *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*, which occurs in Mark xvi. 1, serves to explain the *ὁψὲ σαββάτων* in St Matthew. For instance, *σαββάτων* equivalent to *ῥῆ*, even in its plural form *τὰ σάββατα*, was used for the one day of Sabbath. (Compare the Septuagint version of Exodus xx. 10, and Leviticus xxiii. 32.) *ὁψὲ* is, however, used in the sense of "After." Certainly this is the only passage in which it occurs in the New Testament. But it occurs also in this signification in profane writings. (Compare Philostratus, in Vit. Apoll. iv. 18, where *ὁψὲ μυστηρίων* is employed for "after the mysteries." So also in Thucyd. iv. 93 and Aelian, V. H. ii. 23. At the word *ἐπιφωσκούση* the reader should supply *ἡμέρη*. *Ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου* corresponds to the *ἕως τοῦ βαθέος*, occurring in Luke xxiv. 1 and Mark xvi. 2. John xx. 1 employs *σκοτίας ἔτι οὐσης*, which must be understood as referring to the morning twilight, and which, therefore, coincides with the statements of the other Evangelists.) Now, the day itself on which the women went forth to the sepulchre is called by all the Evangelists unanimously the *μία σαββάτων*, that is, the first day of the week, since the writers use *μία* as equal to *ῥῆ*. (The same phrase occurs in 1 Cor.

xvi. 2.) But *σάββατα* has also the signification of “the week.” Compare Luke xviii. 12.

The following verses, viz. 2—4, which contain statements peculiar to St Matthew, describe the occurrence of the resurrection itself, or at least of the incidents immediately accompanying it. It may be thought that in this passage St Matthew did not mean to pen a historical account, but merely to determine the facts of the appearance in question, and that the word *ἰδὼ* would have been used merely as a vivid mode of description. But those decided little touches—in the picture—the *ἀπεκάλυψε τὸν λίθον*, and more particularly the *ἐκδόητο ἐπ’ αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ*, do not allow us to form this latter hypothesis. Hence we must regard the account as referring to some other evidence, perhaps that of one of the watch.—*Ἰδεα* is equivalent to *ἑώραξεν*. Like every celestial vision, this one also appeared amid a halo of light: (*ἀστραπή*. Luke xxiv. 4 has *ἐν ἐσθήσειν ἀστραπτούσαις*.) To this conclusion we are led further by the mention made concerning the white raiment.

Upon verse 4, and the passage xi. 15, which is connected with it, compare the remarks made at Matthew xxvii. 62—66.

When the women approached the sepulchre, they beheld the angels.¹ In Luke only xxiv. 5 have we any description of the profound impression which this vision made upon them. These celestial messengers, as the women drew nigh, made known to them the resurrection of the Lord.² In verse 6 the *ὁ κήρυξ*, in the mouth of the angels, is replete with meaning. According to Luke xxiv. 6—8, they also reminded the women of the promise which Jesus had made relative to this fact.

Here, too, the women were commissioned to make known to the disciples, that he would go before them into Galilee. This we learn from St Matthew, and from Mark xvi. 7. The latter, moreover, expressly names St Peter. In verse 10, Jesus himself repeats this injunction, and in verse 16, it is stated that the disciples went to Galilee. The object of this arrangement, which Jesus had previously intimated, on the occasion of the supper, Matt. xxvi. 32, was, without doubt, no other than this:—The

¹ Like the commencement of the Lord's life upon earth, this beginning of his glorified life was also adorned with kindred angel-visions, visible to many persons. The other visions of angels, of which we meet with occasional mention, as having appeared to Christ, seem to have been internal revelations only.

² In Luke xxiv. 5, viz., where the sentence, *τί ζητεῖτε τον, ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν* occurs, the word *ζῶν* must be interpreted emphatically as meaning, “him who is the life itself.” Compare John i. 4.

Lord regarded the stillness and seclusion of Galilee as rendering it a more appropriate place, than could be found in the tumultuous metropolis, for the disciples to receive his solemn sanction to their apostolic commission.

The first appearances of the Lord, though occurring in Jerusalem, were only intended to convince the disciples, who were dubious of the fact, that he was risen in truth. In the verses 9, 10, with which St Matthew concludes this subject, the *κατασκευασμένη* is to be understood merely as a gesture of supplication which had been elicited by fear. Compare the closer investigation at John xx. 17. Mark, verses 9—11,¹ makes mention only of the vision seen by Mary Magdalene, with the remark that out of her Jesus had cast seven devils. (Compare at Luke viii. 2, and Matthew xii. 45.) This circumstance renders strikingly prominent the fact that the Saviour is rich in mercy, seeing that he revealed himself first to the meanest and most wretched of his followers who stood most in need of his assistance, but who was also by his acceptance inflamed with the most ardent love towards him. The disciples, meanwhile, in consequence of the death of Christ, were as yet so bewildered in mind that they yielded no credence to the joyous tidings of their Lord's resurrection, notwithstanding that he himself had previously so often and so positively foretold it to them. According to Luke xxiv. 11, they declared that the report of the women was mere *λογισμὸς*, that is, like the Latin, *nugæ*, a deceptive, vain word or thing.

John xx. 1—18. From this point the account of the Synoptics runs parallel with the narrative of St John. The latter proceeds next to relate of himself and St Peter, that they, under the conduct of Mary, were the only disciples who hastened forth to the sepulchre. Impelled by love, John was swifter in running than Peter. But he trembled at the idea of intruding himself into the hallowed scene of Christ's resurrection. The daring, resolute Peter, on the contrary, went directly into the sepulchre. Although at this time Peter had not as yet obtained immediately from the Lord the pardon of his grievous sin, yet, so steadfast was his faith in Christ's pardoning love, that not for a moment would he acknowledge himself to be excluded from his Lord. But how deeply the affectionate soul of John was impressed by the scene of that great event is manifest from the simple circumstance that he, verses 6, 7,

¹ On the authenticity of the concluding portion of St Mark's Gospel, see our observations on Mark xvi. 15.

minutely describes how the interior of the sepulchre was furnished. The grave clothes (or winding sheets of the dead = ἱδύνα, Luke xxiv. 12, compare John xi. 44) and the napkin which had enwrapped the head of Jesus, lay there, the latter being folded and in a separate place. Ἐντυλίσσω expresses "to envelope," but it has also the signification "to fold." Compare Matthew xxvii. 53.

As the circumstance of the napkin being folded, &c., is also noticed in Luke xxiv. 12, it must have had some special meaning. Tholuck very properly observes that it ascertains the force of the ἐπίσταντες in verse 9. For instance, at the first, when St John was speaking to Mary, he, like her, might have believed that the body of Jesus had been stolen away; but when in the sepulchre he perceived not the slightest trace of hurry or disorder, but found everything so carefully regulated, then arose in him real faith in the Lord's resurrection. Hence the ᾔδεισαν which follows in verse 9 is not, as Tholuck would have it to be regarded, the plu-perfect tense. We require only to translate the passage thus: "they understood not the scriptures in this sense." This application of the words to their faith concerning the resurrection is in every view of the case more appropriate than to conjecture with Lücke and others that they refer merely to their credence of the report of Mary. (With regard to the Old Testament prophecies of the resurrection, compare the observations made at Luke xxiv. 46 and 1 Cor. xv. 5.) After this occurrence, whilst the disciples betook themselves to their homes, Mary remained behind, weeping alone at the sepulchre. Looking into it she now beheld two angels, who were sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. Upon the authority of this passage we are justified in inferring that angels can at pleasure render themselves visible or invisible. For, in the present case, we are without doubt to understand that these were the same angels whom the women had seen previously, and who had remained present, but invisible. Mary Magdalene might not at first have thought they were angels. Hence, probably, her meek childlike answer to their question. In like manner she did not at first know Jesus when she saw him on turning round. As she happened to be in the garden, she supposed that he was the gardener.¹ (Κηπουρός, from κηπος and

¹ Even Tholuck, referring to this circumstance, offers the suggestion that after his resurrection Jesus might really have worn clothes belonging to the gardener.

ὄψεσθε, overseer, occurs here only in the New Testament.) But immediately upon hearing his voice she knew the Lord, and exclaimed with joyous affection 'παῖδονί. Compare Mark x. 51.

Mary, whilst thus speaking, ran perhaps to embrace the Lord's feet. (According to Matthew xxviii. 9, the other women did so likewise.) Then it was that the Lord addressed to her the enigmatical words, μή μου ἄπτου. Of the many attempts which have been made to explain these words, all those which would alter the text should be rejected at the very outset. Of this kind are the conjectures of Gersdorf and Schulthesz, σὺ μου ἄπτου, touch me, thou; and of Vogel, μή σὺ πτοου, fear not. The critical authorities perfectly establish the correctness of the usual reading μή μου ἄπτου. But as to the import of the words, various explanations have been suggested, which must also be deemed obsolete, and therefore, like the foregoing, be dismissed at once. To these belong, first, the interpretation, according to which ἄπτειν should be regarded as equivalent to the Hebrew רָעַר, and the Latin "adhaerere," "to delay;" so that the meaning of the passage would accordingly be, "hasten to thy brethren without making any delay, &c." Secondly, another interpretation to be rejected is, that according to which the attempt at touching the Lord had for its object, on the part of Mary, to assure herself whether the body of Christ was real or not, so that the μή μου ἄπτου would have been a reproof to her unbelief. But leaving all other considerations out of view, the context by no means harmonizes with either of the interpretations last noticed. For, on such an occasion, the instantaneous homage which Mary was about to yield to her heavenly friend was not at all an action to deserve the repulse they would make out she received. And, further, it should be observed that the subsequent ὡς γὰρ ἀνατίθηται is not at all consistent with the unbelief attributed to Mary.

There remain therefore only the following interpretations of the words which merit particular notice. And first, the view promulgated by Augustine, and commended by Calvin and Beza, ac-

Questions such as, "Whence did Christ get the necessary raiment he wore?" "How could he walk, seeing that his feet were pierced through and through?" are suggested to persons only in consequence of their believing that he rose again in a mortal body. According to our interpretation, as little do such queries merit any answer as does the analogous one, "From whence did the angels obtain their white raiment?"

cording to which the *απτεσθαι* is to be regarded as employed tropically, "and having a spiritual reference;" so that the meaning of the passage would accordingly be, "Cling not, to this my earthly appearance, for I shall be yet exalted in a heavenly manner." This notion is very agreeable to reason, and enters harmoniously into the connection of the passage; but the tropical interpretation of *ἀπτεσθαι* is so harsh, and so inappropriately would the *ἔπειτα* come after it, that we cannot assent to this mode of explanation. Secondly, other interpreters, especially Tholuck, understand *ἀπτεσθαι* as referring to the gesture of the *προσκύνησις*, and supply *προσέειπε* or *γυμνάτω*, like the embracing of knees which frequently occurs in Homer, and in the Old Testament in 2 Kings iv. 27. The meaning of the passage would therefore be, "Do not worship me, I am not a heavenly being, I must first be glorified."

But how could this be said by the same person who had given expression to those memorable sayings, "all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father;" "he who seeth me seeth the Father," John v. 23, and xiv. 9; and who, in strict conformity with the eminence he thus claimed, permitted Thomas to address him as *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*, John xx. 29? But, further, supposing we were to concede the point, that the divine worship of Christ was not to begin until after the *ἀναζώνειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*, yet assuredly the subsequent words of Christ, "to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God," would not at all consist with the prohibition of the worship. It is manifest that these words of the Saviour express the idea of an intimate association of the disciples with the person of Christ. So that the meaning of the words is, "The same God is mine, and yours, we are brethren." But if the *μή μὲν ἀπτεσθαι* referred to the prohibition of worshipping Christ, we should then be compelled to consider the prominent idea of the sentence as expressive of an infinite difference between Christ and his disciples, in which case the course of thought would be as follows: "Worship me not, for as yet I am not glorified; but when I shall have been glorified, and thereby exalted above you infinitely, then worship me." Thirdly, there remains,¹ therefore, for our consideration, only the

¹ Krabbe, in his work "on Sin, p. 316 et seq.," promulgates another explanation of this difficult passage. His explanation is somewhat similar to that previously given by Chrysostom and Erasmus. He thinks the meaning of the words to be this—"Do not touch me; that is, think not that the former confidence can still

interpretation of those words, *μή μου ἄπτου*, which Schleiermacher has put forth.¹

If we would only reflect, that the occurrence of the resurrection and of the glorification of Christ, were essential to his nature and office, from this mere conviction will be immediately suggested the thought that every interpretation of this passage, by which those events would be denied or deprived of their full significance, must necessarily be regarded as foreign to the intent of the passage. In the *ἀνασταίνειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου*, as a necessary consequence, therefore the completion of the Saviour's glorification is intimated.

According to this view, the words *ἀνασταίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν*, which follow, completely harmonize with the

subsist between us. My relation to you has become different from what it was, and, as such, you must henceforth regard it. Still thou hast not erred by calling me *ῥαλλεῶνι*, for such I am, thy risen Lord; but I have not yet ascended to my Father." This interpretation commends itself to us, when taken in reference to the account of Mary's anointing of the feet of Jesus. But as Krabbe himself has already observed, the *οὕτω γὰρ ἀναδείκναι* which follows, does not, according to this view, connect itself suitably with the *μή μου ἄπτου*. For the supplying of the sentence, "thou hast not erred in calling me *ῥαλλεῶνι*, for such I am," &c. is manifestly altogether arbitrary. Neither will the difficulty be avoided by taking this latter interpretation of the passage in a somewhat modified manner. If, for instance, we should conclude, according to the view of Augustin, that the meaning of the words is this, "Rest not satisfied with my tangible nature, but become exalted by faith to an apprehension of the spiritual nature of the Son of God. The former will vanish from you. The latter will remain with you, ever present. For I go to my Father, to whom you also shall hereafter approach," then the *οὕτω*, as we have already observed, entirely militates against this thought. The connection in which the saying, "touch me not, for I am not yet ascended," &c., stands, leads me back from every other exegesis, to the interpretation given in the context itself, and which is maintained by Schleiermacher, little as I agree with his peculiarity of thought. The explanation given by De Wette, perhaps allows more of its proper force to the *οὕτω*, where he gives the following as the meaning of the passage: "Mary finds her entire contentment in the appearance of Jesus, and with this feeling would embrace him. But Jesus reminds her of the fact that this content of hers was as yet premature." But in this view, the manner in which the touching expression of Mary's contentment, can be reconciled with the Saviour's prohibition, *μή μου ἄπτου*, against seeking that contentment, remains very obscure.

¹ Schleiermacher's festival sermons, the fifth collected edition, Berlin 1826, p. 303. In the incomparably beautiful sermon entitled "The resurrection of Christ a type of our new life," his words in reference to this passage are as follows:—"When the Saviour at first appeared to Mary, he then, as if fearful and susceptible, his glorified life being new to him, said, 'Touch me not; I am not yet ascended to my God and to your God;' but, after a few days, he presented himself to Thomas, and required him heartily to test the reality of his body, to thrust his hand into his side, &c."

preceding statement. But in the *μή μὲν ἄπτεσθαι* there seems to be involved something contradictory. Our impression of this discordance suggests the following thought: the Lord seems to say to his disciples, "Since I became mortal like you, ye, like me, shall become glorified, by being born again, and made true children of God, and my brethren."

§ 2. FURTHER APPEARANCES OF CHRIST ON THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION.

(Luke xxiv. 13—43; Mark xvi. 12—14; John xx. 19—29.)

The Lord, according to his promise, would probably have shewed himself to his disciples only in quiet Galilee, if they had been able at the same time to attain to a living faith in his resurrection. But the statements of the women who were first privileged to behold the Saviour did not satisfy them. They were unable, on the strength of those statements, to rise above their earthly views to the sublime elevation of an unwavering faith. According to John xx. 8, it is, however, probable that he alone was convinced of the truth of Mary's report. After the first day the risen Redeemer does not appear to have again revealed himself to the disciples in Jerusalem. The other appearances, which confessedly occurred, all took place probably in Galilee. In order to understand precisely the character of Christ's association with his disciples after his resurrection, so far as the documents before us represent it, we must first investigate minutely several difficulties, which are presented to us in this part of the evangelical history. In the first place, for instance, the question suggests itself, have the Evangelists recorded all the appearances of the Lord? or may there not have occurred many others, of which we are not informed? Upon comparing 1 Corinthians xv. 6, et seq., we find that the Apostle Paul even there makes mention of certain revelations of the Saviour, concerning which the gospels are silent; those, for example, with which St Peter and St James were privileged. The omission of these by the Evangelists is explainable, however, from the fact, that the Saviour shewed himself to these two disciples for particular reasons: to St Peter probably the appearance was made with

some reference to his denial of the Lord, but to St James, the brother of the Lord, because hitherto he had never been able to believe in Jesus. Compare John vii. 5, and Acts i. 14. Both these appearances, moreover, had as their object individual instruction, and on that account present nothing of general interest.

The apostle Paul speaks of another appearance still, besides the two noticed. At this over five hundred brethren were present, many of whom were yet living at the time when Paul wrote his epistles to the Corinthians. But this appearance may probably have been that of which the Synoptics make mention, as having happened in Galilee (compare at Matthew xxviii. 16, et seq.) Hence it appears to me most probable that no other appearances took place than those of which we have intelligence in the Scriptures. Jesus shewed himself to his disciples only, as he had promised, and even to them but in unfrequent visions. On this account, his association with the disciples after his resurrection, acquires a certain peculiarity of character. His resurrection was to the Pharisees, and to all who had not turned to Christ with full purpose of heart, a sign like that of the prophet Jonah. It was presented secretly, and merely to further their belief. The Lord could not reveal himself to them in his glory, for had he done so, and they had then resisted him, their culpability would have been greatly aggravated; and if, on the other hand, they had yielded themselves in discipleship to him, it would have been apparent, from the very nature of the case, that such a reformation could not have been sincere, in a moral point of view, but would have been one produced by fear only.

But if any, by the influence of the risen Redeemer, had been brought to render to the doctrine of his resurrection the honour due to truth, and that, without having seen Jesus after his resurrection, then it might be taken for granted that they had morally given themselves to the light. Had the risen Saviour therefore appeared to all or to any of his opponents, nothing but injury could have been the result; there would have been no utility whatever in his appearing to them.

But, as regards the disciples, they had previously enjoyed fully the privilege of the Lord's constant intercourse with them. And now it was only necessary to give them their thorough qualification, and to consecrate them to their work, that they might become

complete instruments for the service of God's kingdom. Hence the Lord, after his resurrection, shewed himself to them only upon peculiarly sacred occasions, and in the most impressive and mysterious manner. We find also that the disciples as often as they beheld the Saviour, were invariably seized with a secret feeling of dread, which mingled in a peculiar manner with their joy at possessing him who was the beloved of their souls.

Still, they knew distinctly that they now possessed him in a manner different from what they did formerly, for, when in his ascension to heaven the Saviour withdrew altogether from them, they were filled with joy, and did not in any way sorrow as in earlier times, for they knew that Christ would remain present with them in spirit, and be at the same time himself exalted to sit at the right hand of God.

The questions, "Where did the Lord abide in the time intermediate between his appearances?" and "how did he support himself?" have arisen in modern times, from indistinct views concerning the nature of the risen Redeemer's life. (In Christian antiquity, the fundamentally correct views of the resurrection which prevailed, afforded no ground for such questions.) But if we reflect that, even prior to the resurrection, the Saviour walked upon the waves of the sea, and fed thousands of persons with a few loaves, we may well take it for granted that after the resurrection the glorified Saviour would have been still less restrained by physical laws; and therefore that the necessities incident to human nature could have had no application whatever to him when glorified.

Ver. 13—24. The first appearance of Jesus on the resurrection day itself (besides those at the sepulchre), was that which Luke xxiv. 13—24 expressly mentions, and which is briefly glanced at in Mark xvi. 12—14.

Two disciples were on their way to Emmaus. Of these one was named Cleopas, $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}\pi\alpha\varsigma = \kappa\lambda\epsilon\omega\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. He was perhaps a relative of Jesus. John xix. 26. It was then the afternoon, for it was evening when they returned, John xx. 19. $\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ or $\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, was, as is mentioned by Josephus, B. J. vii. 6, 6, a little village, distant from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey, that is, sixty stadia. This village must not be confounded with the city of the same name which lay at a distance of twenty miles from Jerusalem, and which in after times received the name of Nico-

polis. It was in this latter named city that Judas Maccabeus defeated Gorgias, the Syrian general. Compare 1 Maccab. iii. 40—57; also Winer's *Reallex*, s. 382. The two disciples were conversing together concerning the great events of the few past days, when, without being recognized, Jesus himself joined company with them. On this fact, Luke xxiv. 16 has remarked that "their eyes were holden," *οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ἐχέρατοῦντο*. But Mark xvi. 12 gives prominency to the fact that Christ himself appeared *ἐν ἐπέρωτα μορφῇ*.

We may suppose that both circumstances were true: that on the part of the Lord, there was a veiling of his person; and also that the "eyes" of the disciples "were holden." But all attempts to account for his not being recognized, through the trouble of the disciples, and similar suppositions, should be rejected as utterly unscriptural.

We ought, on the contrary, to keep it constantly in mind, that the foreignness of the Lord's appearance was in part a consequence of his glorification, though it might also to some extent have been intended by him. There is greater difficulty in the question, "What were the Lord's reasons for not revealing himself openly at first, and for withdrawing when he was recognized?" Perhaps the personal character of the two disciples had something to do with it. They appear, from verse 21, to have been entirely in error as to the Messiahship of Jesus, and hence were in need of some powerful support to their faith. This the Saviour vouchsafed, by explaining to them the doctrine of Christ's vicarious death, as taught by the Scriptures. But if Jesus had made himself known to them, before he had convinced them by the force of Scriptural proofs, his appearance would have overpowered them beyond measure, so that they would not have been capable of calm investigation. For this reason, the intelligible revelation of his person did not take place till he had effected the principal object for which he appeared to them.

The Saviour opened the conversation by inquiring the cause of their sadness. (*Συνοχέωπες*, consult Matt. vi. 16.) To this Cleopas made answer, and rehearsed to him the great and well-known events of the few preceding days. (*Παροικεῖν*, like *פָּרַח*, does not merely signify to tarry as a stranger or foreigner in a place; but it also expresses generally, "to dwell," "to belong to the place." See Genesis xxiv. 37.) Dr Paulus thinks that the summary

account of the fate of Jesus, contained in the 19th and following verses, is a report of the conversation between the two disciples, and that one spoke the 19th and 20th, and the other those that follow. To this supposition he has been led by the circumstance, that verses 19 and 21 seem to be contradictory one to another: according to the 21st verse, they would seem to have given up all hope, whilst, according to verse 19th, Jesus is still called a prophet. Now, if we suppose that the two disciples held different views of Christ, that one, for instance, possessed more faith than the other, this apparent contrariety would be explained.

But as it is not intimated by even a word, that verse 21 followed as the reply of one of the interlocutors to the other, this supposition cannot be maintained without great difficulty. It is much more correct to understand the expression *ὁ μέλλων ναπαύσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν*, as referring to the Messiah, and to separate it from the idea of the prophet, verse 19. The disciples might have doubted whether Jesus was the Messiah, and yet have believed him to be a prophet. Many of the prophets had been put to death, therefore the death of Jesus could not have occasioned them to err in their belief as to his prophetic dignity. But as regarded the Messiah, they still seemed to entertain the indistinct popular notions (which, however, were by no means the general views of the enlightened classes amongst the Jews. Compare at John i. 29.) Therefore, in consequence of the death of Jesus, they were persuaded that the exercise of his Messiahship was annihilated. In their view, then, the *ναπαύσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν*, would certainly have but a very subordinate, and perhaps in part a political signification. The words that ensue, in verses 22–24, express finally the report concerning the resurrection of Christ, to which, however, these disciples would not yield any credence. Their words, however, corroborate the twofold appearance of Jesus to the women, which the Synoptics relate, as well as that which was witnessed by St Peter and St John, and which has been recorded by the latter; and this testimony is the weightier, that it cannot have been intentionally introduced into the narrative of St Luke, for he has not made any mention of the transaction between Christ and these two disciples.

Verses 25–35. Consequent upon this lament of theirs, the Lord addressed to them his discourse of reproof and of consolation. He

first reprehended the want of susceptibility manifested by the disciples, as to the predictions so clearly made by the prophets. (Ἀνότητος is by no means synonymous with Βραδύτης τῇ καρδίᾳ: on the contrary, the former signifies an incapacity of the νοῦς, the latter an unsusceptibility of the καρδία: so that taken together, the two expressions describe the want of susceptibility of the whole man, both in relation to head and heart.) And secondly, Christ quoted the individual prophecies of Scripture concerning himself, and expounded them to the two disciples, shewing them that the suffering of the Messiah was necessarily connected with the perfecting of his whole work, and with the completion of his δόξα. Comp. on this subject the remarks made on John xiii. 31, and on Matthew xxvii. 46. This divinely decreed necessity was what the prophecies of the Old Testament expressed. They refer as well to the resurrection of the Lord as to his death, Comp. Luke xxiv. 46, and 1 Corinth. xv. 3, 4. Christ now led the disciples to the truly spiritual manner of apprehending those prophecies by going through them singly, (Luke xxiv. 44, specifies Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms. This passage affords a proof that our present classification of the Old Testament Scriptures into תנ"ך, ספרים, and פסלמים, prevailed even at the time of Christ; for the last class is named "the psalms," because the psalms constituted the first book of the division.) This last statement is of the utmost importance to us, inasmuch as it justifies us in regarding the explanations of the Old Testament prophecies, which the apostles give us in their writings, as the authentic expositions of the Saviour himself. They thus acquire a degree of security and stability, which to all unprejudiced judges, must elevate them to the character of demonstrations of the faith which cannot be shaken. The prophecies given by the Spirit of God, have been all interpreted again in their spiritual reference by the Lord, 2 Peter i. 20, so that a secure ground on which to rest their faith is afforded to all, who are perplexed with doubts, merely because of the infirmity of the human understanding; whilst to the wilfully sceptical alone, as is fit, does the possibility remain of saying concerning every prophecy, "the Lord would certainly not have applied this with the others to himself." These passages, together with Matthew v. 17, constitute the most certain demonstration of the divine inspiration of the Old Testament from the lips of the Lord himself. So that with faith in the person of the Redeemer, we receive not

merely prospective faith in the divinity of the New Testament, but also retrospective faith in the divinity of the Old Testament. After this conversation on the journey, the Lord desired to withdraw, since his chief object had been attained. But he, unknown though he was, so dear when known, had filled their hearts with the marvellous energy of love. They were not able to bear separation from him. He therefore entered with them into the house where they stopped, and disclosed himself to them, in the act of breaking of bread. But immediately afterwards vanished from before their eyes.

There is no need of inferring arguments to prove, that it was not the intention of the Evangelists to intimate a mere ordinary quick departure by the *αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, ver. 31, any more than that the previous sentence, *αὐτῶν διηρώχθηται αἱ ὀφθαλμοί* means an ordinary recognition. Their zeal was so great, that they would certainly have followed him. The only correct interpretation of the passage is that all the incidents of his appearance on this occasion, his coming, his allowing himself to be recognised, his departure, involve something mysterious. Although the identity of Christ was unaffected by the resurrection and glorification of his body, yet were his being and nature more exalted, more consecrated than formerly. His appearance, although it was corporeal, was yet similar to that of celestial natures.

Besides, the *ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῶν* cannot be involved in the words quoted, in such a manner, as that the *γίνεσθαι, ἀπὸ τινός* should have been employed in the sense of, “to separate himself from any one.” According to such an interpretation, it is evident that the word *ἄφαντος* would be very unsuited to the connection. On the contrary, the *ἀπ' αὐτῶν* to which we might supply *πορεύμενος* should be regarded as appending the signification (to the whole account) that Jesus did not merely become invisible, or remain invisible, but that he withdrew himself entirely. After this occurrence, therefore, the two disciples hastened thence, to the place of assembly of the Apostles, where the latter met them, with the tidings that the Lord had appeared to Peter, 1 Cor. xv. 5, and Luke xxiv. 34. This intelligence they recompensed with an account of what they themselves had experienced.

John xx. 19—23. Scarcely had the two disciples from Emmaus entered the place, when the Lord himself also stood in the midst of them. St Luke and St John mutually supply certain facts

In their accounts of this fresh appearance, the latter describes the scene itself. The former passes over the mere scene, but labours to give the strongest and most direct assurances of the reality of the Lord's corporeity, a matter of which St John makes but cursory mention. Now, as regards the place in which the disciples were assembled, John, verse 19, mentions, that they had shut the doors through fear of the Jews. Long before the present time, interpreters had discovered something miraculous in Christ's entering, when the doors were closed. Some have thought that the doors were opened in a miraculous way. This was the opinion of Hieronymus, who on this subject employs the words: *creatura cedente Creatori*.

Others would make it appear that the Lord entered through the closed doors, as if the words *διὰ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων* were employed. So thought Theophylact, who also expresses the unscriptural notion, that the Saviour arose without the stone having been removed from the sepulchre. Comp. Matthew xxviii. 2. It is quite plain that the text in no way justifies us in framing such hypotheses, and that the passage is falsely applied in support of dogmatical views, by the Lutheran divines, in the doctrine of the ubiquity.

Meanwhile, determinedly as we should avoid the needless miraculous in our interpretation, just as decidedly shall we feel ourselves compelled to combat that interpretation, which designates the appearing of Christ, on this occasion, as a common and usual entrance.

The latter is contradicted, not only by the *ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον*,¹ which points to something of a sudden character, but also by that important passage, John xx. 30, in which the appearances of the Lord are designated as *σημεῖα*: compare the particulars on this passage. In one of those very *σημεῖα*, for instance, according to the correct interpretation of the disciples, there was revealed to them something exalted and celestial; for the Lord himself appeared to them as of a super-terrestrial nature. And this unusual

¹ The repetition of these words, when taken in connection with the formula, *τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων*, verse 26, without in the latter case any mention being made concerning "their fear of the Jews," refers to something of profound significance. Moreover, *φανερῶσθαι* is employed descriptively of the appearances of the risen Saviour, in which is manifestly expressed the fact, that they were the entrances of an exalted being, like divine or angelic visions. John xxi. 1.

characteristic was indicated by his entering suddenly, without any previous intimation having been given them.

In this view alone the subsequent account of the pains taken by the Lord to convince them that his was a real body, becomes explicable. If he had entered in the same manner as the others, then no such mode of convincing them would have been required.

It is here, for the first time, mentioned, that the Lord said to the assembled disciples: εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Which saying he afterwards, (verse 21,) repeated impressively. This was quite a usual form of salutation amongst the Jews [שָׁלוֹם שְׁלָמָה.] But in the lips of the glorified Redeemer, it contained not only a superior signification—as wishing them temporal and eternal peace, but it contained also an essential power. When the Lord entered, they were immediately penetrated by a feeling of sacred peace. They felt that they were in immediate proximity with the holy one. Hence then the supposition, that it may have been the appearance of a spirit in the form of Jesus. In Luke xxiv. 37, πνεῦμα is employed in a like sense, with that of φάντασμα in Matthew xiv. 26. To the Apostles the notion of a spirit may have been just as obscure as is that of a ghost to persons in our day. But in both cases opinions agree, that it consists in a bodiless apparition.

It became the Lord to disabuse their minds of this doctetic illusion. The essential character of the resurrection did not consist in the returning again of the spiritual principle: but directly in the renewal of corporeal life. When therefore the Saviour, to prove that his was a real body, shewed them (according to Luke xxiv. 38–43) his hands and his feet, bearing the marks of his wounds, and even ate in their very presence; no argument can be raised from this occurrence, as was previously remarked, in disproof of the fact, that the body of Christ was a glorified body, for though it was glorified, it was still corporeal in the true sense of the word. Yet we are not warranted to infer, that he ate because he felt any real necessity of food. Such a supposition would be incompatible with the doctrine that his was a glorified body. But his having eaten thus should be regarded as the actual proof employed to demonstrate that his body was a real one. Many most estimable theologians imagine that such passages as these militate against the opinion that the body of Christ was glorified

at the resurrection ; but the reason of this is, that they do not in reality believe in the glorification of the body at all, but regard the subject monophysically, as if the body had been annihilated through the agency of the spirit. The propensity of the present day to represent as ideal all profound and mysterious doctrines, have conducted to this view, which is meanwhile, in the most decided terms, repudiated by holy writ. (Compare 1 Cor. xv. and 2 Timothy ii. 18.) How profoundly characteristic of human nature is the remark in verse 41, that the disciples were filled with joy, and yet that they could not bring themselves to believe firmly that it was the true Jesus whom they saw before them ! Man feels a secret horror in the presence of all purely spiritual being divested of the corporeal covering. The appearance of Christ was precious to them, and a source of sacred joy, only when they felt certain as to the reality of his body.

In this circumstance an indirect support is afforded to the conclusion that God is not the author of death, (Wisdom of Solomon i. 13 ;) that the severance of the connecting bonds between soul and body is opposed to nature, and that only in this union of soul and body can the former find its full satisfaction. (Ὁπτός, from ὀπτάω, broiled or roasted, Luke xxiv. 42. Μελίσσων κηρίον is used for the honey of bees, in distinction from that of grapes or of fruits.) John xx. 20 barely hints at this incident, for he chiefly wished to mention in a particular manner what referred to Thomas. On the other hand, he states a circumstance which is different and very remarkable. He states, for example, that the Lord once more and most impressively uttered the words, "Peace be unto you," then reminded them of their divine mission to the world, and, breathing upon them, said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." These words may be regarded as their solemn installation in the apostolic office, and as the confirmation of their exalted prerogatives (Upon the forgiving and retaining of sins, compare at Matthew xvi. 19.)

That something of this kind should be effected by the risen Saviour seems in the highest degree suited to the occasion ; the disciples must as it were receive from him, with fresh assurances, that which had been previously promised to them ; but this event does not seem quite so well suited to the resurrection day itself, since, in addition to other considerations, Thomas was not present, who was not to be excluded from the apostleship. It would have

appeared far more suited to its object had this renewed consecration taken place at the end of the forty days, for the ratification of the choice of the apostles would have formed a magnificent conclusion to the earthly ministry of Christ. To this also the accounts given by the Synoptics of the last commands of Jesus, by which the apostles were anew authorized as messengers to mankind, would be admirably suited. I feel almost inclined to suppose that on this point St John narrates the incident in an abridged manner (that such is done by the Synoptics might be directly proved), and therefore that he includes in his notice of this appearance things which did not transpire until afterwards.

The account that follows concerning Thomas is not contradictory of this hypothesis, for it is manifestly only supplementary; its object being to describe the means by which that disciple was brought to believe in the resurrection of Christ.

St John concludes his Gospel at the 20th chapter and 30th verse; for there can be no doubt that the 21st chapter is an addition which was made after the work was completed. But, besides, I regard the opinion that the *ἀλλοτε πνεῦμα ἄγειν* should be understood as referring to the anticipated outpouring of the Spirit upon the day of Pentecost, as altogether untenable. The symbolical act of breathing on the disciples would be a mere empty ceremony, if it could be regarded as being unaccompanied by any spiritual influence. The communication of the Spirit to the disciples should much rather be understood as a reception by gradual augmentation. Upon their being sent forth the first time, Matt. x., the disciples received a superior degree of spiritual power. In the present case the Lord further augments that gift. Whilst at the feast of Pentecost the fulness of the Spirit was poured out upon them. With the possession of the Spirit was connected the power of forgiving sins and that of not forgiving, that is, of retaining them; for, in its very nature, it includes the conditions through which alone the proper exercise of such power could have been secured with freedom from abuse. Compare at Matthew xvi. 19. If we could imagine that between this communication of the Spirit and the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost upon the day of Pentecost, there existed not merely a difference in degree but also in kind, especially if we suppose the difference to consist in the fact that the former had reference to sanctification and to the apostolical office, but that the outpouring at the feast of Pen-

tecost had reference to miraculous gifts, then the two communications would have been incompatible, for the following reason, viz. because, according to Matthew x. 1, et seq., the Apostles, long previously to the event on the day of Pentecost, had been endowed with miraculous gifts. The symbolical act of breathing does not again occur in the sacred Scriptures. But, taken in connection with the meaning of *πνεῦμα*, from *πνέω*, to breathe, the act is self-explained. Hence, in all languages, the expressions that have been framed to convey the signification of “communications of the Spirit” have all been borrowed from “*breathing*.” On this statement compare Knapp. Ser. Var. Arg. pp. 29, et seq., in the treatise upon 2 Peter i. 19–21. Compare also in my Opusc. Acad. the treatise upon Hebrews iv. 12, 13, the pages 4 and 8.

Ver. 24–29. At the beginning of this paragraph we called attention to the probability that none of the later appearances of Christ occurred in Jerusalem. Amongst these I include that which was witnessed by Thomas eight days after the resurrection, verse 26.

John relates this appearance less for its own sake than in order to explain the circumstance of Thomas’s being absent on the former occasion. At the same time, however, the precise description he gives of the way in which Thomas was convinced of the reality of Christ’s body, might have been especially intended by St John for the instruction of such of his readers as held doketie views, and who, like Thomas, would have found it extremely difficult to believe in the true humanity of the Lord. It has been already observed that Thomas’s conduct indicated a predominancy of the reflective faculties ; so that we may entitle him the greatest rationalist¹ amongst the Apostles. To such persons a right conception of the divine nature is usually very difficult, for in them the active powers of the mind have a controlling influence over the passive, so that they can only represent or imagine the notion of Deity, but never can arrive at its true possession. If, however, the force of what is divine once assert its supremacy in their moral nature, then the ideal edifice which their imaginations had framed is razed effectually, and their perception of that which is superior, expresses

¹ On this passage Tholuck strikingly remarks : “ We may see that a passion for the marvellous was by no means a fault common to all the Jews. Moreover, it could hardly be a myth that a disciple had doubted thus. His incredulity becomes to us, accordingly, a very convincing proof of the truth of the resurrection. ‘*Dubitatum est ab illo,*’ says Leo the Great, ‘*ne dubitetur a nobis.*’ ”

itself in bold faith. Thus was it with Thomas. Once convinced, he exclaimed *ὁ κύριός μου, καὶ ὁ Θεός μου*. According to a Hebrew idiom, the nominative with the article stands here for the vocative. Many attempts have been made to represent these words of Thomas as a mere exclamation, which did not at all signify his belief. But they all founder before the grammatical connexion of the words taken in their psychological relation to the character of Thomas. That the name of God was commonly used as a mere exclamation by the Jews in the same manner as it is amongst us, cannot be demonstrated; indeed it is incredible, when we consider the stringent character of their law. Such an exclamation would have been a transgression of the command, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." Besides, the words *εἶπεν αὐτῷ* shew distinctly that they should be referred to Christ personally. Therefore the only conclusion to which we can come to is, that Thomas styled Jesus "God." Some have asserted that on this occasion Thomas applied to the Redeemer an epithet which expressed more than he would have uttered in moments of self-possession and reflective consciousness.

Were this assertion made in reference to the earlier condition of the apostle, I should readily agree with it, but to understand it thus in reference to his subsequent state of mind, as if in a moment of great excitement he had said more than he meant, is a decision altogether unpsychological. Such natures as that of St Thomas, when once they are conquered by heavenly energy, hold their belief firmly, and the more firmly, that they have been brought to conviction by almighty power itself, which must have been employed to subdue their obstinate resistance. We are in short compelled to regard this incident as the occasion on which Christ revealed himself completely to the disciples, and on which St Thomas was thoroughly illuminated by divine light, and renewed in his inner nature, so that now for the first time the Lord was manifested to him, not merely in his outward form, visible to the senses, but also to the inner man, in the glory of his divine nature.

But beyond all question, the *ὁ Θεός μου*, assumes, that as Thomas knew Christ had on former occasions claimed divine honour for himself, and this claim which on those occasions appeared to him either simply unintelligible, or even an offensive expression, was now apprehended by him in its full and true signification. Thus

Christ's revelations of himself were attended by the most exalted effects. In the case of St Peter, of St James, and of St Thomas, especially; completing, as they did, the gradual renewing of their minds, and consummating it in their regeneration. Upon these disciples the appearances of Christ produced an effect exactly similar to that produced upon the Apostle Paul by the revelation made to him on his journey to Damascus.

The reply of Jesus to the address of Thomas still further confirmed the humbling impression experienced by the apostle from the whole transaction. For Jesus directed his attention to the fact, that his scepticism was the result of sin, especially of the one-sided predominance of the intellectual power of the understanding, by which his susceptibility of what was divine, and his capacity for apprehending the powers of the heavenly world, were narrowed and circumscribed. Upon the relation existing between faith and sight, compare at 2 Corinthians v. 7.

§ 3. CONCLUDING VERSES OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS.

(Matt. xxviii. 16—20; Mark xvi. 15—20; Luke xxiv. 44—53; John xx. 30—31.)

If we compare the concluding portions of all the four Gospels with one another, we shall discover that they involve a certain species of indefiniteness. In Matthew xxviii. 16, it is indeed expressly stated, that the Lord appeared to his disciples in Galilee, as he had promised; and even the place where the appearance occurred is particularly mentioned. But yet in St Matthew's account there is nothing said of the ascension into heaven.

We are thus left in darkness as to the manner in which the discourses of the Lord, contained in St Matthew's account of this appearance, and which seem to have been his final farewell discourses, stand related to the great concluding event of the Lord's life upon earth. St Mark, who but briefly alludes to the ascension into heaven, gives meanwhile, in the verses immediately antecedent, 15—18, the elements of discourses which are closely related to those at the conclusion of St Matthew. The meaning of these is, however, so fluctuating in consequence of the vague transition denoted by *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*, ver. 15, and so confounds itself with the sense of the preceding verses, that we might easily believe

the Redeemer had uttered them on the occasion of his appearance on the evening of the resurrection day. In like manner, St Luke separates his account of the ascension of Jesus to heaven from its natural connection with the rest of the narrative. And the verses 44—49, connect themselves so loosely with what goes before them, that it remains doubtful whether the discourses they record are to be regarded as having been uttered during the Saviour's last appearance or not.

Finally, St John, after his account concerning St Thomas, concludes his gospel at xx. 30, 31, with a concise reflection, which is given in the form of a general apophthegm. For chapter xxi. is a supplement afterwards added to the document. In this gospel, therefore, the parting words of the Saviour, as the Synoptics give them, are entirely wanting, nor do the passages in chapter xxi. which mention the Saviour's appearances in Galilee, contain any account of them; they touch merely upon subjects of a personal character, and chiefly upon matters relating to St Peter.

This is a very striking fact, and requires careful investigation. It may be thought that the Evangelists ought to have felt bound to relate the history of the resurrection in the most circumstantial manner, since every subsequent appearance of the risen Lord, with everything that happened on each occasion, would have given additional strength to the evidence of the truth of the resurrection. But, instead of this, they narrate the circumstances in a general and indefinite manner, without distinguishing accurately between the several appearances of the Lord, and leaving it quite uncertain whether the discourses which they quote were delivered on this or on the other occasion. Yet, upon a closer examination, we shall find that the manner in which the Evangelists represent the whole is expressive of the fundamental and essential truth of their narratives.

If we entirely omit those references which are merely personal, such as occur in the accounts of the appearances that were made, especially on behalf of St Thomas and St Peter respectively, we shall most probably find that nearly the same incidents accompanied all the appearances of the Lord.

The Saviour did not shew himself on these occasions for the purpose of imparting any new information, or of unfolding any fresh aspect of his efficacy, but rather for the purpose of confirming that faith in his person, the foundation of which had been

already laid. Hence the appearances were upon the whole few in number, and probably also of only a brief and transitory character. In comprehensive intimations, the Saviour informed the disciples of things pertaining to the kingdom of God, Acts i. 3, and respecting the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning himself, Luke xxiv. 44; and this he did to produce in them a decided adherence to the cause of God. The Evangelists therefore, on account of the similarity of the truths expressed by the Saviour on those occasions, might easily not only have transposed and interchanged the several occasions on which they were uttered, but they might also have comprehended, under a few leading thoughts perfectly suited to their object, the different discourses of the Lord. A more particular investigation is here necessary¹ concerning the critical question as to the authenticity of the conclusion of St Mark's Gospel, xvi. 9—18.

The testimony afforded by codices and other critical aids, is of such a kind as to render the opinion perfectly conceivable that this section is not authentic. J. D. Michaelis declares himself favourable to this view, and is followed in his declaration by Griesbach, Grats, Bertholdt, Schulthesz, Schultz, and Fritzsche.

Although these last-named scholars think that the spuriousness of this section is clearly proved, that conclusion cannot be by any means regarded as fully established, whilst we have the renowned names of Storr, Matthäi, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, Paulus, Schott, and Saunier, as those of the champions by whom the authenticity of the passage is defended. They shew that many circumstances may be adduced in proof of the authenticity of the passage. But perhaps the most directly conclusive circumstances in reference to the question have been overlooked even by the defenders themselves. These circumstances we shall now place before the reader in a compendious form.

If we consider the critical authorities only, it is undoubtedly the fact, that the result of their collation will be to make the section appear suspicious. The passage is wanting in all the existing codices, except in codex B. Some, however, have asterisks, and others scholia,² at this section. Several fathers of the

¹ As to the critical opinions concerning the conclusion to St Mark's Gospel, compare the Appendix to Rüdiger's Synopsiis, p. 235, &c.

² In the codex L. there certainly occurs in a marginal note a different recension of the concluding section of Mark. It reads as follows: *φίρεται που καὶ ταῦτα.*

church also mention that Mark xvi. 9–18 is deficient in many of the codices. This is plainly asserted, not only by Euthymius, and Victor of Antioch, but even by Hieronymus and Eusebius : ancient and unimpeachable witnesses. The first of these, in one passage, opp. vol. iii. 96, even mentions that almost all the Greek manuscripts want the section in question. However, in another passage, opp. vol. ii. 193, he himself limits this assertion to some of the Greek MSS. Probably Eusebius did not meet with the section in the manuscripts collated by him, or at least regarded it as unauthentic ; for his canons conclude with verse 8. Irenæus, however, iii. 16, early as he wrote, acknowledges the section questioned as part of the Gospel of St Mark. Now, that this is a very remarkable circumstance, cannot be denied. Nor should it be lost sight of ; for all the arguments against the authenticity of the passage are limited to and dependent upon it. Some persons indeed have adduced as an argument the fact, that the manuscripts which retain the passage present it amidst a crowd of contradictory readings, a circumstance by which, as is well known, spurious additions to the text usually betray their false character. If, however, we compare this section with the history of the adulteress, John viii. 3–11, we shall be ready to acknowledge that this argument rests upon a very slender foundation. There are many passages of the authenticity of which no one entertains a doubt, but in which there are many more discrepancies than are found in the concluding portion of St Mark. In like manner there is no signification whatever in the objection, that as St Mark had said, xiv. 28, and xvi. 7, that “Jesus would reveal himself to the disciples in Galilee,” if St Mark had written this concluding section, he would undoubtedly have recorded the appearances of Jesus in Galilee ; but since this has not been done, the composition must be attributed to some other person.

Now, a comparison of verses 15–18 with Matthew xxviii. 16, will manifestly shew, that St Mark actually describes Christ's appearing in Galilee, and therefore the omission of any express mention of Galilee merely exhibits a want of circumstantial precision in the narrative, such as may be discovered even in the best historical writers.

πάντα δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξηγγείλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύοσας ἐξαπίσטיλ· δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κῆρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας.

But let us, in deference to those important critical doubts, admit for a moment that the passage is not authentic. Since the addition of it to the defective codices may be explained, though not its omission from those which contained it at first. Will the whole matter, then, be quite plain and easy of comprehension? I very much question it. In what way, then, is the origin of this "appended section" to be accounted for? Perhaps it originated from those materials furnished by tradition, or from apocryphal gospels? But this view no one will maintain; for the conclusion of St Mark contains no peculiar information which can be designated, for its harmoniousfulness of details. Must it then have taken its origin from materials furnished by our received gospels?

If so, its composer must have intentionally excluded the Gospel of St John from his notice, because he recounts nothing which that gospel contains! Now, such an exclusion would be altogether inexplicable; for it is certain that, in after times, when a collection of the gospel writings had been made, no one would have taken his information from St Matthew and St Luke, to the utter neglect of St John! And any one who might have desired to conclude the gospel of St Mark by adding a compendious survey of the appearances of Christ, would without doubt have borrowed his materials from St John.

But, improbable as it is, let us make the supposition that, in order to construct a conclusion to the Gospel of St Mark, some person availed himself of St Matthew and St Luke only, does this supposition suffice to account for its production? At a first glance it seems sufficient, inasmuch as St Mark gives, in a condensed form, all that the other two Evangelists narrate in detail. Upon inquiring more particularly, however, we shall be ready to acknowledge that even this hypothesis cannot be maintained. For, if the conclusion of St Mark's Gospel were such a compilation as we have supposed, we should discover in it a slavish adherence to the sources whence its information was derived. But, on the contrary, although this section contains no entirely new account (the same indeed is true of the whole Gospel of St Mark,) yet it exhibits additional peculiarities of style which completely and perfectly accord with the character of the style in which the whole gospel is written, so that it is impossible to suppose it the work of any mere compiler. Of this internal evidence the words which occur in ver. 12: *ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέροις μορφῇ*, form part, and that en-

tirely peculiar form of expression, *γλώσσαις και νῆας λαλεῖν*, in ver. 17, and similarly, all which is quoted in ver. 18, under the signs to be expected by the apostles in their ministry, such as the touching of serpents, the drinking of deadly substances, and the praying over the sick. Now, since no foreign character appears in the style of the composition throughout, we must acknowledge that the unauthenticity of this concluding section cannot be regarded as completely established. Neither can there be assigned any imaginable reason why St Mark should have left his narrative uncompleted. He certainly never could have meant to conclude with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*, at ver. 8. The hypothesis put forth by Michaelis to explain this circumstance is so flimsy, that it only shews how very little of a satisfactory character can be said on the supposition that St Mark himself did not write the conclusion. He is of opinion that St Mark derived his information from St Peter; that St Peter, when he was thrown into prison, was unable to make further communications to the Evangelist, and consequently that St Mark was obliged to break off his narrative abruptly. But surely we must not imagine that the Evangelist could have so carefully restricted himself to the narrations of St Peter. Even assuming that such had been the case, still St Mark could have found the means of composing a brief conclusion to his gospel; to say nothing of the fact that other persons, besides St Peter, possessed information concerning the appearances of Christ, from whom he could have learned whatever was necessary to the completion of his gospel. What a very plain aspect does the case assume when, on the other hand, we proceed upon the supposition that this concluding section is authentic! The concluding portion was severed from the manuscript. It might have been written upon a separate parchment from that which contained the rest of the gospel. This principal parchment concluded with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ*. The transcriber, who was guided by the latter codex, left out of his copy the concluding verses; and persons who noticed this want attempted of themselves (this is proved by codex L.) briefly to finish the gospel. In the greatest number of manuscripts, meanwhile, the authentic conclusion was preserved, and by these means the two recensions of St Mark, the complete one and that which was incomplete, have come down to us.

Matt. xxviii. 16—20. As regards particular incidents, the nar-

rative of St Matthew alone requires any special investigation: for it virtually involves the account given by St Mark. The statements of St Luke on this subject have been already explained to some extent, *e. g.* the passage, Luke xxiv. 44—46, when we treated upon Luke xxiv. 26.

But the statements of St Luke require that their subsequent portions should be compared on account of the *κηρυχθῆναι μετάνοιαν*, which occurs in verse 47, see the remarks at Acts v. 31.

Finally, the last two verses, 48 and 49, contain only the promise of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the command to tarry in Jerusalem till it should be accomplished. Concerning *ἐξ ὑψους*, compare at Luke i. 78. *ἐνδύσασθαι* is the equivalent for *ἔμψυ*. Similarly, the parallel expression *κηρυχθῆναι ἐνδύσασθαι*, must be understood to indicate that thorough and essential possession of the spirit of Christ which completely penetrates the moral nature. Upon the abridged narratives of St Mark and St Luke relating to the ascension, as well as upon all which comes under discussion in connection with it, and especially concerning the omission of those incidents by St Matthew and St John, compare the particulars stated at Acts i. 9, et seq.

The concluding words of Matt. xxviii. 16—20, are uncommonly significant. For, first, this Evangelist remarks that the ensuing discourses of the Lord were delivered by him upon his having appeared as he had promised, Matt. xxviii. 7, in Galilee; he even mentions that the Lord, whilst uttering them, stood upon a mountain. Tradition itself does not specify local circumstances more particularly. This appearance of Jesus, however, is perhaps identical with that alluded to in 1 Corinth. xv. 6, at which five hundred of the brethren were present. It is true that the words of Christ, as given in the narrative, appear to have been addressed to the twelve merely, or at most to them in common with the seventy. We can only suppose, however, that the Lord on this occasion, as on several others of a similar kind, directed some parts of his discourse to those who were standing nearest to him. There is nothing therefore to militate against the opinion that these appearances were identical. For on the whole, the solemnity of the discourse appears well suited to the great and sublime scene which the vast numbers assembled together on the occasion proclaim it to have been, consisting probably of all the persons who, up to that time, had become believers in the Lord. This helps also to explain how

it was possible (as stated in verse 17), that many could still have doubted. Such incredulity on the part of the apostles themselves, at that time, is certainly hardly conceivable ; but to many of the disciples in Galilee, who then saw the Lord for the first time, it might have been, as it was with the apostles in the beginning. Beza conjectures that *ἀλλά*, not *οὐ δὲ ἐδίδασκον*, would be the correct expression ; but no manuscript supports that reading. Now, during this appearance in Galilee, at the termination of which it is probable the Lord took a solemn leave of his disciples, he represented himself to them as the Lord of both heaven and earth. Compare Matt. xi. 27, John xiii. 3, and xvii. 2.

From the context it would appear as if the expression merely referred to Christ's moral dominion, since, in immediate connection with it, there follows the command to teach the nations of the world.

The *ἐν ὀνόματι* is however so very express, that it must necessarily refer to more than moral dominion ; but even leaving the latter point out of view, the teaching of all nations, as commanded by Christ, presupposes on his part more than mere earthly power. For under it a mere *διδασκεν* (communication of ideas), cannot be intended. At the conclusion of the verse this latter species of teaching is expressly distinguished from that enjoined. Their mission was to win over the whole man to the cause of the gospel, to accomplish which, no power would be sufficient except that which they were to receive from a higher, a divine spirit. From this point of view, the connexion of ideas between verses 18 and 19 becomes perfectly clear. For the daring mandate to go forth and make disciples of all nations, which would have contained something humiliating to the apostles, inasmuch as they felt how incompetent they were for such a mighty work, appeared perfectly practicable through the potency of him who was sending them.

In the 19th verse there follows the important institution of the sacrament of baptism.¹ The words which directly refer to this in-

¹ There is something remarkable in the fact that baptism was instituted after the Lord's Supper. It seems to be implied in the relation of the two sacraments, that baptism should occur antecedently to the supper. For only the baptized, who has been born again, may partake of the heavenly food. However, as the disciples, according to John iv. 2, baptized at a still earlier period, we are compelled to regard the transaction in the following light : Baptism was not now instituted for the first time, but was appointed by Christ for every one who should after-

stitution, standing as they do in the middle of the sentence, constitute as it were the very kernel of Christ's last command to his disciples.

These expressions last referred to we shall consider in the first place. That, some have altogether misunderstood this passage (as we have already intimated) is manifest from their interpreting the *μαθητεύσατε* as something which should precede baptism, just as if the meaning of the words had been, "first instruct, then baptize them." But the grammatical construction does not warrant such a mode of interpretation; for the two participles *βαπτίζοντες* and *διδάσκοντες* are precisely what constitute the *μαθητεύειν*. And again, that view is contradicted by the apostolic practice, according to which instruction never preceded baptism. On the contrary, baptism followed upon the mere confession that Jesus was the Christ. But when, through baptism, the believer had become a member of the community of the saints, then, as such, he participated in the progressive courses of instruction which prevailed in the Church.

To this the *διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα, ὅσα ἐπιτέλεσται ὑμῖν*, which follows the command concerning baptism, immediately refers, (Comp. at Acts ii. 37.¹) But *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* are represented as the object of this ministration. In this passage, therefore, we behold Christ occupying the position of comprehensive universality, in accordance with which the whole human race is the object of his reconciling efficacy. (On the more restricted view of his ministry, comp. at Matthew x. 5, 6.) Under his sacred influence, sent to them from above, and which shall never cease, the Lord desired that all the nations of the earth should attain to spiritual life, and that it should be perfectly developed in them. This blessing was not, however, to remain in his church as a merely moral communication, consisting in love and faith. It was also to exhibit itself visibly in external manifestation. The institution of an external rite, by which all his disciples were to be consecrated, leads to the conclusion just stated. But the fact, that at the beginning even

wards enter the Church, and at the same time filled with power from on high. Doubtless the disciples at first baptized Israelites only, and their earlier baptism was not essentially different from the baptism of John.

¹ The connection of the *μαθητεύσατε* with the *βαπτίζοντες* and *διδάσκοντες*, however, undeniably intimates, that in uttering these words, the Saviour had no immediate thought of infant baptism. Compare on this subject the observations at Acts xvi. 14, 15.

the apostles did not catch this comprehensive meaning of the words, is shewn in the history of St Peter—(Acts x. 9, et seq.)—to whom it was made gradually clearer by the Spirit, until it was fully understood. The recension of Mark xvi. 15, *πρὸς πάντας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπαντα*, as connected with the *κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πᾶσι τοῖς κτίσιν*, is somewhat peculiar. Now, a single glance shews that the latter expression, the *κτίσις*, is here employed as equivalent to the foregoing *κόσμος*. When Lightfoot, therefore, on this passage, appeals to the use of the term amongst the Rabbis, (according to which it is equivalent to *בְּרִיּוֹת*, that is, creatures, created beings), and infers from it that the words refer to the heathen, he greatly and unwarrantably restricts the meaning of the expression, for it is manifest that the gospel was still to be preached to the Jews also. Hence, chiefly with reference to its usage in Colossians i. 15 and 23, and Hebrews iv. 13, this phrase is usually interpreted as co-significant with *πάντες ἀνθρώποι*. These latter passages, however, should be differently rendered. In Col. i. 15, the *κτίσις* is put for creation universally. In Col. i. 23, it should be rendered, as referring to the whole earth, all that is under heaven. In Heb. iv. 13, *κτίσις*, without the article, stands for an individual created thing. But in an intermediate sense, *κτίσις* may doubtless signify humanity; yet *πᾶσα κτίσις* certainly cannot. The latter formula, from the very nature of the case, must always refer to what is universal. On this account, the passage under discussion must not be taken as indicating mankind in a state of positive separation from the rest of the created world, a view which is held by the great majority, but which tends to efface a profound idea which pervades the whole New Testament. Namely, that with the gospel is united the glorification of all created things, by a process which commences, it is true, with the human race, but which gradually extends its operations until it penetrates all things. (Compare the particulars at Rom. viii. 19, seq.) The *κτίσις* is therefore put for humanity, but only in so far as humanity is the flower of the whole creation.¹

The formula, institutory of baptism itself, is all that now re-

¹ The expression of the pious Hildegard is full of spirit: "When God created the world, he impressed on man the stamp of the whole creation, as we inscribe on a small bit of parchment the events and dates of a whole year. For this reason, in the language of God, man is designated 'every creature.'" Compare Sailer's *Letters from all Centuries*, vol. iv. p. 14.

mains to be explained. It is plain from the outset, that the Lord intended to institute a perpetual rite which should be binding upon the church in all ages, and in which both baptism and teaching are to be imparted to all nations. From this it follows therefore that the baptism ordained by Christ differed essentially from the baptism of John, which possessed only a temporary signification. (Compare at Matthew iii. 13.) The Christian sacrament of baptism was not to be merely a βάπτισμα τῆς μετανοίας, but rather a symbol of the second birth, coincident with the external ordinance. (Comp. at John iii. 5.) On this account, therefore, a real connection may be shewn to exist between regeneration and baptism (John iii. 3), between salvation and baptism, as appears from Mark xvi. 16, and between baptism and faith, which it necessarily presupposes. The second half of the verse, in which the ἀπιστήσας alone, without a μὴ βαπτισθεῖς, is placed in opposition to the πιστεύσας, serves to make the institutory words signify, that the inward production of the new birth is essentially necessary to salvation; but that in certain cases the external ordinance of baptism, which, according to the original institution, coincides with it, may be dispensed with.¹ By the introducing of paedobaptism,² the position which this ordinance occupied is changed. Paedo-baptism is certainly not apostolic. But it became necessary in the church, when once the supernatural communication of the powers of the Holy Spirit had ceased. The external rite then retrograded to the position occupied by the baptism of

¹ The ancient church was therefore perfectly correct in acknowledging even unbaptized persons, who during the persecutions had confessed Christ, and been put to death in consequence, to be true believers. But had these confessors remained alive, obedience to the command of the Lord would have impelled them to seek baptism.

² Under the correct impression, that infant baptism cannot itself be regeneration, our church has ordained that baptized children cannot partake of the Lord's supper before confirmation, which otherwise, as regenerate persons, could not be refused to them. But yet infant baptism is not without effect. The Holy Ghost can, even in the mother's womb, operate upon the babe. Luke i. 41. The operation of the Holy Ghost in infant baptism cannot, however, be regarded as destructive of the dominance of earthly sinfulness. This has never been asserted, not even in the Lutheran dogmas. (Comp. the observations on Acts xvi. 14, 15.) Taken in this sense, namely, as destroying the dominion of hereditary sin, regeneration, without consciousness, and without a personal appropriation of grace, is perfectly inconceivable. Upon the application of Christian baptism to those who had received the baptism of John previously, comp. the observations at Acts xix. 1, et seq.

John, and receives its necessary inner completion only through confirmation.¹

But now, as regards the meaning of the words : βαπτίζεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, we shall be led to it in the best manner, by such passages as 1 Cor. i. 13, x. 2, in which baptism is brought more fully under the reader's notice—εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου and εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν. The βαπτίζεν εἰς τινά signifies baptism as involving a binding obligation ; a rite, whereby one is pledged ; and the sublime object to which baptism binds, consists of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. "ὄνομα, which is equivalent to Ξ , signifies here again the very essence of God himself.

The unbaptised are therefore regarded as not possessing any essential connection with God ; as those who are separate from God. This alienation, which in its cause and nature is sinful, and which is, at the same time, the source of all human misery, both external and internal, is removed by baptism and regeneration. The divine power is wedded to that of the human soul, and becomes itself the parent of a higher heavenly consciousness.² But it is worthy of notice that the Saviour does not here give the name of God directly, but the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as the exalted object to which the votary of baptism becomes pledged. This is the only passage in the Gospels in which the Lord himself names the three divine persons together. In separate passages the Saviour, it is true, describes both the Son and the Holy Ghost individually as divine personalities. Here, however, they appear together, and are entitled in common the object to which believers bind themselves by baptism. The elements of the doctrine of the Trinity are thus given in Christ's identical words. But the dogma is presented in an entirely un-

¹ According to this, it cannot be asserted that infant baptism is necessary to salvation, for the inward act of regeneration, which is possible only with consciousness, cannot be experienced by infants. The baptism of John, and paedobaptism, which stands parallel to it, were brought by Augustine to be regarded as interchangeable with the baptism which is specifically Christian, and this opinion has since prevailed in the church.

² In Ullman's Studies, 1832, II. 2. s. 410, et seq. Dr Buidseil of Halle explains the words βαπτίζεν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, κ. τ. λ., "first, as an expression of submission towards (*i. e.* of better obligation to,) Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and secondly, as also necessarily intimating an elevation of the recipient to superior dignity." But the institutory formula, *per se*, does not at all signify the latter thought, even if it can be said to express the preceding relation.

developed form, and the unfolding of the mystery is committed to the scientific activity of the church. The established doctrine of the church on this subject is essentially that of the Bible also, but the symbolically derived term *Person* involves a degree of inconveniency, and may of itself easily lead to error. Human language, however, does not furnish any expression by which the connection between a unity of essence, with an independency of consciousness, in Father, Son, and Spirit can be more appropriately indicated. We cannot therefore charge the teachers of the church with error because they have made choice of this expression. We can only lament the imperfection of human language, which renders it inadequate to designate the most exalted and absolute relations which are clearly comprehensible to the purified reason only, by means of precise definite ideas, and of words corresponding with them in clearness.

The chief error to which the word "Person" leads, and which has constantly been opposed by all the more profound teachers of the church, and especially by Augustine, in his deeply intelligent work on the subject of the Trinity, is as follows: Guided by the meaning of the term, some have thought that Father, Son, and Spirit should be regarded as locally or mechanically distinct from one another, whilst yet vividly interpenetrating or influencing one another. To this view may be lawfully opposed whatever there is of truth in Sabellianism, a system which correctly acknowledges the unity of existence in the Deity, without adopting at the same time the false notion involved in the denial of the individual independency of consciousness in Father, Son, and Spirit. In the commentary on Matthew xii. 32, and John i. 1, I have intimated my own views as regards the doctrine of the Trinity. But in order to facilitate our survey, I shall here state them again in a condensed and general form. The only means we possess for illustrating the unity of essence, and the severalty of consciousness in the Godhead, consists in the corresponding analogy which we find in the spiritual nature of man, the image of God. As in man there is not only the spiritual being, but also the conscious knowledge of that being, so also in the divine nature, if we apprehend it as the nature of a living God, not as that of a dead notion, we must infer both the being and the knowledge of that peculiar being. This knowledge which God possesses of himself is designated as the Son, and in him dwells the Father himself,

and through his agency effects everything that he does effect. But, as all the powers of the Father concentrate themselves, as it were, in his self-consciousness, so do they also continually revert from the Son to their primary source, the Father, and this return is designated as the Holy Ghost. In accordance with this view, the phraseology of Scripture may be easily explained, where it is said that "the Father draws to the Son," but "the Son, in the Holy Ghost, leads back again to the Father." In the manifestation of the active influence of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, a climax is therefore represented. From the Father, as *absolute power*, proceeds all knowledge of God, through the Son, as *perfect love*, to the Holy Ghost, as *complete holiness*. But regarded conversely, the Holy Ghost leads back directly to the Father, so that the end again issues in the beginning. And thus, in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is represented the eternal nature of God in its real intrinsic motivity. According to this explanation, it may appear difficult to understand how the inward actions of the Divine Being can be comprehended as individual consciousness. This, however, is explained by the consideration that the activities of absolute spirit consist, in accordance with its nature, in elementary life, being, and consciousness. If, however, the idea of an individual be comprehended as something limited and bounded within itself, and totally separated from all other spiritual life, this would be the very error which has been already pointed out; and the Scriptures, throughout their entire mode of expression, shew that in this sense neither the Son nor the Holy Ghost can be comprehended as a person.

The Son, indeed, appears to be individualized in the person of Jesus, but he labours to assimilate all humanity to his own nature, and to bring it to himself by regeneration, on which account the whole church is plainly called Christ, 1 Cor. xii. 12; and the Holy Ghost also appears to be shed abroad in the hearts of all believers; like the Father, who is omnipresent throughout the whole universe. As, therefore, the consciousness of God in itself can be conceived of only as all-comprehending, so also must the notion of *Person*, according to its meaning in the doctrine of the Trinity, be understood in an all-comprehensive sense. By this means a great deal of the difficulty which, from the earliest times, has surrounded the doctrine of the Trinity, will be obviated. Besides this difficulty, the important passage before us presents yet another

question for discussion, namely, "Whether, in the institutory words quoted, the Lord did or did not intend to establish a fixed formula of baptism?" This question would not have been suggested at all, had the other portions of the New Testament Scriptures shewn that the disciples, in administering baptism, employed these identical words. But, instead of this being the case, we find that, even in the history of the Acts of the Apostles, as often as baptism is mentioned, it is stated that it was performed only εἰς, or ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ, or Χριστοῦ.¹ In the first place, however, the act of baptism itself is not thus described in any passage, but the fact of baptism is indicated in the manner mentioned. We cannot, therefore, infer from the use of these phrases that the complete formula given by the Saviour was not employed. These phrases might have been intended merely to distinguish baptism as a Christian ordinance, from that of John. This opinion is essentially corroborated by the fact that there are several passages, in which the Son and the Holy Ghost are named in such a connection with baptism as to render it highly probable that the names form part of the formula used in that ordinance, whilst at the same time the most ancient Christian writers (Justin Martyr, for instance) quote the words of the passage before us as the baptismal formula. (Compare Justin Martyr's Apology, 1. p. 93, in my "Monum. Hist. Eccl." vol. ii. p. 167.) As in the institution of the holy supper, so also in the institution of baptism, the Saviour would without doubt have employed the most suitable words to signify the spiritual character of the ceremony. And from this, therefore, arises the church's obligation to retain the practice of using these words as the formula for the administration of this sacrament. The ancient church, however, exercised considerable freedom in everything that regarded the mere externals of the ordinance; and therefore it may well have happened, that in single instances persons were baptized in the name of Jesus only. That this was actually the fact appears from the later controversies maintained by Cyprian against the baptismal heresy. (Compare Cypriani epist. 73, in my "Monum. Hist. Eccl." vol. ii. page 118, note.) Such a baptism, performed solely in the name

¹ From this circumstance, and because the formula of baptism is not mentioned in St Mark, Teller would deduce the conclusion that the passage in St Matthew is not authentic!—a hypothesis which has no foundation whatever to rest upon, and which arose merely from the controversy about the doctrine of the Trinity.

of Jesus, was however not less valid than if it had been effected according to the complete formula. For Christ implies the Father, as well as the Holy Ghost ; but the converse will not hold, that the Father implies the Son.

Modern phrases, therefore, such as “to baptize into the eternal love,” are to be rejected as non-christian. They would be more accordant with the Old Testament dispensation. The Saviour now in conclusion sustains his command to the little troop of his disciples, to impart new life to the whole world, by the promise of his own almighty assistance, which should never fail them. (The *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος*, in this passage, must be understood as referring to the period of growth and development assigned to the *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, for it is only during this period that it will be engaged in those struggles which will render the help of Christ necessary. In the peculiar kingdom of God, the Lord Jesus is also present, it is true, but there his presence is to be regarded as the fountain of blessedness, not as a protection amidst dangers. On this subject, compare at Matt. xxiv. 3.) The passage in Mark xvi. 17, 18, describes particularly the abundant assistance which the church is to receive from the presence of Christ, during the continuance of her struggles, and especially mentions the *σημεῖα* of his power which the disciples should experience.¹

Sufficient examples occur in the Acts of the casting out of demons, and of the healing of sick persons, and even of the touching of serpents there occurs one well known account, Acts xxviii. 3. On the other hand, there is no instance whatever of the drinking of deadly poisons (*θανασίμον*, scil. *φάρμακον*), and hence, as we noticed previously, this very fact affords evidence of the genuineness of this passage in St Mark.² (Upon the *γλώσσαις ῥάλλειν*, compare the particulars stated at Acts ii. 4.) The expletive sentence *καὶ αὐτὲς γλώσσαις ῥάλλησούσιν* occurs here only. Every hypothesis concerning it will have some difficulty to contend against, since neither the languages nor the tongues were new, in the peculiar sense of the word. For, however it be considered, it

¹ Some would hold this passage also as unauthentic. But the critical authorities, and even its own contents, clearly testify to its authenticity. For, surely the mention of the drinking of deadly substances would not have been introduced if the passage had been interpolated, because no accredited example of that sign could have been adduced.

² It is mentioned, in an apocryphal writing, that St John drank poison without sustaining any injury, Fabricii codex, apocr. vol. ii. pp. 575, et seq., but the legend was probably suggested by this passage in St Mark.

seems harsh to understand *καταῖς* as completely synonymous with *ἐσέξαις*, Acts ii. 4. The plainest course perhaps is to suppose, in accordance with 1 Cor. xiii. 1, that the speaking of the *γλῶσση λαλῶν* was occasionally regarded by the disciples as an angelic language, and that for that reason they designated it a new language. The use of the plural form of expression may be explained from the consideration that (as is shewn by 1 Cor. xiv.) the speaking with tongues manifested itself in several distinct forms, especially in praying and singing in the spirit.

John xx. 30, 31. If we compare the conclusion of the fourth gospel, that of St John, with the beginning of the same work, we shall see that it is admirably completed. St John concludes with the history of Thomas, and the words: *μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες*. In which is contained, though indirectly, the most powerful admonition to the reader, namely that we should believe in him, who dwelt amongst men full of grace and truth, when his power is proclaimed to us, although we have not beheld the Lord with the bodily eye.

But to awaken this faith, to convince his readers of the fact, that Christ the Messiah was the true Son of God, was the great object of St John's gospel. For as the *logos*, who is the *ζωή* (John i. 4), imparted this *ζωή* to St John, through faith, so the disciple of love would render this blessed life accessible to his readers. In order, meanwhile, to give his readers an insight into the infinitely copious life of Christ, and to induce them to examine with candour the accounts of other writers which might follow, St John intimates that he had not related everything, but only many things, so that much still remained for their investigation, should the spirit of inquiry have been awakened in them by what St John had communicated. As Lücke and Kuinoel correctly interpret it, the *σημεῖα*, according to the connection in which it stands, can refer to the appearances of the risen Redeemer only. Tholuck, on account of the concluding verse (ver. 31), would refer the expression to all the miracles previously mentioned. But we shall be more correct in supposing that ver. 30 stands in immediate connection with that which directly precedes it, and that the concluding sentence immediately follows. This therefore will be the connection. Much more still remains to be narrated concerning the appearances of the Lord, but what has been here stated, as well as what was stated formerly, furnishes a sufficient basis of faith in the Redeemer. But again, the appearances of Christ are themselves

called *σημεῖα*, just as *παράδοσθαι* is used elsewhere in reference to them, a circumstance which must be regarded as favouring the hypothesis, that in the opinion of the Evangelists, the Saviour arose from the grave with a glorified body. Finally, verse 31 expresses directly the main object of the gospel, as we observed in our introduction to the Gospel of St John.

In the ancient church, St John's representation of Jesus as the true Christ and the Son of God, was held to be the chief object he had in view in his Gospel, without losing sight, however, of its general import and bearing. But further, the *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in this passage, is evidently to be regarded from a Christian point of view, as explanatory of the *Χριστός*. So that from this it cannot be inferred that *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* was a well-known and usual name for the Messiah amongst the Jews of that age. Compare on this point the remarks made at Luke i. 35.

With this statement of his object, John appropriately concludes his work in a manner calculated to excite in his readers a consciousness of the obligation laid upon them, by the announcement that the promised Saviour had appeared.

§ 4. APPENDIX OF JOHN'S GOSPEL.

(John xxi. 1—25.)

The fact that the last chapter of John's gospel forms a supplement to the complete writing is so plain, and now so generally acknowledged, that it needs no further proof. But as to the question, "Who should be regarded as the composer of this appendix?" commentators have not, as yet, been able unanimously to agree. The only result of the numerous investigations of this subject which commends itself to the understanding, and is confirmed more and more by inquiry, is that which regards the last two verses only as not having been written by St John, but which considers that the whole remaining portion of the chapter was added to the complete gospel by the author of that gospel himself.¹

¹ Compare on the authenticity of the concluding chapter of John, Guericke's *Beiträge*, vol. i., s. 67, et seq.

To this effect, Tholuck, in particular, expresses himself. Schott and Lücke occupy a prominent place amongst those scholars who deny the authenticity of the whole chapter. They may perhaps mean simply to infer that some definite person, such as the presbyter John, for example, or even some one unknown, was the author of the chapter, or they may with Grotius attribute its composition to the Ephesian Church. But they borrow their most important reasons for this view merely from the last verse. The unnatural hyperbole of verse 25 certainly does not accord with the spirit of St John, in whose writings the most beautiful moderation of expression is always distinguishable. Just as little does the use of plural *ἴδωμεν* in verse 24 correspond with the beginning of the statement, *αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ γράφας ταῦτα*. Kuinoel and Weber have proved most satisfactorily that no sufficient reason can be adduced for rejecting the body or major part of the chapter, since all the manuscripts contain it; and because the ideas are characteristic of St John; and even the language itself presents no distinguishable differences from the style of his composition.

The only objection, therefore, that can be brought against the authenticity of the chapter must arise from its own contents. These contents unquestionably present much that is surprising, and in any case, therefore, the question is forced upon us, "What could have influenced St John to append such statements to his gospel, after he had already brought it to a conclusion?" To conclude from its contents that it is authentic, must be always a doubtful course to adopt, for it presents some peculiarities which deviate in the widest degree from the sense and spirit of the professed author of the gospel.

We cannot point these out in this place, and shall simply observe, that the contents of this chapter, when compared with the earlier portions of this Evangelist's gospel, appear poor and meaningless. This will hold good of the first half at least of the chapter, so long as it is interpreted literally, and in accordance with external things only, since a successful draught of fishes is the only incident it recounts. But in the second half, on the other hand, an event is recorded, which might certainly have occasioned the Evangelist to touch upon it in a particular supplementary note, namely, a report that he should remain living until the future advent of the Lord. But if the latter had been the

sole motive of John for composing this appendix, what purpose could be subserved by such a lengthened, unmeaning preface concerning the occurrence upon the lake of Gennesareth? To this question, no completely satisfactory reply can be afforded by those who defend the authenticity of the chapter, so long as they controvert the symbolical¹ mode of interpreting it, which formerly obtained currency amongst the most spiritual and intellectual fathers of the church,² and which in this section of the evangelical history receives the most undeniable commendations from the narrative itself.

All through the second half of the chapter, the symbolic character manifestly prevails, "the girding"—foretold to Peter—"the stretching forth of the hands,"—for that girding—the command given Peter "to follow" the Lord, and the mention of John's "tarrying" until the Saviour should again come, cannot in any case be understood in a merely literal sense. The same symbolical character may therefore be very simply extended

¹ Upon the symbolical actions of Christ generally, compare in the Commentary, Part I., at Matthew xxi. 19.

² I shall here quote the words of Augustine, who in essentials correctly explains the passage, although perhaps he goes too far in discovering the signification of minutiae. He refers the draught of fishes to the spiritual agency of Peter, which was looked forward to. But he places the draught of fishes in parallelism with the analogous account of Luke v., and explains himself on the subject in the following manner:—*Hoc loco qualiter in seculi fine futura sit ecclesia dominus significat, alia piscatione significavit qualiter nunc sit. Quod autem illud fecit in initio praedicationis suae hoc, vero post resurrectionem suam, hinc ostendit illam capturam piscium, bonos et malos significare, quos nunc habet ecclesia; istam vero tantummodo bonos, quos habebit in aeternum, completa in fine hujus seculi resurrectione mortuorum. Denique ibi Jesus non sicut hic in littore stabat, quando jussit pisces capi: sed ascendens in unam navim, quae erat Simonis, rogavit eum, ut a terra reduceret pusillum et in ea sedens docebat turbas, ut cessavit autem loqui, dixit ad Simonem: "duc in altem et laxate retia vestra in capturam." Et illic quod captum est piscium in naviculis fuit, non sicut hic rete extraxerunt in terram. His signis et si qua alia potuerint reperiri, ibi ecclesia in hoc seculo, hic vero in fine seculi figurata est: ideo illud ante, hoc autem post resurrectionem domini factum est, quia ibi nos Christus significavit vocatos, hic resuscitados. Ibi retia non mittuntur in dexteram, ne solos significant "bonos, nec in sinistram, ne solos malos, sed indifferenter: "laxate" inquit, "retia vestra in capturam," ut permixtos intelligamus bonos et malos. Hic autem inquit: "Mittite in dexteram navigii rete ut significaret eos, qui stabant ad dexteram, solos bonos. Ibi rete propter significanda schismata rumpebatur, hic vero quoniam tunc jam in illa summa pace sanctorum nulla erant schismata, pertinuit ad evangelistam dicere: "et cum tanti essent, non est scissum rete." Tanquam illud respiceret ubi scissum est et in illius mali comparatione commendaret hoc bonum." Cf. Opera Augustini edit. Benedict. vol. iii. pp. 591, et seq.*

to the first half also, to which the application of such a character is the more justifiable and appropriate, that the very words of Christ in reference to a perfectly similar incident recorded elsewhere (Luke v. 4), entirely authorize the symbolical interpretation. (On this point compare the full investigation of the subject in the Comm. Part. I.) The fact that throughout the entire chapter, not St John, but St Peter, plays the principal part, testifies manifestly and emphatically in favour of its authenticity, and against the assumption that it was composed at a later period by any other historian.

Had it been subjoined by some teacher in the church, who was a disciple of St John, he would, without a doubt, have given to his descriptions a character more favourable to John. But here we have a candid history, written throughout *sine ira et studio*.

John xxi. 1—6. The two concluding verses of the gospel, chap. xx. 30, 31, should be expunged, and the subsequent account in chap. xxi., of the last appearance of Christ, connected with verse 29 of chap. xx., by means of the *μετὰ ταῦτα*, with which it begins. (Compare chap. xxi. 14.) The fact, that according to the narrative in the twenty-first chapter, the disciples were prosecuting their worldly vocation, loses its surprising character when we reflect that even Paul, during the course of his apostolic labours, constantly practised his handicraft also. On this occasion, the appearing of Jesus was again sudden: without the disciples having observed his approach, he was standing before them.

(In verse 4, *εἰς* does not supply the place of *ἐν*. On the contrary, in the *ἔστη* only should the foregone movement of Jesus be supplied. *Προσφάγιον* is equivalent to the usual *ᾠψον*, a relish, that which is eaten with bread).

Ver. 7—14. By the miraculous draught of fishes, the beloved disciple discovered the gracious presence of the Lord, and the excitable Peter at once endeavoured to hasten towards him by swimming. *Γυμνός* expresses here that he was merely clad with his under garment. He therefore wrapped an over-garment around himself, in order probably to appear fully clothed on the shore. Some have falsely interpreted the *ἐπενδύτης* as referring to the under garment, but that is called *ὑποδύτης*, as appears even from the etymology of the word. In the sequel of this account, verse 9, it is surprising, that when the disciples were come with the ship to the shore, they found a fire of coals, an (*οψήγειον*) of fish

which was roasted on the coals, and bread. Some writers have indulged in very wild notions respecting the explanation of this circumstance, and have lost themselves in conjectures as e. g. that all this was produced out of nothing! an opinion which needs no particular disproof. Still, in whatever manner we regard the statement, the fact is very remarkable, even if we take that which is the simplest course, and assume that the Lord had caused these preparations to be made upon the shore.

It may be asked for instance, for what purpose did he cause these preparations to be made? Such refreshment was at least as little necessary for the risen Redeemer as it was for the disciples, who had their dwellings in the neighbourhood.

And further, would not these external proceedings have hindered that powerful operation upon their inner nature, which Jesus must assuredly have contemplated in appearing to them? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered, except on the supposition that the whole account is symbolical. To the inhabitants of western countries, this style of conveying instruction may appear somewhat strange; in the East, however, it is the usual method, and in all intelligible matters, delivered in a less developed form, is calculated to produce a deep impression.

How powerfully, for example, would the draught of fishes have reminded the disciples, and especially Peter, of their first vocation by the Saviour, and the blessed results promised to their ministry!

In like manner the food provided for them would have intimated that sacred feast which the Redeemer was preparing for them, and at which, when their work was completed, they should sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God.¹

Viewed in this light, the whole transaction, with its interest and signification, as well as its connection with what follows, becomes obvious. (The remark that this was the third appearance of Jesus is correct, if it be limited to those appearances only which were witnessed by many disciples at the same time.)

Ver. 15—17. According to the interpretation just given, the second half of the chapter will follow the first naturally and easily, and the two will form a complete whole.

¹ Augustine (loc. cit. s. 594) in his interpretation of the passage, considers that it contains an allusion to the Lord's Supper, for he says;—"Piscis assus, Christus est passus; ipse est panis, qui de caelo descendit; huic incorporatur ecclesia, ad participandum, beatitudinem sempiternam."

After the prophetic glance vouchsafed to the apostle of the greatness of his future ministry, the Lord directs his attention to the conditions on which it should depend. Love to Christ, and voluntary self-devotion, were to be its indispensable requirements. That the threefold question of the Lord had a reference to the threefold denial of Peter, is too obvious to be disregarded. But when Tholuck conjectures that the Lord, after some intermediate speech with the other disciples, which is omitted in the narrative, first upon the second question, and next at the third one, directed his conversation to Peter, to me his conjecture appears to be anything but probable. For the immediate reiteration of the question directly and consecutively, would have powerfully contributed to give effect to the impression, which the Lord intended to produce. At the first, Peter remains perfectly unmoved, and appeals to the knowledge of the Lord himself; but at the last question he is sensible that the object of Jesus in putting it is to produce a salutary feeling of humiliation in his mind, and he becomes troubled. Yet he could with heartfelt truth make an appeal to his love of the Saviour, and because that was the case, the Lord therefore now affixed the seal to his blessed commission, in the *βίσκε τὰ πόδιατά μου*. There is still, however, another circumstance, which Tholuck, in his exposition of this passage, seems to me to have mistaken. For example, he would have the question *ἀγαπᾷς με πλεῖον τούτων*, in ver. 15, to refer retrospectively to Matthew xxvi. 33, where Peter is stated to have said, “though all should be offended for thy sake, yet will not I be offended.” As if Christ had desired to awaken in Peter the conviction that he had erred respecting his own character. But as we remarked in our comment upon Matthew xvi. 19, Peter did in fact possess a certain spiritual eminence above the other disciples, as regarded that mental power which manifests itself in external effects.

It might therefore be said of him with perfect truth, that he loved the Lord with more energy than did any of the others. And that the Saviour would not have denied this, is manifest from the fact that he appointed Peter to be the shepherd of his flock, without his having made any such apology as, “I love thee far less than do the others, since I could have denied thee.” The object of Jesus was therefore, not to prove to St Peter that he felt no love to him, for St Peter really did possess love to Christ, even when he denied him, or otherwise he would never have been able

to rise again so speedily and triumphantly to the enjoyment of faith, after the waves of darkness had rolled over his head. The object of the questions was therefore this alone: to lead the apostle to perfect poverty of spirit, and to emancipation from the thralldom of self. But these effects would not have shewn themselves in the fallacy of his saying that "he had no love to Christ," if he really had any; such a profession would have indicated an absence of consciousness, or rather a false humility. But the result contemplated would reveal itself in such a way, that the man would ascribe everything he possessed or enjoyed to the operations of grace, not to himself, as a secure unalienable possession: that he would regard them as presents of no absolutely enduring character, but which the Lord, who bestowed them, could again, whenever he pleased, withdraw. Thus the *soul* would remain humble, feeling its own littleness even amid all the adornments of divine grace, which it should never claim as its own absolute possessions. But that was what St Peter had done! The ardour of love which, in the fulness of the spirit, inflamed his soul, took entire possession of him; he felt himself strong as a hero; but when this fulness of power forsook him, he denied his Lord, in the prospect of imagined dangers.

Finally, when the "Catholic" church refers this passage to the primacy of the Pope, it incurs the consequences already stated in the commentary upon Matthew xvi. 19.

What is here said to Peter, as the representative of the apostles, refers equally to them all. But that St Peter must certainly be regarded as their representative, cannot be denied.¹ The assertion that this representative character involved a superior plenipotentiary power, or a succession, is, however, just as incapable of proof, and as unlikely as that, after the death of the twelve apostles, their bodies propagated themselves throughout all nations.

Ver. 18, 19. After the promise by which the Saviour confided to St Peter the office of pastor over believers, there follows immediately a solemn admonition concerning the end of his

¹ Chrysostom, who knew nothing of any primacy, expresses himself to the same effect on this passage: ὁ πᾶσι τὴν προσημασίαν ἐπιστολήν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Cyprian also acknowledges Peter as the representative of the apostles, but even at that period this character was transferred to the bishop of Rome. Compare Cypriani Epistolæ, in my Monum. Hist. Eccles ii. p. 50.

earthly pilgrimage. Although he was to be great in the kingdom of God, still the issue of his career was to be painful and abhorrent to the natural human will. The figurative words, in which this admonition is couched, would have to be abandoned as the arbitrary spoil of the expositors, to a far greater degree than they have been, had not the Evangelist himself subjoined their explanation. According to tradition, St Peter died upon the cross, Eusebius' Hist. Eccles. ii. 35. And the most ancient teachers in the church understood the words as referring to his¹ crucifixion. It is only in modern times that some have thought the words might be understood as referring merely to his being arrested; since if they were to be understood as referring to the crucifixion, the girding must have taken place previous to the stretching out of the hands. A passage in harmonious parallelism with this is furnished in Acts xxi. 11, where the prophet Agabus binds his hands and feet with Paul's girdle, as a sign of his imprisonment. Yet it may with correctness be stated that, like all prophetic intimations, "the passage is both brief and obscure." Hence it remains indefinite whether the *ζωνών* should be referred to the binding of his hands on his being arrested, or to his being bound to the cross. It is sufficient meanwhile that the expressions selected may be referred to the circumstance of his crucifixion, and it may well have happened that this more especial meaning of the words became intelligible to St John for the first time when he had heard of the martyrdom of Peter. But the passage does not imply merely the stretching forth of the Apostle's hands in his crucifixion, and his being bound to the cross; it also refers to his antithetical conditions in youth and in old age. The mention of his youthful condition is totally misunderstood by the majority of commentators, who regard it as void of significance in itself, and as being merely placed in antithesis to death in old age. It is plain, however, that we should not understand the one half only as typical and the other half as literal; both must be taken together either figuratively or literally.

The passage therefore asserts simply, that, in youth, man walks freely and exults in his vigour, but that, in old age, he feels himself bound in many ways by his own infirmity, and requires the

¹ Tertulliani Scorpiacae, cap. 15, tunc Petreus ab altero vincitur, cum cruci adstringitur.

help of others. Now, both these views are significant. They refer, especially, to youth and age in the spiritual life, 1 John ii. 13, 14. In the fulness of spiritual power, St Peter acted boldly and vigorously in the manner which seemed best to himself. But, in his spiritual age, he was to be restrained in many ways; fiercely persecuted, and necessitated against his own will to be an active agent in different places and under various circumstances.

These intimations had a monitory object: they were calculated to cause the disciple to forego his own will, and to deprive him of all egotism. The climax of this discipline was to be the crucificial death of St Peter himself, in which the forewarning given him was literally fulfilled, whilst in its more general signification, he had long previously experienced and comprehended its truth. The interpretation of the passage proposed by Fikenscher—"with increasing age, thou shalt become more and more the servant of another, (namely, of God)—who will gird thee and employ thee as he may please,"—is in itself, no doubt, very appropriate, but it does not maintain the connexion.

Verses 20–23. After this particular discourse of the Lord to St Peter, there followed another, which, taken with the explanation of the Evangelist, standing in connexion with it, presents a very enigmatical character. The Redeemer says specially to St Peter, Follow me. That these words were accompanied by an action or movement, seems to be plainly intimated by what follows. The ἀκολουθεῖς μοι cannot possibly be understood as a mere trope, for the scene is circumstantially described. Christ went some distance away; St Peter followed him; but, on the way, St Peter looked around and perceived that St John also was coming after them. This occasioned him to ask the question, τίς ἐγώ εἰμι; the reason of the Evangelist for writing so expressly concerning himself personally, on this occasion, is immediately suggested. This order in which they followed, reminded him of the last paschal-feast of Christ, John xiii. 25, when St John occupied a nearer place to the Lord than St Peter. On that occasion St Peter did not venture to put a question directly to the Redeemer, but conveyed it to him through St John. Now their relations to Christ seemed to be inverted; St Peter appears to be the nearer, and to have, as it were, supplanted St John. This comment was therefore very important, in order to make manifest the relations of St Peter and St John respectively to Christ. To the apparently jealous, or at

least anxious-sounding question of St Peter, Jesus now replied :
ἐὰν αὐτὸν θεῶμαι μένειν, ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σε ; σὺ ἀκολουθεῖ μοι.

Many of St John's contemporaries understood the *μένειν* to imply that St John should have his earthly life continued. This explanation is rejected by the Evangelist, who again repeats the precise words of Christ, but without giving any decided opinion as to their meaning. Let us now enquire how this passage may be understood. First of all we shall interpret the words in a merely external sense, and try how their meaning may be apprehended. We shall take for granted that Jesus desired to make some private communication to St Peter, and on that account commanded St Peter to follow him. St John, who may not have known of this, follows St Peter, and the latter therefore calls out to Christ : "Lord, and what shall this man do ?" But were this the case, the reply of Christ, *ἐὰν αὐτὸν θεῶμαι κ. τ. λ.* would have been totally unsuitable. There are but two cases conceivable : either, 1, it seemed right to Christ that St John should accompany them, and he intended a reproof to St Peter : the discourse would then read thus : "let him come with us quietly, or he may hear what we say," or something similar : Or, 2, he meant to reprove St John's ill-timed attendance upon them ; the discourse would then read thus : "do not you follow us," or "remain where you are." It is impossible to discover how Christ could see occasion to employ the *μένειν* in this sense, for the disciple did not remain, but went with them. Besides, in this interpretation of the passage, the *ἕως ἔρχομαι* is altogether unintelligible. Again, let us take the latter passage to mean, in the simplest sense, "until I return," viz. from his walk by the side of St Peter. The reply would then be in no way contrary to the desire of St Peter, but favourable to it. For it was his wish that St John should not come after them, and yet the reply appears plainly to convey a reproof to St Peter. But to say nothing of the difficulty of this intention of the words themselves, it would be perfectly inexplicable how the report concerning St John could have arisen from an occurrence of such a thoroughly commonplace character ; for that report, even though false, must unquestionably have originated from some source. We are therefore compelled to admit that the interpretation of the occurrence, as a merely common event, is untenable, and that all who have sought to establish it, have dealt in arbitrary conjecture. They are obliged, for example, to take the *μένειν*, either as "to be

with me” or “to remain with me,” and then the *ὡς ἐρχομαι* has no meaning ; for we speak of returning only to one in whose presence we are not ; but, in this case, according to the hypothesis, both St Peter and St John remained present with the Lord. For what purpose then could this sentence have been added ? Or, again, they supply with the *μείνειν* the word *ἴδω*, “If I will that St John shall remain here ;” but it was precisely St Peter’s wish that St John should not go with them ; thus the discourse would have been in accordance with the desire of St Peter, which does not correspond with the fact.

Finally, if we decide that the emphasis should be laid upon the *ἴδω*, “I can command him either to remain or to come with us, thou hast nothing to say in the matter,” then, since we have not *ἐγὼ ἴδω* in the passage, this manner of supplying the thoughts implied would be far too strong, and no one could persuade himself that St John intended to suggest these thoughts to his readers, especially since it must have been his chief object here to make himself clearly understood, as he had to controvert a false interpretation of the words.

But the whole passage, dark as it appears, becomes plain and luminous, if, as we have already proposed, the whole be understood as a symbolical transaction, an acceptance to which we are further guided by the girding in verse 18. The Lord desired to point out still more precisely to Peter the way in which he should proceed hereafter. It was the way of persecution ; the way of following Christ and bearing the cross in the midst of a heavy conflict with the world.

By certain strides which he took, Jesus symbolically represented this course ; and those strides were so directed as to give Peter an opportunity of coming again closer to the Lord. Whatever may be thought surprising in this method of representing the events will be removed, if we imagine ourselves spectators of the living scene. That which now lies before us cold and dry, in lifeless letters and words, was in the actual scene quickened by the Saviour’s manner of utterance, filled with his divine Spirit. Whilst he communicated to the disciple the final close of his destiny, the Saviour’s glance, his very being, the external actions he performed, all formed a living commentary upon his words. We must therefore suppose that the disciple perfectly understood all that was thus signified. Without this the whole proceeding

would have been absolutely devoid of meaning. What we have thus assumed gives to all that follows a significancy in perfect accordance with our explanation. St Peter, somewhat depressed by the prospect of the difficult way which he was to travel, asks, when he sees St John following them, "Lord, how then will it go with this man?" As this question, however, did not proceed from a perfectly candid state of mind, but from a somewhat envious glance at the more tranquil destiny of St John, the discourse of Christ assumes a certain tone of reproof. Jesus explains to him "that his, St Peter's, part was to follow the Lord; that he was not to look to the course of another," and that "St John should remain until he would come." Now it is plain that μένειν is the converse to ἀπολυσθῆναι, namely, a peaceful, quiet, waiting for the coming of the Lord. But some have referred this coming to the second advent, and concluded that St John should live to behold it, 2 Cor. v. 4.¹ The Evangelist denies this interpretation, and in an impressive manner repeats the words of Jesus, leaving the discovery of their import to the acuteness of the reader himself. The Lord's coming manifestly referred only to the death of the disciple.² Hence the meaning is, "St John shall tarry, living in quiet and peace, until the moment when the Lord shall come to call him hence. St Peter, in the midst of trials and contests, shall follow his Lord even to the cross." But here the reflection will occur to many, that to follow the Lord in this sense could not have been enjoined as the peculiar duty of St Peter, since the same obligation devolves equally upon all Christians; for which reason it cannot be admitted that St John was to be exempted from the common lot of Christians. This remark is perfectly true in some respects, and it certainly is a fact that no person can be entirely exempted from the duty of thus following the Lord. But with equal certainty experience testifies that the spiritual development of believers assumes very distinct aspects. In one it is

¹ When, disregarding of this passage, many persons, both in ancient and modern times, would attribute to St John a longevity extending to Christ's second advent, it is certainly a strange misinterpretation of his own most candid explanation. Augustin mentions the report, that although St John was buried, he still breathed in the grave, so that the earth which covered him became tremulous.

² The selection of the expression ὡς ἔρχομαι can be explained only from the view entertained by the first Christians, that the second coming of Christ was near at hand. (Compare at Matt. xxiv. 1.) But in this passage the meaning of the expression is modified by the connexion in which it occurs.

a continuous, heavy, and bitter series of sufferings. The whole life of another is a constant bearing of the cross. Whilst with many, life glides smoothly onwards, unchequered by any grievous disasters, and gently also do they pass into their eternal home. Such differences, it is obvious, do not occur by chance, but according to the providence of the Lord; since all destinies, which are wisely ordered in congruity with the characters of men, must subserve the object of perfecting the moral life. Now in St Peter and St John (compare the introduction to St John) we perceive, as it were, the representatives of two entirely different courses of life; of that which is powerfully agitated, and of that which attains its development in tranquillity and peace.

The prophecy of the Lord directly points to this fact, and that without at all limiting the general truth, that to every man "strait is the gate, and narrow the way, which leadeth unto life."

Ver. 24, 25. It has been already observed in the critical introduction to this chapter, that the concluding words of the chapter never proceeded from St John the Evangelist, but were probably appended to it by some person unknown. When penning the first words, he may probably have had in view the parallel passage in John xix. 35—(compare also 3 John v. 12;) and in what follows them, may have had regard to John xx. 30. But he traces the parallelism of both with so little of the historian's skill, that he soon shews himself to be an imitator. The concluding hyperbole, for example, is altogether foreign to the spirit of St John. It must have been very early interpolated, however, for it is found in all the manuscripts.

Here we close our observations upon the history of the Lord's sublime life,—a life which, issuing from the mystery of divinity, and planting itself in the depths of humanity, reveals even in its humiliation,¹ an incomparable lustre, glory, and beauty, which transcend those of any other living revelation. The glorified Saviour, as the perfected fruit of this life's development, returns to the bosom of the Father, from which the impulse of love had

¹ An appropriate conclusion to this account is furnished by that noble passage in the 'Dämmerungen Für Deutschland' of Jean Paul:—"One being only, and but for one time, visited our world, who, by his sole moral omnipotence, effected signs and wonders hitherto unknown, and brought to light a life and immortality peculiarly his own. He, gently blooming, and tractable to influences from on high, was like the sun-flower: but in his ardour and power of attracting, was a sun. He, still with mildness

sent forth the eternal Word. But Christ left behind him in the world the impress of his own revelation to men, and also a little circle of friends, in whose hearts his spirit had found an abode. This little company was the germ of a new world—the embryo of an unimagined future.

A single millenium had not elapsed before this newly created world began to assert the sovereignty of Christianity over the earth. “The life, nature, and essence of Christ became a legacy to the world. One century clamoured around his sepulchre; a second contended concerning his flesh and blood; and a third made his revealed will the subject of their disputations.” Yet however painful it was, and still is, to see sinners thus so frequently striving one against another, there is an abundant source of consolation in the reflection, that the object of such disputation is He who came to make an end of all animosity. The Prince of Peace—He will also finally tranquillize the strife that prevails concerning himself.

of aspect, draws to himself, the universal and original sun, alike both nations and ages. He was the meek Spirit whom we name ‘Jesus Christ.’ If he was, then there is a Providence—or rather he was it.”

THE
ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Pœna linguarum dispersit homines, donum
Linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit.

GROTIUS.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE merits of OLSHAUSEN'S Commentary have been acknowledged on all hands, and the Translator of the portion relating to the book of Acts feels it to be superfluous to say any thing on this point. Without that superabundance of verbal criticism which characterises some expositors, our author brings out the sense of the original Scriptures clearly, and in general accurately, and he is at great pains to keep the connection of the several parts constantly before his readers. In some few passages, indeed, he indulges in a kind of mystical dreaming which is not congenial to the practical character of the British mind; but the substantial excellencies of the Commentary as a whole may well make us bear with a few such defects. The Translator would only add, that he does not consider himself responsible for all the sentiments of OLSHAUSEN. Not unfrequently his own opinion is very different; and in some cases he has added notes in which he takes the liberty of opposing the German commentator. He has not considered it necessary, however, to mark every thing of which he disapproves. The work is designed for those who are acquainted with the original Scriptures, who are in the habit of consulting commentators of different sentiments, and who are able to judge for themselves what should be adopted and what rejected.

With regard to the execution of his task, the Translator has only to say that he has made it his endeavour to exhibit the sense of the original as exactly as possible, and at the same time to employ none but English idioms. It is often extremely difficult to attain these two ends at once. German modes of expression

are so very different from English ones, that, if you keep close by your original, you are in great danger of giving a German colouring to your version. To give the sense exactly in all its shades, and yet to employ an English style that will not betray itself to be a translation, is a task of extreme difficulty.

WILLIAM LINDSAY.

GLASGOW, 5th August 1854.

INTRODUCTION.

IT has been our practice hitherto to prefix to each book a short introduction, because in our progress we must refer, on account of particular discussions, to the branches of knowledge which Introduction embraces. In the case, however, of the Acts of the Apostles, there is comparatively little need of introductory remarks, because, in the first place, with respect to most of the questions which are handled in introductions, there is little to be said in reference to this treatise: their importance is smaller here than in the other books of the New Testament; the genuineness of the work, to give but one example, having scarcely ever been doubted. And in the second place, the necessary biographical notices, especially respecting Paul, will naturally present themselves both in the exposition of the book of Acts itself, and also more fully still in the exposition of the Pauline epistles and in the general introduction to them, on which account, to save repetitions, they are here entirely omitted. And finally, with respect to chronology, although it is certainly a very important subject and plainly belongs to an introduction to the Acts, yet its peculiar nature is such that, on account of its mathematical and astronomical aspects, a fundamental and independent investigation of it is practicable only to a few, and yet without this investigation, detailed communications on the subject are of little value. I have therefore satisfied myself with giving in the exposition short notices, according to the best authorities, as hints to those readers who wish to see their own way in this intricate region: for deeper researches application must be made to the chronological works themselves.

It has already been remarked in the introduction to the Gospel of St Luke (see Comm. Part I., sect. 6), that the Acts of the

Apostles is just the second part of the historical work which the Evangelist prepared for Theophilus (Luke i. 1 ; Acts i. 1).¹ This connection with the Gospel furnishes a powerful argument in defence of the genuineness of the book of Acts. Everything in fact which serves for a proof of the genuineness of the Gospel, proves the same thing in reference to the Acts, in consequence of their unity as a literary production. And as withal there is nothing in the book itself tending to awaken suspicion, so no one has affirmed the spuriousness of it in the proper sense of the term: the most that has been attempted has been to bring into doubt the credibility of some of the sources which St Luke has employed. In this way, for example, are we to understand the doubts which De Wette (*Introd. to the New Test.* p. 203) has expressed against the book of Acts. And the history of the book in the most ancient times accords entirely with what we have stated. The Acts of the Apostles was never assailed in the church catholic; and therefore it was ranked among the homologoumena. (Compare Euseb. *H. E.* III. 25.) Individual sects indeed of later origin, as the Severians (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 29), the Marcionites (Tertul. *cont. Marc.* V. 2), the Manichaeans (August. *Epist.* 237) rejected the Acts, but only on dogmatical grounds, and without holding the work to be fictitious. It is quite recently that Baur (*Tübing. Zeitschrift*, 1836, H. 3), has attempted for the first time to transfer to the Acts of the Apostles the mythical character which Strauss has ascribed to the Gospels. He sets it down altogether as a historical romance, and regards the whole work as an apologetic fiction in defence of the Apostle Paul against the assaults of the followers of St Peter; and this he holds to be proved by the circumstance that the author always gives designed promineney to the fact, that Paul preached first to the Jews, and then went to the Gentiles when the Jews rejected him. But the utter

¹ In the Gospel all references to the Acts are wanting; the question therefore suggests itself, whether St Luke, while composing the one designed to add the other. Perhaps the plan of the Acts was first formed after the completion of the Gospel: yet it is highly probable that there was no great interval of time between the composition of the two.—The opinion of Mayerhoff, which he has expressed in his introduction to the writings of St Peter, that it was not St Luke but St Timothy who wrote both the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel that bears St Luke's name, has already been sufficiently refuted. (Compare on this point Tholuck's *Credibility*, page 136, and Bleek's *Review in the Studien*, 1836, No. 4).

emptiness of this hypothesis has been already exposed by Kling. Studien. 1837, Part 2.)

Yet, although the Acts of the Apostles was always acknowledged by the great body of the primitive church, it was not one of those books of the New Testament that were widely circulated and much read. The Gospel of St Luke, it is probable, excited more general interest, particularly as the history of St Paul and St Peter, wherever these apostles had been heard themselves, would be orally communicated; and therefore the former half of St Luke's work was more frequently transcribed, and was placed at an earlier period in the collection of evangelical writings. With most correct appreciation, however, the church admitted the Acts of the Apostles also into the Canon of the New Testament; where it forms a most essential link of the chain: it is like the stem, shooting up straight from the root of the Gospels, and bearing the rich crown of the epistles as its flowers.

The separation, however, of the book of Acts from the Gospel has had the effect, first, of causing a peculiar title to be affixed to the book, and secondly, of exposing its text to greater corruption than that of the Gospel. The corruptions of the text appear particularly in the codices D. and E., which exhibit very marked interpolations in the Acts of the Apostles. They are not, however, to be regarded as constituting a separate recension of the book: the interpolations bear evident traces of having sprung incidentally from the difficulties of the narrative, or of being short notices that have been appended. The cause of their great prevalence in the Acts might be, that for a long period this book was but little read in the church, and thus the opportunity was wanting of immediately removing spurious additions, by the comparison of different copies. The more widely, it is plain, that any writing is circulated, and the more numerous the copies are which are taken from it, the more difficult must it be for spurious additions to spread themselves through the whole mass of manuscripts in

¹ Even at the close of the fourth century, Chrysostom, at the commencement of his exposition of the Acts, writes: πολλοῖς τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον οὐδ' ἔτι ἐστὶ γνωστόν ἐστιν. In this, however, there is probably something of rhetorical exaggeration. We know that the book of Acts was regularly read in the Greek Church between Easter and Pentecost, and according to Augustine, the same custom prevailed in Africa too. This book of Scripture therefore could not possibly be so utterly unknown to Christians. (Comp. Bingham orig. vol. vi. 63, &c.)

circulation. The title of the book *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* was certainly not prefixed to the Acts by St Luke : for the manuscripts differ very much with respect to it ; he would himself probably have named it *λόγος δεῦτερος*. But still the name would very readily suggest itself, after the separation of the book from the Gospel, since even in profane authors *πράξεις* occurs in the signification of "*res gestae*," proceedings. (Comp. Xenoph. Cyrop. I. 3, 1.) It is certain, however, that the name of the canonical book was not derived from the apocryphal *πράξεις*, but the reverse ; the canonical is the older work, and furnished the occasion for the forgery of the other.

As to the *time* and *place* of the composition of the book of Acts, the necessary statements have already been made in the remarks upon the Gospel of St Luke. I have only here to add, that De Wette is certainly wrong when he concludes from Luke xxi., that the Gospel as well as the Acts of the Apostles must have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem. The pointed references of that chapter to this great event, can furnish no ground at all for supposing the predictions which it contains to have been written after the event ; because there were already quite similar predictions to be found in the Old Testament. (Comp. the Commentary on Matt. xxiv.)

Again, the *design* and *language* of the Acts of the Apostles are determined by the fact that the book is addressed to Theophilus. As to its design, the circumstance in question clearly shews that it must have been mainly of a private nature : it was intended to give Theophilus, who, as was remarked at Luke i. 3, was probably a distinguished Roman, and had been converted to the gospel, information both respecting the character of Christ and the first formation of the church. Theophilus accordingly stands before us as the representative of enquiring heathens in general ; and the Acts of the Apostles is a book most thoroughly adapted to the wants of such. It makes its readers accurately acquainted only with the individuals who had laboured among the Gentiles, especially in Rome itself, viz. St Peter and St Paul ; and yet it treats only of their labours beyond the limits of Rome and Italy, for what happened there is presupposed by St Luke to be known. In like manner we find the way in which the Gospel passed from the Jews to the Gentiles described with peculiar minuteness, as in the history of Cornelius, and how the relation between the

Jewish and the Gentile Christians was settled ; yet so that we are not entitled to regard it as the main design of the author, to exhibit the transference of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles. The marked prominence which is given to points relating to this matter, is rather an incidental result of the very ample account we have of Paul, by whose ministry the conveyance in question was effected. Any aim of a different kind, such as perhaps the writing of a history of all the apostles, or a general history of missions, or of the Christian church, is not to be ascribed to the author, because there is none according to which the contents of the book would appear suitably divided. Now, these circumstances plainly lead to the conclusion that the Acts of the Apostles could not have been written in any other than the Greek tongue ; and the same remark has already been made as to the first part of the work, viz. Luke's Gospel. The Hellenistic tongue, in fact, was the general medium of literary communication at the time ; and as St Luke himself was of Greek origin, nothing was more natural than that he should use this language. The strong Hebraisms of the work have been supposed to furnish an argument, rendering it probable that St Luke wrote the Acts in Hebrew, or rather in Aramaic ; but it has been forgotten that the author's own style must be carefully distinguished from the language of the original documents which he employed. (Comp. Comm. on Luke i. 1—4.) For as we have seen that St Luke employed documents in preparing his Gospel, we must suppose the same thing here with respect to the Acts of the Apostles. Unfortunately we have never yet received from the celebrated critic, to whom we are indebted for so accurate an investigation of St Luke, the promised treatise on the Acts ; but, at all events, the leading idea stands secure, that in the case of the Acts too, St Luke elaborated his work from documentary evidence. Whether Schleiermacher entertained the same view of the Acts of the Apostles, which he has defended in reference to the Gospel, viz., that the author inserted his documents without change, I know not ; but at all events I cannot acquiesce in this idea. As in the Gospel, so do I find in the Acts too, upon the whole, with the exception of a few passages (see, for example, what is stated at chap. xiii. 1), a free treatment of the documents employed, which for the most part, betray themselves to us, only by the style deviating perceptibly from that of St Luke himself. To specify, therefore, with

precision, where one document ends and another begins, I hold to be a very questionable proceeding.

In like manner, it is impossible to state with certainty any particulars respecting the origin of the documents : only you may reject, without a scruple, those conjectures which have been made as to the use of the apocryphal $\pi\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ by St Luke. For these apocryphal Acts came into existence, as was formerly remarked, at a much later period ; and, besides, the historical documents of the Acts of the Apostles have not a syllable in them that savours of the apocryphal character. Far more probable is it that St Luke, in reference to events which he had not observed as an eye-witness, consulted, for information on single incidents, journals or memoirs whose credibility he had sufficiently ascertained, (Luke i. 4.). It has, indeed, been doubted in recent times, whether St Luke ever relates anything as an eye-witness. Schleiermacher, even in his day, alleged that the passages in which the narrative proceeds in the plural, furnish no certain proof that St Luke journeyed along with Paul, for the plural might proceed from the author of the travels consulted by St Luke, who appears to have been Timothy. Mayerhoff followed out this supposition so far, as to declare that Timothy was the author of the whole book of the Acts, as has already been mentioned. Bleek, in the review of Mayerhoff's work, referred to in the note on page 324, while he is opposed to the idea that Timothy was the author of the Acts, yet thinks that there is certainly some truth in the supposition, that St Luke is not to be viewed as included under the plural form. The same view has also been maintained by Ulrich in the *Studien*. for 1837, Part 2. Now, although there is certainly much that appears to favour this new observation, yet I have not been able to convince myself of the soundness of it, and I shall bring forward the grounds which have determined my judgment when I come to Acts xvi. 12. Here I only remark that, although the observation were quite confirmed, it could have no influence upon the credibility of the Acts ; for this rests not upon the circumstance of St Luke's being an eye-witness, which in any case applies only to the smallest and least important part of the work, but upon the apostolic authority of St Paul, and upon the testimony of the ancient church, which had the Gift of trying not only the genuine and the spurious, but also the divine and the human.

And what holds good of the historical parts of the Acts of the

Apostles, that for the most part at least they were compiled from written documents, must also be supposed in reference to the speeches, which, doubtless, in general formed integral portions of the documents which St Luke employed. Only, of course, it cannot be supposed that these speeches were written down on the spot as they were delivered. You have only to imagine to yourself affecting situations, the parting, for example, of St Paul from the Ephesian elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 17, &c., to feel the unsuitableness of this supposition. The speech of St Paul on the occasion referred to, so greatly moved the minds of all who were present, that they burst into tears. Who, in such circumstances, thinks of mechanically writing down the spoken living words? It may be apprehended, indeed, that, if no writing took place at the moment, then all security for the credibility of the speeches is gone. But this fear, as has already been remarked in the introduction to the Gospels, plainly proceeds from a want of faith in the power of the Spirit of truth. If we do not suppose this Spirit to have been at work in the mind of the writer of the Acts, and of the Apostles under whose eye he wrote, then we have no guarantee at all for the contents; but, if such an influence of the Spirit be acknowledged, then no harm can result from the looser view of the speeches indicated above. This, however, does not oblige us to deny that notations might be made of many impressive speeches, a few hours or days after they were delivered. Rather is it in the highest degree probable that this was the case from the nature of many discourses, as, for example, the speech of Stephen; for the contents of this speech are so peculiar, that you cannot conceive it to have been constructed without any notations at all.¹

¹ This is rather strongly expressed. Still, it is true that the inspiration possessed by the sacred penmen does not require us to suppose that they employed none of the ordinary methods of preserving the memory of important events and declarations. Doubtless they made notations of such things as they wished to remember, and doubtless they investigated with care whatever they were about to record. Luke plainly mentions that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, or, as the words rather mean, that he had carefully examined or traced out, *παρρησιασθέντι*, all things from the very first, before proceeding to write to Theophilus. The inspiration of the Holy Ghost did not suspend the faculties of the apostles: their powers of memory and judgment and imagination were all in vigorous exercise when they wrote and spoke, and hence the individual peculiarities that characterise their writings. But their unequalled distinction was this, that they were infallibly guarded from error, and guided to truth. The Spirit of the Most High gave them understanding. They spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.—TR.

Only you must not insist upon a literal reproduction of what was spoken, but rather be satisfied with holding that the essential matter of the most abbreviated discourses, and, above all, the spirit which breathed in them, is communicated to us. And thus these discourses perfectly fulfil the important service which, like the whole book of the Acts, even in its historical portions, they were designed to perform for the later ages of the church. They afford us a completely accurate view of the labours of the Apostles in teaching, and of the whole inner life of the ancient churches. In this respect the Acts of the Apostles is a work, whose value to the church is quite inestimable; and, if by any mischance she had been robbed of it, there would have been produced a gap in her history which nothing could supply. Even although the lost writings of Papias and Hegesippus were still at our command, the want of the book of Acts would be most sensibly felt, because it communicates to us nothing but genuine information, whereas in those works truth appeared very largely mingled with error, and we should have been unable in all cases to separate the one from the other with certainty.

With respect to treatises upon the Acts of the Apostles, the expositions of Clemens Alexandrinus in the work styled *ὑποτυπώσεις*, of Origen, of Diodorus of Tarsus, of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, have perished. Only of Chrysostom there are preserved to us fifty-five homilies on this book. But they are not to be ranked among the best productions of this great preacher, so that some have been disposed even to doubt their genuineness. Their inferiority, however, is accounted for by the consideration that he must plainly have composed this commentary amid manifold interruptions, and therefore must have bestowed less pains upon it than upon his other expository works. Belonging to a later period, we have the commentaries of Ecumenius and Theophylact. In more recent times, with the exception of expositions of the Acts contained in the general works of Grotius, Wolf, and others, we have received very few special commentaries upon the book. Besides Limborch's great work (Rotterdam 1711), we must particularly notice the *Dissertationes in Acta Apostolorum* of J. E. Chr. Walch (Jena, 1756–1761, 3 vols.); the exposition of Morus, edited by Dindorf (Leipsic, 1794, 2 vols.); a translation of the Acts, with Annotations, by Thiess (Leipsic, 1800). In Koppe's *New Test.*, vol. iii., there is an exposition of the Acts by Heinrichs (Göttingen,

1809.) The most recent exposition is that of Kuinoel (Leipsic, 1818.) Stier has written upon the speeches in the Acts (2 parts, Leipsic, 1829, 1830).¹ Menken's work, styled, "Blicke in das leben des Apostels Paulus" (Bremen, 1828), embraces an exposition of chapters xv.—xx. of the Acts. Among recent commentators upon the whole New Testament, Meyer as yet is the first who has handled the Acts.

Last of all, as respects chronology,² it is only here and there that St Luke specifies the interval of time between the occurrences which he narrates, and even then it is only general periods of two or three years he mentions. (Compare Acts xx. 31, xxiv. 27, xxviii. 30.) He usually confines himself to indefinite expressions, such as *ἐν ταύταις ἡμέραις, κατ' ἐξέτην τὸν καιρὸν*, from which chronology can derive but little assistance. However, he mentions some occurrences which are recorded in profane history, and whose date therefore can be in some measure ascertained. From these points chronologists have endeavoured with uncommon acuteness to form an arrangement of the leading events in the Acts of the Apostles. Among such points may be mentioned particularly, (1) the famine under Claudius Cæsar, which the prophet Agabus predicted (xi. 28); (2) the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by the same Emperor (xviii. 2); (3) the entrance upon office of the procurator Porcius Festus (xxiv. 27.) By means of these ascertainable points you may with some probability arrange in chronological order the leading events of the Acts; yet how far your arrangement falls short of historical certainty, is apparent from the great multitude of different computations which have been derived from the premises in question. The uncertainty, besides, of the year of Christ's birth and death increases the chronological difficulties. I confine myself to the task of laying before my readers two chronological tables. The one presents a view of political circumstances in connection with the parallel events of the Acts,

¹ Stier attempts to point out most precise arrangements in the speeches of the Acts; but in my judgment this method of treating the book, which had already prevailed in the school of Baumgarten, is not serviceable to the exegesis of it. In another quarter, too, I refer to Seyler (in Ullman's Studien, 1832, part i., page 44, &c.), a similar treatment of the text of the New Testament is recommended. But the thoughts in the New Test. and in the Holy Scriptures generally, appear to be not so much arranged after a logical method, as held together by a higher unity of spirit.

² Compare the chronological work: Rud. Anger de temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione. Lipsiæ, 1833.

according to my own opinion of the chronology, in which, upon the whole, I have followed Hug ; the other presents a comparative view of the different computations that have been made respecting the leading events of the Acts. For the latter the learned world is indebted to Dr Göschen (see Ullmann's Studien, year 1831, H. 4), who has, in the most friendly manner, permitted me to insert it in my exposition of the Acts. For the relationships which subsisted between the different branches of the Herodian family, I refer to the genealogical tree, which Karl von Raumer has designed in his geography of Palestine. (2d Edit., p. 373.)

FIRST CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

<i>Aera of Dionysius.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Rulers of Palestine.</i>			<i>Rulers of Neighbouring States.</i>	<i>Events in the Book of Acts.</i>
		JUDEA.	GALILEE.	GAULONITIS.	ABILENE. CHALCIS.	
14	Tiberius	Roman procurators govern the country.	Herod Antipas.	Philip		33. Ascension of Christ.
33				Philip †		35. Conversion of Paul.
35						
36		Pilate displaced.				
37	Caligula		Antipas displaced.			
38						38. Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, Acts ix. 26, compared with Gal. i. 18.
40		Herod Agrippa governs the whole of Palestine.				
41	Claudius				Lysanias	41. Paul goes with Barnabas to Antioch, Acts xi. 25.
44		Famine in Palestine. Agrippa †. Acts xii. 20, &c. Roman procurators govern the land.				44. Paul's second journey to Jerusalem. First missionary journey of Paul, Acts xiii. 1; xiv. 28.
49					Herod † Agrippa min. follows.	49. Paul's return to Antioch, Acts xiv. 28.
52		Expulsion of the Jews from Rome, Acts xviii. 2.	Lysanias †			52. Paul's third journey to Jerusalem, Acts xv.; Gal. ii. 1. Towards end of the year second missionary journey.
53		Agrippa minor receives Gaulonitis and Abilene.			Chalcis assigned to Syria.	53. Paul in Corinth.
54	Nero					55. Pentecost. Paul's fourth journey to Jerusalem. Third missionary journey.
55						56, 57. Stay in Ephesus.
56, 57						60. Paul's fifth journey to Jerusalem. Imprisonment.
60						62. Paul's trial before Porcius Festus.
62		Porcius Festus is procurator.				63. Paul's arrival in Rome.
63						65. Completion of Book of Acts. Second imprisonment.
65						
66		Gessius Florus, procurator.				
67						67. Death of the Apostle.
68	Nero †					Jewish war.

SECOND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

EVENTS.	1 <i>Eusebius.</i>	2 <i>Hieronymus.</i>	3 <i>Baronius.</i>	4 <i>Usher.</i>	5 <i>Calvisius.</i>
Birth of Christ	2 or 1 before Chr. aera, 6 Jan.	2 or 1 before Chr. aera, 25 Dec.	3 before Chr. aera, 25 Dec.	5 before Chr. aera, 25 Dec.	3 before Chr. in October.
Baptism	29	29	29 6 Jan.	30	29
Death	33	32	32 March	33 3 April	33 3 April
Stoning of Stephen	33		32 26 Dec.	34	33
Conversion of Paul	33		34	36	34
Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, Acts ix., Gal. i. 18			37	38	37
The second, Acts xi. 12			42	44	38
The third, Acts xv., Gal. ii. 1.			49 14 years after conversion	52 14 years after first journey	48 14 years after conversion
The fourth, Acts xviii. 22				56	52
A problematical jour- ney to Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 1					
The fifth journey and imprisonment.			56	60	56, about Pentecost
Paul's journey to Rome.	55	57	56, Nov. the 2 years refer to Felix*	62	58
Paul's arrival in Rome.			57, May	63	59 in Spring
Deliverance from captivity	After 2 years	After 2 years	59	65	61
Return to Rome	67 ?			66	
Death	68	69	67 29 June	67 29 June	64

* See note page 338.

EVENTS.	6 <i>Bengel.</i>	7 <i>Vogel.</i>	8 <i>Süsskind.</i>	9 <i>Eichhorn.</i>	10 <i>Schmidt.</i>
Birth of Christ	4 before Chr. 25 Dec.	3 before Chr. aera	3 before Chr. begin. of Mar.	4 before Chr. aera ?	
Baptism	27 8 Nov.	28	29 begin. March	30 ?	
Death	30 6 April	31	32	32	
Stoning of Steph ^{en}	30		32	37	
Conversion of Paul	31	33	32	37 or 38	41
Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, Acts ix., Gal. i. 18.	33	36	35	40 or 41	Never made
The second, Acts xi. 12	41-44	44	Gal. ii. 1, 46, 14 yrs. af. conversion	44	44 Gal. i. 18.
The third, Acts xv., Gal. ii. 1	47, 14 years after the first journey	47 14 years after conversion	47 ?	52	55
The fourth, Acts xviii. 22	49	54	50	56	
A problematical journey to Jerusa- lem, Gal. ii. 1					
The fifth journey and imprisonment	53, about Pentecost	57	53, about Pentecost	60 in Summer	59
Paul's journey to Rome	55	59	55	62	61
Paul's arrival in Rome	56 in Spring	59 or 60		63 in Spring	62 in Spring
Deliverance from captivity	58	62		Took not place	Took not place
Return to Rome	?	?		Took not place	Took not place
Death	67 29 June	65		65-68	64

EVENTS.	11 <i>Haenlein.</i>	12 <i>Bertholdt.</i>	13 <i>Heinrichs.</i>	14 <i>Kuinoel.</i>	15 <i>Hug.</i>
Birth of Christ				?	1 before Chr. aera in Feb.
Baptism				?	29 in Feb.
Death	33		33	33	29
Stoning of Stephén	36		36	37 or 38	
Conversion of Paul	36-38	40	37	40	35
Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, Acts ix., Gal. i. 18	39-41	43	40	43	38
The second, Acts xi. 12.	14 years after conversion Gal. ii. 1	44, 4 years after conversion	44, 4 years after first journey	44, 4 years after conversion	44
The third, Acts xv., Gal. ii. 1	49?	52	?	52	52, 14 years after first journey
The fourth, Acts xviii. 22	54 Easter	55	52	Not made	55, about Pentecost
A problematical jour- ney to Jerusalem, Gal. iii. 2					
The fifth journey and imprisonment.	59 or 60	58 after Pentecost	60	57	59 Pentecost
Paul's journey to Rome	61 or 62	60	62	59	61
Arrival in Rome	62 or 63 Spring	61 Spring	63 Spring	60 Spring	62 Spring
Deliverance from im- prisonment	64 or 65	63	65	62	64
Return to Rome	66 or 67	?		?	66
Death	68	67		67	67

EVENTS.	16 a. <i>Sanclimente and Ideler.</i>	17 <i>Schrader.</i>	18 <i>Hensen.</i>	19 <i>Schott.</i>	20 <i>Feilmose.</i>
Birth of Christ	1 before Chr. aera in 25 Dec.				?
Baptism	25 end, or 26 beginning				29
Death	29, 15 April, acc. to Ideler	35			33
Stoning of Stephen	16 b. De Wette	35			
Conversion of Paul	35-38	39	35	40 or 41	35
Paul's first journey to Jerusalem, Acts ix. Gal. i. 18	38-41	42	38	42 or 43	38
The second, Acts xi. 12	44	44	44	44 end. or 45 beginning	44
The third, Acts xv., Gal. ii. 1	52	47	52, 14 years after first journey	47 or 48, 4 years after first journey	52 14 years after first journey
The fourth, Acts xviii. 22	56	51, about Pentecost	55, about Pentecost		55
A problematical jour- ney to Jerusalem, Gal. iii. 2		56, 14 years after the first journey			
The fifth journey and imprisonment	60	59 Pentecost	59	57	58 Pentecost
Paul's journey to Rome	62	61	61	59	60
Arrival in Rome	63 Spring	62 Spring	62 Spring	60 Spring	61 Spring
Deliverance from im- prisonment		Took not place	Took not place		63
Return to Rome		Took not place	Took not place		?
Death		64	64	64 or 65	?

NOTATIONS FOR THE SECOND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1. Eusebii Chronicon. Hist. Eccl. i. 5, ii. 1, 22, 26, iii. 1, vii. 32, vii. 1.
2. Hieronymi Chronicon. Ed. Vallarsii, T. viii. Catal. Viror illust. c. 5. Comment. in Jes. c. 2.
3. Baronii Annales, vol. I.
4. Usserii Annales. Genevae, 1722, p. 568.
5. Calvisii opus Chronologicum. Francof, 1620, p. 424.
6. Bengelii ordo temporum. Stuttg. 1741, p. 218.
7. Vogel, Versuch über Chronologische standpunkte der Lebensgeschichte Pauli. In Gabler's journal für auserlesene Theologische literatur, Bd. 1, st 2.
8. Süskind, neuer versuch uber chronolog. standpunkte in Bengel's Archiv. Bd. 1, st. 1.
9. Eichhorn's Finl. ins N. T., B. i. s. 440 ; Bd. ii. s. 48 ; Bd. iii. s. 32, ff., 364, ff.
10. Schmidt (J. E. Chr.) Chronologie der apostelgeschichte, in Keil's und Tzschirner's Analecten, Bd. iii. st. 1, s. 128, ff. Einleitung in N. T. Giessen, 1804, s. 184, ff.
11. Hänlein Einl. ins N. T. 2te auf. Erlangen, 1809, Bd. iii. s. 158, s. 298, ff.
12. Bertholdt, Einl. Bd. v. 2te hälfte s. 2693, ff.
13. Heinrichs Acta Apostolorum, Gott. 1809
14. Kuinoel Comment. in Acta Apostolorum, Lips. 1818.
15. Hug's Einl., 3te Auf. Bd. ii., s. 307 ff.
16. ^a Sanclementii de vulgaris ærae emendatione Rom. 1793. Ideler's Handb. b. Chronologie Th. ii. s. 366, ff.
16. ^b De Wette's Einl. ins N. T. s. 212.
17. Schrader's Apostel Paulus.
18. Hensen, der Apostel Paulus.
19. Schotti isagoge in N. T. P. 189, sqq.
20. Feilmoser's Einl. ins. N. T. 2 te. auf. Tübingen 1830. S. 308, ff ; 318, ff.

In the second chronological table, see page 334, where Paul's journey to Rome as fixed by Baronius, is stated, the words are added, " the two years refer to Felix." The two years meant are those mentioned in Acts xxiv. 27, which all chronologists, with the exception of Baronius, have understood to refer to Paul's captivity ; but Baronius understands them to refer to Felix, and therefore he places the Apostle's arrival in Rome in the same year as his fifth journey to Jerusalem. In this he is undoubtedly wrong, for the administration of Felix had lasted a number of years, as is plain from Acts xxiv. 10 ; and there being no special event in his life mentioned to which the two years can apply, we are shut up to the conclusion that they refer to the imprisonment of Paul in Cesarea.

EXPOSITION

OF THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

I.

PART FIRST.

FROM THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST TILL THE CONVERSION OF
PAUL.

(Acts i. 1—viii. 40.)

§ 1. CHRIST'S ASCENSION. CHOICE OF AN APOSTLE.

(Acts i. 1—26.)

The first part of the Acts of the Apostles contains a short general survey of the earliest occurrences in the church. With the ascension, which had already been announced at the conclusion of the Gospel history, St Luke here sets out, that he may first describe in connexion with it the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and then give some account of the first results of the preaching of the Gospel. Respecting the source of the information which is here communicated to us, unfortunately we are not now able to state any particulars. The hypothesis has indeed been advanced, that St Luke in this first part of the Acts of the Apostles may have used documents belonging to the school of St Peter, because notices of St Peter predominate in it. But this is the case only in appearance, and consequently the hypothesis is deprived of all foundation. It is true, indeed, that after Pentecost St Peter stands forth almost as the only speaker ; but this happens, not because we have Petrine documents, but because in fact St Peter was the leading speaker of the young community. From whatever quarter therefore the

accounts might come, provided only they were true, St Peter must occupy the most prominent position. As early, however, as the v. and viii. chapters, this apostle begins to appear only incidentally, and in the vi. and vii. his name does not occur, a circumstance which is by no means favourable to the hypothesis in question. We think it best therefore to leave undetermined what is unknown, and to content ourselves with a careful examination of the precious fragments themselves, respecting the apostolic church, which the narrative of St Luke presents to us.

Vers. 1, 2. The Evangelists commence their narratives with the coming of the Redeemer from the world of holiness and bliss into this world of sin and sorrow ; but St Luke, on the other hand, in this second part of his work, commences with the return of the Lord into the bosom of the Father. This return itself, however, is also in another point of view a coming of Christ (see Comm. on John xiv. 3), because his departure was the condition on which was suspended the communication of the fulness of the Spirit (John xvi. 7), through whom the Lord now lived among his disciples, not in a mere bodily and outward manner, but dwelling in them constituted the principle of their life. Hence the grand history of what Jesus did and taught (Acts i. 1), does not conclude with his departure to the Father ; but St Luke now first begins it in a higher strain ; for all the subsequent labours of the apostles are just an exhibition of the ministry of the glorified Redeemer himself, because they were acting under his authority, and he was the principle that operated in them all.

Before our author particularly describes the sublime scene of Christ's departure, already announced by him in Luke xxiv. 50—53, he takes care to connect his second book with the first, viz. his Gospel. (Λόγος is to be taken in the signification of book, treatise, equivalent to לֵבָר, comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 29, in the Septuagint.) The clause, ὃν ᾤξαστο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κ. τ. λ., is commonly understood by interpreters as if ᾤξαστο were pleonastic ; but it is better to retain the proper meaning of this word, and to make the implied contrast lie between the ministry of our Lord upon earth, and his subsequent invisible ministry. (Compare Winer's Gram. p. 539, &c.) As forming the conclusion of Christ's work upon earth, the ἀνάληψις is named (compare in reference to ἀνελήφθη the parallel word ἀνεφίξαστο in Luke xxiv. 51), which took place after all his commands and charges to the apostles were completed.

(Compare John xiv. 15, xv. 12—17.) In the construction there is an uncertainty about the connection of *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου*; but there is difficulty whether you connect it with *ἐντειλάμενος* or with *ἀνελήφθη*; and therefore the general opinion has been in favour of joining it with *ὅς ἐξελήξατο*. Further, the whole period seems to want something for its completion, the *μὲν* having no *δὲ* coming after it. The train of thought suggests the additional idea: "from this point I now continue my narrative in a second treatise;" but the mention of the apostles occasions our author to let go his thread. (Comp. Winer's Gram., p. 500.)

Vers. 3—5. The first sentence contained in verses 1, 2, is plainly shewn by its connection with the following one to want its conclusion: the *τὸν μὲν προῶπον* should naturally have had a *ὁ δὲ δεύτερος* after it. But from the word *ἀνελήφθη* St Luke immediately takes occasion to proceed to the fact of the ascension, after briefly touching upon the interval between the passion and the final departure of Christ. The presence of the Saviour for forty days he mentions first of all as a perfectly authenticated fact,¹ and then he brings into view what was the great subject of our Lord's conversations with his disciples, viz. the whole compass of the interests of the kingdom of God. For we must distinguish between *λέγων περὶ τῆς βασιλείας* and *λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας*, the latter of which phrases expresses the thought just indicated. The circumstances also lead to the conclusion that Christ would confide to his disciples, during these last moments of his personal presence, all that he had yet to say respecting the kingdom. Further, it is plain from verse 6, that the word *βασιλεία* cannot here denote the Christian religion, as Kuinoel supposes. On the idea of the *βασιλεία* consult the Commentary, Part I. upon Matthew iii. 2.

The only particular command of Christ to his disciples, given during this period of forty days, which St Luke mentions, is the one to wait patiently for the promise of the Spirit's baptism: with this baptism the public ministry of the apostles was to take its rise. (On this subject compare Luke xxiv. 49, and Matt. iii. 11.) The style changes suddenly from the indirect form to the direct, which is frequently the case with St Luke, as, for example, in Acts xvii. 3, xxii. 24, xxiii. 22. There is a grammatical difficulty in this passage connected with the word *συναλιζόμενος* in ver. 4.

¹ The word *τεκμήριον*, which occurs in no other part of the New Testament, embodies the idea of settled, fixed, accredited. See Wisdom of Solomon, v. 11, xix. 13.

First of all, as respects the reading, many codices have συναλιζόμενος, which means “dwelling together, living together.” The codex D. reads συναλισκόμενος μετ’ αὐτῶν, the meaning, according to the signification of the verb, being, “to make expenses together,” “to be at joint expenses,” “to live together.” But both readings are with one voice rejected by critics, and the conjecture of Hemsterhusius (who would read συναλιζόμενοις) as little deserves to be approved or admitted into the text, though this reading certainly would make the construction much more simple. And now, with regard to the reading, which must stand as the right one, the question presents itself how the participle συναλιζόμενος ought to be understood. It may be connected with αὐτοῖς as a passive participle, or it may be taken as a middle with αὐτούς supplied. The latter view has been preferred by Heinrichs and Kuinoel, on the ground that παρῃγγειλεν requires αὐτοῖς to be connected with it: yet there is no certain example to be found of the use of the word in the middle voice. The verb συναλίζω is used as equivalent to συναθροίζω, to assemble, convene: it comes from the Ionic word ἀλῆς, equivalent to the Attic ἀθρόος, “confertus”: from which is derived the adverb ἄλις, meaning in “crowds,” also equivalent to ὅλως, “enough, sufficient.” It is just the Latin word “salis,” from which “satis” was formed.

Vers. 6—8. From Luke xxiv. 49, 50, it may be plainly perceived that the meeting mentioned in verse 4, and the one in verse 6, are not the same. The promise of the baptism of the Spirit, and the command to tarry for it at Jerusalem, were given by the Lord before his last meeting with the disciples upon the Mount of Olives, where the words that follow were spoken. (Compare verses 9 and 12.) The connexion accordingly is this: “After Jesus had collected his disciples, he commanded them not to leave Jerusalem. When they were afterwards assembled together anew, and that for the last time, they inquired at the Lord whether he would now establish the kingdom to Israel, and whether they should have to continue waiting in Jerusalem for the inauguration of it.” Meyer supposes that it is not the earlier appearance of Christ in Jerusalem which is incidentally mentioned by St Luke in the 4th verse; but that the 4th and 6th verses relate to the very same meeting, at which Jesus only enforces anew the direction previously given. But that supposition is inadmissible, because the last appearance in verse 6 is introduced as quite

a new topic by *οἱ μὲν οὖν*, whereas verse 4 follows only as a brief reference to *ὑππανόμενος* and *λέγων* in verse 3: there is not as yet presented any independent statement in verse 4, but only the connexion with the close of the gospel history, and the introduction to succeeding matters, which you have in the declaration of the continued presence of the apostles in Jerusalem. The meaning of the question respecting the nearness of the kingdom of God cannot appear in any respect doubtful. The disciples expected, in accordance with their earthly views of the Messiah, a splendid visible introduction of the kingdom of God, accompanied perhaps with a political movement against the Romans, and with respect to this event they enquire whether it should take place just now. Ideas, therefore, like those of Lightfoot—"thou wilt not now set up thy kingdom for the wicked Jews, who killed thee upon the cross?" or "wilt thou indeed now, when the hatred of the rulers is so strong, and our power so small, wilt thou erect the banner of thy kingdom?"—need no serious refutation.¹ But, at the same time, there is no tolerable pretext to be found for conceiving the answer of Christ to be of such a nature, as would take away all prospect of a future manifestation of his kingdom in an outward shape. It is obvious rather, as has been already remarked on Matt. iii. 2, xix. 28, that the very idea of the *βασιλεία* implies, that it shall one day burst out from its secret character, and display itself in a visible and external shape. Although, therefore, there were still obscurities in the views of the disciples respecting the kingdom, yet the Redeemer did not judge it necessary to sift them, because they could not fail to have the more spiritual idea suggested to them by the power of the Spirit whom they were to receive. He expresses himself only in reference to the time, but in such a manner as neither to fix any thing respecting it, nor yet to deny, which would have been a negative fixing. (See on this subject at Matt. xxiv. 1.) The time of the manifestation of God's kingdom, he declares, it is not given to the disciples, nor to any of mankind at all to know, but it is a thing reserved for the omniscient eye of God. And the circumstance that *παρῆς* stands here in the text, and not *ἐξῆς*, shews that the passage is similar

¹ This latter view was not that of Lightfoot, but of Barkeyus, advanced in the Biblioth. Hagana, T. i. p. 603. He supposed that the words of the disciples expressed astonishment and admiration that, in the circumstances of the case, with so little apparent probability of success, their Master should propose to restore the kingdom to Israel.—Tr.

to the words of Mark xiii. 32 (consult the Commentary, Part I. p. 902), where the knowledge of this period is denied even to the Son. However, the two passages are by no means to be identified: the passage in Mark xiii. 32 might indeed be explained from the *κένωσις* of God's Son, but here such an explanation is negatived by the connection, for the words were spoken by the *glorified* Redeemer, in whom humiliation (*κένωσις*) can have no more place. Here, therefore, we must suppose our Lord only teaches his disciples that such knowledge reaches beyond the position of man as such, for whom it would not be advantageous: of his own relation to the Father he says nothing at all here; but as the invisible Father dwelt in him, and was glorified in him (John xiii. 31), so could his knowledge in no respect be different from the knowledge of the Father himself.

Respecting ἀποκαθιστάνειν, see Comm. on Matt. xvii. 11. Here the idea "of bringing again into the ancient condition" looks back to the splendour of the kingdom of David, which the Jews expected the Messiah to restore. The excellent among them, however, conceived this glory to rest upon true godliness and devotion, which they expected the Messiah to instil into his people.—The expression χρόνοι καὶ καιροί probably follows that of Daniel ii. 21, יָמִים וְיָמִים, for which the Seventy employ the same two words. In χρόνος it is rather simple time that is expressed, "tempus," in καιρός the relations and circumstances of time, "opportunitas."

As if to compensate for the knowledge which he thus denied to his disciples regarding the times, the Redeemer promises them the power of the Holy Ghost (Luke xxiv. 49); by which they were to be constituted, not so much prophets of the future,¹ as witnesses of the past. It is the mighty works of God in and by Christ for the salvation of the world, especially his resurrection from the dead, which the apostles were to proclaim to the world. From Zion the light goes forth (Isaiah ii. 2), and spreading in circles of ever-widening compass, it fills the globe. We are not required by the phrase ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς, to defend the untenable position that the apostles themselves went into all lands: these words of Christ rather apply through the apostles to all future generations

¹ The gift of prophecy is not, of course, here denied to the apostles: it is only represented as not lying at the very foundation of their office. The unveiling of the future appears in a decided manner only in some of them, as, for example, the Evangelist John.

of teachers, and find in them their fulfilment. (See Comm. on Matt. x., where Christ's instruction of the apostles embraces, at the same time, the elements of all the instruction needed by teachers.) To make the words refer to Palestine is quite unsuitable, for the parts of Palestine have been already mentioned: ἑσχατον τῆς γῆς corresponds to the Hebrew phrase אֶרֶץ סוּדָּה. Ps. xix. 5.

Vers. 9—11. In these verses the act of the ascension itself is described.¹ With respect first of all to the scene, it is portrayed so plainly that you cannot possibly misunderstand it, but through some over-refinement. The Redeemer was raised on high before the eyes of his disciples, and then received by a cloud, most probably a cloud of light, which removed him from their view. Instead of ἐπὶ ἔρημον here St Luke has (xxiv. 51) διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέφειξετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, and St Mark (xvi. 19), ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, as in Acts i. 2. St Luke names (xxiv. 50) as the place where the ascension took place, the neighbourhood of Bethany; (ἐξ ἡγαγῃ αὐτοὺς ἔξω ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν), with which agrees the statement in verse 12, that the disciples returned from the Mount of Olives, at the base of which Bethany lay. The same place, therefore, where the deepest humiliation of our Lord occurred, viz. in the conflict of Gethsemane, witnessed also his sublimest elevation. (Compare Zech. xiv. 4, Ezek. xi. 23.) Blessing his disciples, and setting them apart as the champions of truth and righteousness, the Saviour left the scene of his tears and prayers. (Compare Luke xxiv. 50, 51, καὶ ἐπαύσατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν). And while the disciples were gazing intently after him, suddenly there stood by their side, without their having noticed whence they came, two men in white raiment, that is, in heavenly robes of light, who suggested to them the fruitlessness of thus looking with the bodily eye after Christ, and rather directed their thoughts to his future return, when they should behold him coming as they had now seen him depart. That this view of the scene is the only one which corresponds to the mind of the narrator, should be acknowledged even by those who deny the reality of the fact: if you compare particularly Mark xvi. 5, Luke xxiv. 4, with Matt. xxviii. 2, John xx. 12, it

¹ Compare the discussion of Seiler in Velthusen Sylloge Commentt. vol. vi. p. 503, seqq.

will plainly appear that the latter passages represent as angels the men in white robes named in the former ; and therefore it admits of no doubt at all, that here too we must understand angels to be meant by the sacred historian. In like manner the phrase οὐτως ἐλεύσεται, ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε κ. τ. λ., refers, beyond all question, to the *visible* return of our Lord in his glorified humanity, which is taught by all the New Testament writers (comp. Comm. on Matt. xxv. 31, xxiv. 1), and, therefore, also his previous departure is described as a going to the Father, and a sitting down at the right hand of God. (Mark xvi. 19.)

All attempts, therefore, to explain the facts of the case on natural principles, by referring them to a withdrawalment of Christ amid thunder and lightning and thick clouds, are liable to this objection, that they put something into the text which is not there. And should any one take this view of the subject, that the narrators really supposed their Master to be exalted to heaven, but that this idea of theirs proceeded from a misunderstanding of some such occurrence as is indicated above ; this view too would be alien to the moral character of Christ, who never could lend himself to the device of using accidental external circumstances to deceive his disciples, that they might be led to suppose him elevated to heaven, while he continued to live concealed in some unknown region.¹

There is far more plausibility in the mythical view of the occurrence before us, which makes a reference to analogous cases in history, such as those of Hercules, Romulus, and others.² The fundamental fact remains, on this principle, altogether uncertain : we are only to hold fast the idea that he who comes from God must again return to God ; this idea is legibly stamped upon the account, even as it is given to us by St Luke. Yet in truth this view is only in appearance more moderate and historical than the former. To leave the fact uncertain, embraces the very same error, from which the explanations on natural principles take their rise. For every one must immediately say to himself, since Christ was

¹ The utmost extreme of this view was presented in the hypothesis of Brennecke (Lüneburg, 1819), who supposed that Christ continued to labour for twenty-seven years after his crucifixion in concealment ; for he considers the appearances of Jesus to Paul as proofs of his continued presence upon the earth. The absurdity of this view supplies its own refutation.

² With respect to these analogies, let it not be overlooked that they are in no way applicable : of a glorification of the σώμα, no mythology knows any thing : the heathen potheoses are only deifications of the ψυχή.

once a historical personage, he must have left the earth upon which he lived in a definite manner. Now, if his departure did not take place in the way recorded, which some will have to be mythical, then there remains no other than the common exit; and thus we see ourselves conducted to conclusions as inconsistent with the character of Christ, as those to which the former view led us.¹ Add to this, what was formerly remarked in reference to the mythical view of the early history of Jesus, that the composition of the Acts of the Apostles lies too near the historical occurrences, to allow time for a circle of mythical legends to have formed themselves around the person of Jesus. However, the advocates of this view make their appeal here to a circumstance which at first sight must appear surprising. They remind us that the ascension, if it really occurred, is so important an incident in the history of Christ, that in none of the gospels could it be overlooked; it is the keystone of the whole, without which the building cannot be completed. Nevertheless, this keystone is wanting in the Gospel of St Matthew, who yet was an eye-witness; yea, it is even wanting in St John, for whose mode of exhibiting Christ's history it would have been doubly important, setting out, as he does, from the original state of the Logos with the Father, to which same position there would have been an evident propriety in following him back. Besides, it is remarked that no other apostle speaks of the occurrence, neither St Peter, nor St Paul, nor St James: it is only the two penmen of the New Testament who were not eye-witnesses, St Mark and St Luke, who narrate the ascension, for which reason it is regarded as not improbable that they drew their narrative from impure sources. This is by no means an unimportant observation, and I confess that for a long time I was disquieted by it, because I could nowhere find a satisfactory explanation of the fact. What at last presented itself to me as an explanation, after carefully considering the circumstances of the case, I will now attempt shortly to unfold.²

¹ The beautiful conclusion of the life of Jesus by Hase (p. 204), "His departure was not the troubled parting of a mortal, but the blessing of a glorified being, who once promised by his favour with God to live on immortal among his disciples; and he does remain with us," sinks down, therefore, to mere words; because shortly before, Christ's grave was presupposed, and with it the troubled parting of a mortal.

² Hase, in his life of Jesus, who decides in favour of the mythical view of the resurrection, declares the silence of the eye-witnesses to be altogether inexplicable. And to what point he was led by this mythical view appears from the words, "as the grave of Moses, so also his was not seen." Had he then his grave, he who swallowed up death for ever?! (Hase, as cited above, page 204).

First of all, it has already been often remarked, and with justice, that references to the ascension are not so entirely wanting as has been supposed. In the Old Testament, it is true, there are passages, such as Ps. cx. 1, containing mere hints which can be directly applied to the ascension only on the authority of the New Testament; but yet, in 2 Kings ii. 11, we are presented with an obvious prefiguration of it in the history of Elijah.¹ It would therefore, very readily suggest itself to the Rabbins, who transferred everything glorious and beautiful in the Old Testament to the Messiah, to suppose also that he should ascend to heaven. (Compare Schœttgen, *Jesus der wahre Messias*, Leipsic, 1748, p. 844, &c.) And, what is of more weight, Jesus himself refers to it, not only in the expression, so often repeated in the last chapters of St John *ὁπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*, but also more definitely in the passage of John vi. 62, *ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῇτε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον*, where the connexion, as well as the words *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* plainly point to an exaltation of his human nature. In the apostolic epistles, in fine, there are passages, such as 1 Tim. iii. 16, *ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ*, which contain manifest allusions to the fact in question; and even other passages, such as Ephes. ii. 6, iv. 8, and 1 Pet. iii. 22 (*πορεύεσθε εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, where, besides you have mention of the *ἀνάστασις* immediately going before), are not to be overlooked, nor yet any of those declarations which represent Christ as sitting continually at the right hand of God, particularly Matt. xxvi. 64. However, it must be acknowledged that in most of these passages the specific circumstance distinctive of Christ's ascension, viz. the elevation of his body, is not expressly brought forward, and, therefore, many of them might be applied to persons who have blissfully fallen asleep, like the words "he has gone to heaven."²

But, again, let it be supposed that the declarations of St Mark and St Luke regarding the ascension were wanting likewise, and that we were quite at liberty to imagine to ourselves what was the end of Christ's earthly life; and should we then be able to conceive any other departure of the Lord, that would recommend

¹ I designedly mention only Elias, because the departure of Enoch and Moses is not represented expressly as a bodily glorification.

² Ephes. ii. 6 is a passage particularly worthy of notice, because Paul there views the resurrection and ascension of Christ as an image of the resurrection and exaltation of believers.

itself to the consciousness of Christians? As it is allowed the Saviour was not a mere phantom, like what the Docetæ supposed, but lived in a real human body upon the earth, we are necessarily driven to suppose, if the glorification of his body be not admitted, that a separation of his soul from his body again took place. But this separation would just be death, and therefore we must say that in some way or other Christ died again, and that his soul returned to his Father. But where, then, is the victory of Christ over death? What becomes of the significancy of the resurrection, which all the Apostles have celebrated as the great work of God, and as the foundation of faith. (Comp. Comm. on 1 Cor. xv.) It has already been remarked in the history of the resurrection, that the raising of Christ is important, only as being the highest point of the power of the *ζωή*; for Christ conquered death in his humanity, and rose with a glorified immortal body. But what boots a resurrection, that is followed by a new death? If the Redeemer, therefore, is to continue always, what he is to the church, the conqueror of sin and death, then his departure from this world cannot be conceived to have been different from what the Evangelists declare. Now let this be granted, and the question will present itself in quite a different shape. The fact of the ascension is certain, on internal grounds, and the only question that now remains is, why this concluding scene receives so little prominence in the apostolic writings? To this question you find a sufficient answer in the relation, which the resurrection and the ascension necessarily bear to one another. The ascension, as the concluding act of our Lord's career upon the earth, did not, by any means, appear so important to the apostles as it does to us: in their view it seemed only a circumstance consequent upon his resurrection. They had already become accustomed, after their master's death, to regard him as absent and gone: they had no continuous enjoyment of his presence after he rose from the dead: there was always something sudden and unexpected about the individual appearances he made to them, and each might be the last. And though, indeed, the ascension was an express leave-taking and a solemn departure, yet even after it, Jesus appeared again, for example, to St Paul.¹ The ascension itself, therefore, was really not

¹ Hence, too, the apostle Paul (1 Cor. xv. 8) enumerates, along with the other appearances of Christ, the appearance of him with which he himself was favoured, although

so important an act; the moment of our Lord's departure appeared like a fleeting instant, and therefore there was no feast of the ascension known to the ancient church.¹ Every thing of importance, in a doctrinal point of view, was concentrated in the resurrection; with it closed the earthly being of Christ: the ascension, and also the outpouring of the Spirit, which was connected with the ascension and dependent upon it, are only results of the resurrection, viewed as the glorification of the body, and consequences of the victory over death. Whilst in the assumption of humanity the divine became flesh by birth, the resurrection is something like a birth of the flesh into spirit; and the ascension is the return of the glorified body into the eternal world of spirit, with which the session of the glorified Redeemer at the right hand of God, and his consequent participation in the divine government, must be viewed as necessarily connected. As therefore the earthly sinks by the essential tendency of its nature down to the earth, so likewise does an inward impulse guide the heavenly back to its source. The Redeemer therefore, glorified in body, could not leave his *σῶμα πνευματικόν* upon the earth, but he took it with him into the world of spirit. And according to the representative character which Christ bears in relation to mankind, the whole race was elevated in him, and he now draws up to his own elevation his faithful people, and grants to them to sit upon his throne, as God has granted to him to sit upon his throne. (Rev. iii. 21.) If but one Evangelist, therefore had neglected to mention the resurrection of Christ, the omission would have been inexplicable, but the omission of the ascension in the Gospels of St Matthew and St John is only to be regarded in this light, that they have narrated one fewer of the appearances of Christ. That the risen Redeemer

it did not take place till after the ascension, and he speaks of the resurrection without making any mention of the ascension at all.

¹ In the days of Augustine and Chrysostom, the ascension was indeed celebrated in the church, and because they did not know the origin of the feast that commemorated it (*adscensio, ἀνάληψις*), they traced it back to the apostles; but in the writings of the fathers of the first three centuries, there is no trace of it to be found. (Comp. Binghami origg. eccl. vol. ix. p. 126, sqq.) How much, too, the importance of the feast of ascension has fallen below that of the feast of Easter, in the estimation of Christians, is plain from our collections of sacred psalmody. The abundance of admirable hymns for Easter stands in glaring contrast with the few and rather unimportant songs which refer to the ascension. The cause of this fact undoubtedly is nothing but this, that the imagination of poets has not found in the event any peculiar idea, but a mere consequence of the resurrection.

has ascended to heaven with his glorified body, and sits on the right hand of God, lies at the foundation of the whole apostolic view of his ministry ; and without this idea neither the significant rite of the supper, nor yet the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, can be retained at all with consistency. And therefore, in fact, the New Theology has not hitherto been able properly to incorporate with itself either the one or the other, because, on account of its prevailing ideal tendency, it has misunderstood the import of the ascension.

Vers. 12—14. Luke next gives an account of the return of the disciples to Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives. The usual name of this mountain (see Comm. on Matt. xxi. 1) is ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. The name here employed, ὄρος τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος, is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament, but it also occurs in Josephus, Ant. vii. 9, 2. It comes from ἐλαιῶν, olivetum, a place planted with olive trees. The LXX. use it for ὄρος. Exod. xxiii. 11. This mountain lay, it is well known, near to the city, at the distance of a Sabbath day's journey. (The Jews might walk on the Sabbath two thousand yards, or seven and a half stadia or furlongs. Josephus states the distance of the Mount of Olives sometimes at six furlongs [Ant. xx. 8, 6], and sometimes at five [Bell. Jud. i. 5, 2], according as he counted from the top of the mountain or the foot. Here it is only an indefinite statement that is made.) When Luke intimates in verse 13 that the apostles assembled in a private house (ὁπερ ἐστὶν equivalent to ὀψίον, an upper chamber,¹ which was usually constructed in the form of a hall, and therefore commonly served for meetings, Acts ix. 37, xx. 8) ; it is only in appearance that this contradicts the passage in the Gospel of Luke xxiv. 51, where it is stated that they were in the temple. For the word that is added, διαπαντός, shews that it is not there meant to be affirmed that they went directly from the Mount of Olives to the temple, but rather that, as pious God-fearing men, they were frequently to be found in the common sanctuary of the nation. But in the passage before us the discourse relates to an immediate meeting, after the return from the Mount of Olives. (Respecting the list of the apostles, see the Commentary on Matt. x. 2.)

¹ Undoubtedly it was in the house of a family friendly to them, perhaps in the same where the last supper was observed.

Mary the mother of Jesus is mentioned by name as a mark of respect, and it is for the last time. It is not to be overlooked that the brothers of Christ are distinguished from the eleven apostles, for this circumstance clearly shews that none of them can have belonged to that body. It is not to be doubted, however, that they were now attached to the gospel, and perhaps had been so from the time of Christ's appearance to James (1 Cor. xv. 7.) (Comp. the Comment. on John vii. 5, and Matt. xiii. 55.) Although the Lord had now left the disciples, and they stood alone like sheep among wolves, yet they were filled with a blessed joy. (Luke xxiv. 56.) They had learned, that by means of the resurrection of Christ, the foundations of the kingdom of God were immoveably laid, and that all their hopes should be realized. Therefore they joined together in heartfelt prayer, that the purposes of God towards mankind might be carried into effect through them. From the historical statement of the individual fact *ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, ἀνέβησαν*, there is a transition made to a general form of expression in the words *οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες* and *ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦτες*. Here in the place indicated they were *wont* to assemble for prayer. (Comp. verse 15.) The word *οἰκοθυμαδόν*, in verse 14, also in chap ii. 1, 46, is worthy of notice: it is only to be found once in the other books of the New Testament, viz. in Rom. xv. 6. It denotes that oneness of life in the disciples which was displayed in a living community of feeling and consciousness.

Ver. 15–17. During the days that intervened between the ascension and the day of Pentecost (ii. 1) the apostles proceeded to the election of a new member of the apostolic college in the room of Judas. First of all, in reference to this transaction, it seems strange, that when the Redeemer himself had not supplied the vacancy during the forty days that followed his resurrection, the apostles did not wait till they received the Holy Ghost. In that case they might have been able to dispense with the use of the lot, which necessarily betrays a deficiency of the gift of discerning spirits: if St Peter, for instance, had had this gift of the Holy Ghost, then he could at once, by heavenly guidance, have selected a new apostle. But this would have been a proceeding obviously opposed to all propriety, for one apostle could not nominate another: all of them required to be appointed by the same Lord.

¹ In this circumstance probably we can find the reason why in the ancient church the teachers of religion were not also appointed by lot. The apostles were named

Their use of the lot therefore only gave expression to the idea, that they wished to decline the decision themselves, and to put it wholly into the hands of the Saviour. Yet certainly this occurrence will always remain a proof not to be overlooked of the lawfulness of the lot, in those cases where a decision needs to be given, and where it transcends the ability of man to discover what is the right. It is well known that in such cases the church of the United Brethren use the lot; and, according to the latest accounts regarding the practice, they use it with such prudence that scarcely any well grounded objection can be made to it.

But further, in the speech of St Peter there is exhibited a manifest consciousness of the importance of the office which was conferred upon him and all the apostles, and of the completeness of the body which the twelve were designed to form. And just because they were to stand purely as the representatives of Israel (comp. Comm. at Matt. x. 1), even Paul himself afterwards could not be ranked in the apostolic circle, for as the apostle of the Gentiles, he did not belong to the number of the twelve.

And finally, our admiration is excited by the calmness and the clear conscience with which Peter speaks of Judas in this first speech which he delivers. Though he had himself so deeply fallen, he could, after receiving pardon as a penitent, take that lead among the disciples to which the Lord had called him, without being held back by a false humility, and proceed to supply the place of Judas who had destroyed himself in despairing remorse. So greatly do sins differ from one another in their consequences, according to the state of mind from which they proceed! Only let the heart be at bottom sincere and true to God, and the soul may soon rise again from a very deep fall.

The whole body of the little church at Jerusalem amounted at that time only to one hundred and twenty souls. *ὁμοια, the name, is here employed to denote the person himself. The word is used in the same manner in Rev. iii. 4, where it stands plainly for ἀνθρώποι. Among profane authors this usage is only to be found in poetical diction. For ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντὶ, equivalent to ὑπὲρ, you

immediately by the Lord, and therefore the filling of the vacancy which had occurred was also left to him. But the overseers and teachers of individual churches were always named by the apostle who planted them, and the church kept up the number by election. It is only at a late period that traces of election by lot are to be found in Spain (see Binghami orig. eccl. vol. ii. 80), but it was probably just the passage before us which led to the adoption of the practice when it did arise.

find only once *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό*, viz. in Acts xiv. 1. This phrase *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* occurs chiefly in the writings of St Luke and St Paul, though also in Matt. xxii. 34. In signification it refers usually to place, *χωρίον* being understood, yet sometimes also, as in Acts iii. 1, to time, in the sense of "at the same time, together." It unites therefore in itself, like *ἑν*, different references. The passages to which St Peter refers in his speech, as relating to Judas, are cited in ver. 20. In accordance with the universal doctrine of Scripture, the word of prophecy is here considered as necessarily reaching its fulfilment. That this objective necessity does not interfere with the subjective free determinations of the mind, but that God knows free actions as such, has already been repeatedly brought under notice. It is probably in such passages as verse 17, *κληρονομία τῆς διακονίας*, compared with verse 25, that we are to seek the origin of the word *clerus*, as applied to the spiritual functionaries of the church. At the very beginning of the church, it was supposed, you must find the commencement also of the spiritual office; and this name very naturally presented itself, having been applied to the apostles as the representatives of that office. *Κληρονομία* denotes the lot, then whatever is distributed by lot, as *ἑν*, and then generally that which is distributed; here it means a thing conferred by God, which of course implied that the individual who had received the special blessing was laid under special obligations to God in return.¹ *Κληρονομία διακονίας* must therefore be translated, "*munus ministerii*," but the expressions are by no means synonymous, as Heinrichs and Kuinoel assert.

Vers. 18, 19. These two verses appear not to belong to the original speech of St Peter. As the miserable end of Judas was universally known in Jerusalem (ver. 19), it is improbable that St Peter should have here detailed it so minutely.² The verses, therefore, are most properly to be regarded as a historical supplement

¹ Thus speaks Jerome, Epist. ii. ad Nepot., *ministri Dei propterea vocantur clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors id est pars clericorum est.* See Binghami orig. eccl. vol. i. 50.

² It is too sweeping a conclusion which is here drawn by Olshausen. The statements of these verses are necessary to the speech of St Peter: they are connected by conjunctions with the foregoing and the following verses; and the description of the fate of Judas prepares the way for the quotation from the book of Psalms. It might have been needless to mention a fact universally known, if it had been simply mentioned; but it is mentioned as a fulfilment of what is stated in the book of Psalms, *γέγραπται γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.*, and therefore the notoriety of the occurrence only made it the more suit-

Ver. 20. According to this view, then, the quotations from the Old Testament connect themselves immediately with the 16th verse, where mention of them is made. With respect to the first passage, it is taken from Ps. lxi. 25.¹ In the LXX. it stands thus: γενήσεται ἡ ἔκκλησις αὐτῶν ἡζηλωμένη καὶ ἐν ταῖς σπηράσιν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατακλιθεῖς. Probably the passage has been quoted from the Septuagint, but only from memory, for the variations from the LXX. are not material. The employment of the singular number, however, is plainly intentional, that the reference of the passage to Judas may be the better marked. But in this there is by no means any disfigurement or essential alteration of the sense. Judas is only viewed as representing the ungodly in general, and the sentiment which is applicable to them all, holds good of him pre-eminently. On this principle it is to be explained how the passage admits of being applied to Judas, and the word ἔκκλησις, equivalent to *civitas*, and occurring only here in the New Testament, to his apostolic office.² We need not at all suppose that David, in the strict and proper sense, had a view of Judas and his office clearly before his mind; but he scanned deeply the fundamental relations between good and evil, as they are developed in the history of the world. For it is God's plan to permit the evil to bear sway for a time over the good, but judgment at length goes forth, and the evil is driven from the position it held.

¹ In the Hebrew it is the 26th verse, which runs thus:

¹ In the Hebrew it is the 26th verse, which runs thus: וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל וְהָיָה אֵשׁ וְהָיָה אֵשׁ וְהָיָה אֵשׁ

² On the 69th Psalm in general, see the Comment. on John ii. 17.

Then the place of the evil is supplied by a good which repairs its disasters. This deep thought was exhibited typically in the life of David, and it was realised in a great historical event in the case of Judas, but it shall one day be fully vindicated in the complete triumph of the good. The second passage is quoted from Ps. cix. 8, and it corresponds word for word to the LXX. To this Psalm the same remarks exactly are applicable, as have been made regarding Ps. lxix. There too, David, the representative in his day of all godly living, is described as being in his persecutions a type of the Messiah. (Επισκοπή corresponds to the Hebrew word מִשְׁכָּח office.)

Vers. 21, 22. It is not inward qualifications which St Peter here brings forward as requisite to an apostle, but something altogether external, viz., constant intercourse with Christ and his circle of followers. This, indeed, may appear a faulty principle, when it is considered that Paul, who enjoyed no such intercourse, yet laboured far more than Matthias, who was chosen. But it must not be overlooked that three years' intercourse with Christ, though a thing purely external in itself, was yet of such a nature that during it a decided change of some kind must unavoidably take place in the individual: either he would enter upon a really pious life, or he would sink as deep into sin as Judas. The heavenly light which proceeded from Christ left no room for indecision. The idea of Peter, accordingly, must be conceived in this manner, "we can choose none, but one who has already approved himself." We do not find any respect at all paid to opulence of natural endowments in the choice of the apostles. The majority of those who were chosen by Christ himself do not appear to have been in any way pre-eminently distinguished by talents. Integrity, truth, and experience were the only qualities that were looked to, and these qualities are still of most importance in the church of Christ. Again, it is the resurrection only, ἀνάστασις, which St Peter prominently exhibits, although he also mentions the ascension. It was not witnesses of the ascension the church needed, but witnesses of the resurrection, for the former was a necessary consequence of the latter. The phrase εἰσερχεσθαι and ἐξέρχεσθαι is formed upon the model of the Hebrew בָּאֵן, and denotes the close and intimate intercourse of life.

Ver. 23. Two persons, who possessed the qualification required, were now appointed as candidates, viz. Barsabas and Matthias.

The former had three names, like Thaddæus among the apostles. (Comp. Comm. on Matt. x. 3.) For Ἰωσὴφ, however, some codices read Ἰωσῆς, and for βαρσαβᾶν, codex. D., in particular, has βαρ-
νάβαν. Both names appear to have been frequently interchanged with the kindred forms. This Joseph Barsabas has been confounded by transcribers with the well known Josès Barnabas mentioned in chap. iv. 36,¹ and there too, indeed, some codices read βαρσαβᾶν. (The etymology of βαρσαβᾶν is unknown. Grotius explains it to mean son of an oath, from בָּרַךְ and אָוַם. The name Justus was borrowed by the Jews from the Latin tongue, and assumed the form of יוסטוס.)

Vers. 24–26. The question presents itself, to whom is this prayer addressed? The word κύριε, placed absolutely, denotes in the New Testament almost universally the Son ;² and, besides, the words ἀνὰ δεξιῶν ὧν ἐξῆλθέω are decisive. The apostles are just the messengers of Christ; it is he who selects them, and of him they are to bear witness. Here, therefore, we have the first example of a prayer offered to the exalted Redeemer, which furnishes indirectly the strongest proof of his divinity. Καὶ θεογνώστῃς is equivalent to בָּרַךְ, Jerem. xvii. 10; comp. John ii. 25. Of Matthias, who was chosen, history gives no particular information. Διδοῦναι κρίσιν equivalent to בָּרַךְ, Lev. xvi. 8.—The word συγκαταφύχειν σημαίνει, meaning to be chosen with general consent, occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

There has been found some difficulty in the statement these verses make concerning Judas, that he went εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. False principles of moderation have created a wish to shun the obvious sense of the words, and therefore πορεύεσθαι has been made to refer back to λαλεῖν, and τόπος has been understood to mean office; so that the sense of the whole has been made this: shew, Lord, whom thou hast chosen to receive the office, and to enter into the situation thus devolving upon him. But this exposition is so ungrammatical and violent, that it cannot maintain its ground for a moment, for as the words ἐξ ἧς παρήλθῃ Ἰούδας stand between λαλεῖν and πορεύεσθαι, it is perfectly clear, that without καὶ these

¹ Against the identity of the two men you have decisive evidence in the chapter mentioned above, iv. 36; where, certainly, if Barnabas had been the same with Barsabas, some reference to this fact was to be expected. What Ullmann (Studien 1828, ii., page 377, ff.) has adduced in favour of their identity, has not convinced me of it.

² Consult Winer's treatise, de sensu vocum, κύριος et ó κύριος, in act. epist. apost. Erlange, 1828.

two infinitives cannot be connected. The explanations too which, referring the clause to Judas, understand the word *τάπος* of the grave or of his habitation, and make the meaning to be that he withdrew himself entirely from the company of believers, are just as little deserving of attention. Nothing is left therefore but to regard *τάπος ἡδίος* as a euphemistical designation of the place of punishment, to which it was befitting that Judas should be consigned on account of his sins. One codex has *δίπλασις τάπος*, meaning, according to the fundamental signification of this word: "What is due to any one, what righteously belongs to him." Although this undoubtedly is the meaning of the words, yet interpreters have not brought it prominently out, how *τάπος ἡδίος* forms a contrast with *ἐπαύλις* and *ἐπισκοπή* in ver. 20. The heavenly position in the kingdom of light and truth to which Judas was called, but which he lost by his unfaithfulness, has standing opposed to it the kingdom of darkness, whose powers draw him down to themselves. As the iron between two magnets, so stands the soul there between the powers of light and of darkness; and the principle to which it yields the supremacy, draws it upwards or downwards to itself.

§ 2. CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST PENTECOST.¹

(Acts ii. 1—47.)

Ver. 1. And now the sacred number of the twelve was again restored to its completeness, and the closed circle of the disciples were waiting in prayer for the promise of the Father (i. 4.) Nor did the Redeemer, exalted to heaven to the right hand of power, leave them long alone (John xiv 18); but he opened the streams of the celestial world, and in the language of Isaiah xlv. 8, made the heavens drop from above, and the clouds pour down righteousness. The fulness of the Spirit from above, which had vanished with the sin of mankind, returned once more; and by means of that fulness there was laid in the church of Christ the foundation of the kingdom of God upon earth. Broken into fragments by sin, mankind were melted together anew into a holy unity; and in or-

¹ See the discussion by Hase in Winer's *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaft. Theolo.* part ii. page, 264, ff. Likewise Schneckenburger über die Pfingstbegebenheit in der *Beiträgen*. p. 70, &c.

der to seal this restored unity, the diversity of languages, which was the consequence of the breach made by sin, was neutralized. This effect, it is true, lasted only for a brief period, but still it served as a real pledge of the permanent condition one day to be expected. This great fact, however, the birthday of the young church, the new birth of Israel according to the Spirit, is preserved to us only in the one short narrative of St Luke; and therefore it is not easy to form to one's self a clear conception of the event, the more especially as there are difficult collateral points connected with the main question. We begin our statement with an explanation of the text, that we may first investigate carefully what it was the author designed to communicate, and then we shall subjoin a vindication to the consciousness of Christians of what he declares, as also remarks upon other views that have been taken of the event.

And *first* of all, with regard to the time of the occurrence, there is a difficulty in the words, ἐν τῇ συμπληροῦσθαι τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. The word συμπληροῦσθαι or πληροῦσθαι, applied to points of time, denotes invariably in the New Testament, the reaching of a term which stands related to an earlier period. Here the view is directed back to the feast of the Passover, and on the arrival of Pentecost, the interval between the two feasts was, as it were, filled up. The words before us therefore cannot be translated, "when the day of Pentecost approached," but "when it was reached." Συμπληροῦσθαι occurs in this sense only in another passage, Luke ix. 51; but πληροῦσθαι, like שָׁלַח in the Old Testament, occurs with singular frequency, especially in St Luke. Also in Mark i. 15, John vii. 8. Further, the phrase ἡμέρα τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, must not be translated "the fiftieth day;" the Greek for that would be ἡμέρα πεντηκοστῆς; but "the day of Pentecost," πεντηκοστῆ having acquired quite the force of a substantive. The supplement of ἐορτῇ is altogether unnecessary, but it is not absurd, as Meyer maintains, any more than our own word "pfingstfest," feast of Pentecost. He erroneously supposes that πεντηκοστῆ ἐορτῇ would mean the fiftieth feast; but that this is not the case, is clear from a passage in Tobias ii. 1, ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἐορτῇ, ἥ ἐστίν ἀγία ἐπεὶ ἐδόθη νόμος. 2 Macc. xii. 32. Among the Jews Pentecost was called פֶּנִּינְחֶסֶת, the feast of weeks, that is of seven weeks, Deut. xvi. 9, Tobias ii. 1. It was celebrated as a memorial of the giving of the law of Moses on Mount Sinai, and also as a feast of in-

gathering.¹ It corresponded therefore entirely to the Christian Pentecost, inasmuch as it celebrated the establishment of the Old Testament covenant, when God wrote his law outwardly upon tables of stone, while now he wrote it with the finger of the Spirit upon the living tables of the heart. The reference also to the harvest had its spiritual signification, because the Christian Pentecost was something like the complete harvest of the Jewish people ; for those who had been brought to the fruit of true repentance and renewal of heart, were gathered in and consecrated to God. The name *πεντηκοστή* takes its rise from the relation of this feast to the Passover ; for it was to be celebrated on the day following the completion of seven weeks or forty-nine days, and consequently fell upon the fiftieth day. Still, however, there is a question respecting the point from which the fifty days were counted. According to the appointment of Moses (Lev. xxiii. 15), the fifty days were reckoned from the day after the first day of the Passover, or from the sixteenth day of Nisan ; for it is said in the passage referred to *חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם*, where *עָשָׂר* denotes the first day of the Passover, which was observed as a Sabbath. Now since, according to the accounts given regarding the time of the feast, the Passover, in the year of our Lord's death fell so, that the first day of the feast lasted from Thursday evening at six o'clock till Friday evening at the same hour, it follows of course that it was from Friday evening at six o'clock that the fifty days began to be counted. The fiftieth day fell therefore, it appears, upon Saturday, while the whole church, so far as we can trace the history of Pentecost, have celebrated the feast on Sunday. For a solution of this difficulty, an appeal is made to a different exposition of Lev. xxiii. 15. While the Jews, trained in the schools of the Rabbins and Pharisees, explain *עָשָׂר* of the first day of the Passover, the Karaites understand it of the real Sabbath, that occurred during the paschal feast, which it is known lasted eight days. But certainly it is an objection to this view, that we cannot well transfer the custom of the Karaites back to the time of Christ ; at least we have no evidence at all to warrant us to do so. The practice of the church, however, when more narrowly considered, is not at all inconsistent with the reckoning stated above, and,

¹ In the former respect it is called *חַג־הַמִּצְוֹת*, the festival of the law. In reference to the first fruits it is called by Philo, *ἡ πρώτη πρωτογεννημάτων*, equivalent to *יָבֵם הַבְּכֹרִים*. See Numb. xxviii. 26.

therefore, we may entirely relinquish the appeal to that uncertain hypothesis. It is only necessary that you do not allow yourself to be misled by the different commencement of a Jewish day. Undoubtedly the Jewish Pentecost in the year of our Lord's death fell upon Saturday, but it began at six o'clock in the evening, when the Sabbath was at a close, and it lasted till six o'clock on Sunday evening. As the church, therefore, has quite rightly fixed the day of the Redeemer's death upon Friday, although the Pass-over began on Thursday evening at six o'clock, so also has it with equal propriety fixed the first Pentecost upon the day which occurred exactly seven weeks after the resurrection. In those congregations of the primitive church, which at first, according to Jewish custom, observed Easter on the day of the week on which it fell by the reckoning, they would also, without doubt, assign Pentecost to the day of the week which came round at the expiration of seven weeks after Easter, but, when the custom became general of statedly observing Easter upon Sunday, the whole church likewise celebrated Pentecost on the seventh Sunday after Easter.¹

There is another considerable difficulty, with respect to the *place* where the event recorded occurred. As we know (ii. 15) the hour of the day exactly, viz. nine o'clock morning, which was one of the solemn hours of prayer among the Jews, we cannot suppose that on the morning of the first Pentecost, the apostles would not be assembled in the temple for prayer. The great multitude of men, too, of so many different nations that streamed in upon them, appears to point to the temple as the place, because it was the central point to which all eagerly flocked. Yet, on the other hand, the expression *ὁἶκος οἴκος* in verse 2, seems to indicate a private house, in which case the scene would be entirely altered; and particularly it would be inexplicable, how so many persons, and so different from one another, could assemble round the apostles. But the accounts given by Josephus respecting the construction of

¹ The state of the case would, indeed, be quite different if Hitsig's view were right, which is developed in the circular letter to Ideler, entitled "*Ostern und Pfingsten zur zeitbestimmung im Alten und Neuen Testament*," Heidelberg, 1837, page 7, &c. According to the view there given, the Passover and Pentecost were not moveable feasts at all. But the correctness of this view appears to me a matter of doubt. However, I venture no judgment on this difficult question. I have rather desired that it might please the venerable man, to whom the circular letter is addressed, to express his opinion of Hitsig's view.

the temple, guide us here to the right conclusion. According to his description, the main building was surrounded by thirty rooms, which he names *οἶκους* (Joseph. Antiq. viii. 3, 2.), and it is probable the apostles, along with their little company, assembled in one of these spacious apartments. And thus the solemn inauguration of the church of Christ presents itself as an imposing spectacle in the sanctuary of the old covenant. The weightiest objection which can be brought against these views, arises out of the idea, that the Pharisees would hardly have permitted the apostles to assemble in the temple. But let it be considered that hitherto the apostles had been treated as quite harmless people, and that probably there was no need of any special permission for such a meeting, because these halls, being employed for various purposes, stood to some extent open, and were accessible to every person, and then the force of the objection will completely disappear. Unless you make this supposition, the whole occurrence must present itself as one of a far less significant character. As the crowning inauguration of Christ took place in the temple (John xii. 28), so behoved it also to be the case with the founding of the church. Here the hundred and twenty assembled (i. 15) (that is ten times twelve), and by means of their preaching and help at baptizing (ii. 41) the number immediately grew to three thousand (that is twenty-five times one hundred and twenty.) Without doubt, therefore, we must suppose that not the twelve only but the whole hundred and twenty received the Holy Ghost, for this gift was to be something common and accessible to every believer. It was therefore bestowed upon the first little company of decided believers for further diffusion among all who should become connected with them. Certainly, however, the twelve possessed the Holy Ghost in a different way from the other believers, as is indicated particularly by the circumstance that they only at first appear to have been gifted with the power of communicating the Spirit. (See Commentary on Acts viii. 15.)

Vers. 2, 3. If we examine the text, then, quite without prejudice, it will be seen that the historian presents the astonishing occurrence in this light. While the disciples were sitting in the apartment, there suddenly arose a rushing noise (*ῥῆχος* means any sound, but especially a rushing or whistling sound), which appeared to come downwards from heaven: it might be compared to the rushing of a mighty wind that fleets along, and it filled the

spacious hall gradually, although moving quickly onwards. The whole description is so picturesque and striking, that it could only come from an eye-witness. After these sounds, there are described the sights that accompanied them. The disciples saw (*ὡφθόησαν αὐτοῖς*) can only be understood thus: "there appeared to them," that is, they saw, not "there were seen upon them," "*visae sunt super illos*") fiery flames, which seemed to proceed from a common centre, but disparted and divided themselves: these flames touched each of the company and rested upon them, and they all now felt themselves to be filled with a high and holy principle of life, and they began to speak with tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.

In the phrase *γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός*, the word *γλῶσσα*, like *לשון* in Isaiah v. 24, must be understood in the sense of flame. And the word *ὡσεὶ* is inserted, because, although the appearance was indeed one of fire, yet its effects shewed it to be different from an actual earthly flame. The word *διαμεριζόμενος* refers to an original unity, which has resolved itself into parts. The author manifestly intends that we should form to ourselves the idea of a fiery stream, which divided itself, and whose radiations spread over all and rested upon them. The word *μέγας*, so great a favourite with St John, corresponds entirely to *καθίστημι*.

As respects the explanation of this occurrence, it may be alleged, *in the first place*, that the disciples saw and heard everything in a state of ecstasy or trance, and that accordingly the gathering crowds (verse 6) heard not the rushing noise, but were attracted to the place by the sound of the disciples' voices. But a trance happening at the same time to many persons, let it even be but to twelve, is a thing utterly unheard of. We must therefore suppose there was something external which produced this common ecstasy, the more especially as it was attended with real consequences, for the apostles suddenly stand forth after this occurrence as inspired witnesses of Christ, and preach the Gospel. Others, therefore, are inclined to suppose there was some physical phenomenon in the air, a thunder-storm or electric meteors, which were interpreted as manifestations of God from heaven in favour of the apostles, as the fulfilment of the promise of the Father. But neither can this supposition prove satisfactory; for, in the first place, other men, too, must have seen these atmospheric phenomena, and could not therefore have had occasion to wonder at

the event ; and, secondly, an interpretation put by the apostles upon a thunder-storm, could never have secured that lasting power which accrued to them from the scene, and least of all could it have given rise to such peculiar exhibitions as the *γλῶσσαις λαλεῖν*, "speaking with tongues," which lasted for many years in the church. Nor again is the *mythical* view of the occurrence, which is grounded upon the idea prevalent among Jews as well as Gentiles (see Schoettgen on this passage, Liv. i. 39, Virg. Aen. ii. 680, sqq.), that in peculiar circumstances rays of light have played around distinguished persons, at all admissible here. For, not to advert to the circumstance that we cannot allow the possibility of myths arising in the time of the eye-witnesses, and passing over the consideration that this myth would be formed contrary to all analogy, the gift of tongues being a thing wholly unprecedented ; the view before us would lead to the conclusion that the power which subsequently displayed itself in the ministry of the apostles was a mere development of their own life, a conclusion that would entirely set aside the peculiar work of the Holy Ghost. Even should you be unable, therefore, to reconcile yourself to the occurrence, still you must confess, that it is the author's design to declare that a higher and a heavenly power came upon the apostles, amid audible and visible manifestations ; and the very fact of the existence of the church obliges you in any case to suppose that there must have been something to produce so mighty a change in the timid disciples. Many have found the cause of this change in the resurrection of Christ (Hase's Life of Jesus, page 196) ; but not one of the disciples taught publicly before Pentecost : it was on the day and in the hour of the outpouring of the Spirit, that the church was first permanently established, and thereafter it grew from day to day and from century to century.

Now, let us only disengage ourselves from the prevailing ideas respecting the relation between spirit and matter, of which we have already said something in the history of the resurrection, and much of the difficulty which these ideas have been the means of spreading over the history of Pentecost will disappear. The supposition of an absolute separation of the spiritual world from the material is altogether incapable of proof, and it is in the highest degree improbable, because the very constitution of man himself furnishes us with an example of spirit acting in matter. The essence of the Absolute Spirit, which is love, implies moreover the

power of imparting himself, and the supposition that spirit can receive spirit, that two such homogeneous natures may be united, involves nothing which should restrain us from adopting it: yea the consciousness of spiritual poverty, viewed along with the greatness of the calling which man feels, necessarily gives indication that a higher fulness shall one day supply the want that is felt. Hence, too, the longing desire that runs throughout the whole of the Old Testament, and the promise of a spiritual fulness to be poured down upon mankind. The only thing in the narrative before us, according to the view we have given, which might still occasion doubt, even to the man who readily admits the idea of spiritual communication, is the fact that here the spiritual power displays itself in physical effects, from which it is feared materialism may result. But this, too, on closer consideration, is very easily explained. It is not said that the spiritual is itself material, which certainly would be quite inconceivable, but only that the spiritual, when it was manifested, was accompanied with physical effects. And if any one should suppose even this to be contradictory, then every outward manifestation of the inward spiritual life in man, yea his very existence, which exhibits spirit in a material covering, would also be a contradiction, which no one will pretend to assert.

Vers. 4—11. The whole description of the occurrence that follows, serves for the illustration of the mysterious gift of tongues, which was now manifested in accordance with the promise given in Mark xvi. 17. The feast had brought Jews from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, who were assembled in the Temple at the hour of prayer; and pressing forward where the sound proceeded from the chamber of meeting, they were astonished to hear the company speaking in their several dialects. We are at once led to ascribe to the historian the idea, that an effect was here exhibited, exactly the reverse of the separation that once took place among the nations by the confusion of tongues (Gen. xi. 7.) The outpouring of the Spirit of God, through the instrumentality of the gift of tongues, melted together again the broken fragments into a new unity. Hence the minute catalogue of nations, which are enumerated according to their order of position, from east to west, from north to south, in order to indicate the whole world: every one hears his own speech, and feels that the wall of separation which divided him from his brethren is taken away. The

expression *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* appears therefore plainly to mean speaking in various dialects, so that all who were present understood what was advanced. There is something of inexactness certainly in the words: *εἰς ἕκαστος ἤκουον τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων αὐτῶν* in verse 6; for every one of the multitude could not hear every disciple speaking in his own language: manifestly, however, it is only the expression that is somewhat indefinite: because the meaning must be, that every one of the collected throng heard his own language from some one of the disciples. This is clear from the speech which St Luke, in the 7th and following verses, puts into the mouth of the multitude, for of course these words could not be spoken in such a shape: what individuals may have actually said or thought of individual speakers, is exhibited by St Luke in the form of a general judgment respecting the whole.

Respecting *ἐνδοξάζει* in verse 5, see the Comm. on Luke ii. 25.—*κατοικεῖν*, equivalent to *ἐπιδημεῖν*, denotes a short stay or sojourn in a place, like the Hebrew *שָׁכַן*, in Gen. xxvii. 44. *τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν σκίλ. ὄντων*, “that are under heaven,” is a picturesque form of expression to denote extension on every side.—Ver. 6, *συχχίζομαι*, in the sense of being amazed, perplexed, “confundi,” occurs in the New Testament only in the Acts of the Apostles (ix. 22, xix. 32, xxi. 31.)—Verse. 7. The question, *ὥχ οἶτοι Γαλιλαῖται*, is to be explained on the ground of the well-known deficiency of education which prevailed in Galilee, and which left no room for expecting strange and distant languages among them.—Vers. 9–11. The catalogue of the nations of the Greek and Roman world is plainly constructed according to a rule. Those in the east are first mentioned, then those in the north, next those in the south, and finally those in the west. The western nations are thrown together under the title of *Ῥωμαῖοι*;¹ and in conclusion, it is remarked of all the nations mentioned, that both Jews and Proselytes (for the passage does not refer at all to Gentiles, who had no occasion to come to the feast) were present from amongst them. And by way of supplement, Cretes and Arabians are mentioned, somewhat unconnectedly with the rest. The only strange thing in the list of countries is that Judea, *Ἰουδαία*, verse 9, is likewise mentioned; as it is foreign nations that are to be enumerated, and the discourse

¹ The addition of *ἐπιδημοῦντες* shews that they were not merely Roman citizens dwelling elsewhere, but that they resided in Rome itself, and were therefore properly Romans—“Strangers of Rome.”

relates to an event that happened in Jerusalem, the mention of Judea obviously does not seem appropriate. But when it is considered that St Luke wrote in Rome, one easily sees why in his enumeration, commencing with the distant east, he should also name Judea: respect is had to the position of his Roman readers. Theophylact, however, has omitted the word: Tertullian and Augustine read Armenia; others have conjectured India, Bithynia, or the like. India is not suitable, for being the most easterly country, it should have stood first, but Bithynia fits admirably. The very fact, however, that there is a difficulty connected with the reading *Ἰουδαία*, must prevent conjecture from prevailing against the manuscripts.—Verse 11, *μεγαλιεύου* scil. *ἔγχα*, equivalent to *הַבְּרָכָה* Ps. lxxi. 19.¹

But to consider more closely the gift of speaking with tongues (*γλῶσσαις λαλεῖν*) first exhibited at Pentecost, certainly it is a phenomenon of the most remarkable kind. While of almost all the great features in the gospel history, there are not only intimations in the Old Testament, but also anticipations among the Rabbins, and analogies among other nations, this phenomenon has absolutely nothing akin to it, a circumstance of itself sufficient to divest the mythical mode of explanation of every shadow of probability. And yet it is this very wonder of speaking with tongues which occurs with such frequency in the church, for in the apostolic times, and in the times too of primitive Christianity, it very copiously accompanied the communication of the Holy Ghost. Without the detailed information, however, which the apostle Paul gives us in 1 Cor. xiv. respecting this gift and its relation to the *προφητεία* and to the *ἐκμενεία γλῶσσῶν*, it would be quite impossible for us to acquire clear views of the subject. And for that reason the particular consideration of it must be delayed till we reach the passage referred to. At present I shall only give a preliminary abstract of my view, and also a survey of the principal opinions respecting this mysterious gift.

First, with respect to the names which this gift (1 Cor. xii.

¹ The passage adduced by the Apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 21, from the Old Testament, is of such a kind, that apart from his citation of it, it would never have been regarded as referring to the *γλῶσσαις λαλεῖν*. See the exposition of this passage, 1 Cor. xiv. 21. Ps. lxxxvii. 6, is a passage of the Old Testament particularly deserving of attention, because undoubtedly you may recognise in it an intimation of the gift of tongues.

4—11) bears in the New Testament, you find, besides the phrase ἐπέγραψαι γλώσσαις λαλεῖν also καιναῖς γλώσσαις λαλεῖν in Mark xvi 17, and further simply, γλώσσαις and γλώσση λαλεῖν, also γλώσση προσέχεσθαι, ψάλλειν or ψάλλον ἔχειν, γένη γλωσσῶν (xii. 28); also simply, γλῶσσα (xiii. 8), or γλῶσσα (xiv. 26.) In Iranæus (v. 26) the phrase παντοδαπαῖς γλώσσαις λαλεῖν occurs. (Comp. the leading passages in 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.) It is probable that the words λαλεῖν, προσέχεσθαι, and ψάλλειν denoted the different forms in which the gift appeared, the last word, for example, denoting the poetical and musical form of it. (See the Comm. on 1 Cor. xiv. 15.) As to the point whether the name γένη γλωσσῶν also denotes a peculiar form of the gift, consult the Commentary on 1 Cor. xiv. 10.

Again, with respect to the views which have been entertained of the gift of tongues, we may consider some of them as abandoned. To this class belongs the old orthodox opinion, that the gift of speaking all the languages of the world was bestowed once for all upon the apostles, as a permanent endowment to fit them for their apostolic office. This idea is repugnant to the history of the church, because not only had the apostles their interpreters, but many persons also received the gift of tongues whose office it by no means was to preach the gospel to all nations. (Compare what is said in Acts x. 46 regarding Cornelius.) In like manner we may regard as set aside the view which Cyprian, Gregory of Nazianzum, and at a later period, Erasmus and Schneckenburger have defended, that the miracle lay not in the speakers but in the hearers, the case being that the apostles spoke in their usual manner, and the hearers supposed each that he heard his own language. If this hypothesis, which rests particularly upon the form of expression used in verse 6, were tenable, then you must at the same time suppose that the primitive tongue was again made known by the Spirit to the apostles, and that each of the hearers thought he found his own dialect in it. This is the view of the gift which Billroth (on 1 Cor. xiv.) has attempted to uphold, and I confess that his argument, taken in connection with the statement of Baur, has made me waver in my opinion. This explanation is attended with the special advantage of bringing out quite clearly the contrast between Pentecost, as the period of a restored unity of speech, and the confusion of tongues at the building of Babel.

Only I feel myself too much hampered by the text, both here and in 1 Cor. xiv., to be able to adopt this opinion as my own. Especially does the expression *γένη γλωσσῶν* in 1 Cor. xii. 28, appear to me incompatible with this hypothesis.¹

And if these explanations are untenable, equally must we dismiss the so-called natural explanation of the event, which makes the whole fact, so full of significance, degenerate into a mistake. We are required to suppose that the Christians who spoke were Persian and other Jews, and that they prayed in their own language, and when a great storm brought many others to the place, who took the Christians for men of Galilee, they were filled with astonishment, and fancied it was a speaking with strange tongues which they heard. In this manner even Meyer understands the gift of tongues, but at the same time he supposes that Luke has disfigured the historical fact, and imagined there really was a miraculous speaking in strange languages. In particular, he supposes that he has found a support for this superficial view in verse 15, because he imagines that if all present, even the apostles, who were Galileans by birth, had spoken in strange languages, then St Peter would not have said *ὁ γὰρ ὅσσοι μεθύουσιν*, but *ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς μεθύομεν*. But on the principle of this conclusion the apostles would be the only persons who did not speak with tongues, while yet St Paul declares, in 1 Cor. xiv. 18, that he spoke more than all of them. That this explanation suits none of the later passages, in which mention is made of the communication of the Spirit, is so clear that there is no need of any remarks upon the subject.

Between the extremes which have been mentioned, there lie intermediate views, which may be the subject of controversy. This much we may regard as generally acknowledged at the present day, that an elevated tone of mind, and one bordering upon ecstasy, was an essential element implied in speaking with tongues. A more vivid conception than the older theologians had reached, of the manner and way in which the Spirit works upon the mind, has gradually brought about this acknowledgment. (Compare the remarks on the *ἔκστασις* at Acts x. 9.) The

¹ Yet with Neander (Apost. Zeitalt. B. I. p. 172, note 1) you might explain this expression of the different forms in which the gift of tongues presented itself, as *προσεύχεσθαι*, *ψάλλειν*, and the like. (Comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 15.) But if you observe the manner in which, with reference to the name *γένη γλωσσῶν*, the words *γένη φωνῶν* are employed in xiv. 10, you will find yourself obliged to renounce this expedient.

description of Paul leads also necessarily to the same conclusion, as the particular exposition of 1 Cor. xiv. will further shew. The power of the higher *Πνεῦμα* seized the soul of the inspired person so strongly, that his own consciousness (*νοῦς*) was depressed, or put down, and he declared things that lay quite beyond his own individual point of view. The state of tranquil clearness under the full working of the Spirit, and of perfect consciousness, constitutes the *πνευματική*, which stands higher than the gift of tongues. That on the occasion of Pentecost the whole company were under a powerful excitement, is plain from the expressions (verses 12, 13) that were uttered by the gathering crowds. But here the question presents itself, how this exalted spiritual condition was manifested, and why it received the name it bears, for every *ἑκστασις* was not a speaking with tongues. The answer of this question brings out views which differ widely from one another. At this point, however, the philological investigation of the word *γλῶσσα* becomes indispensable. *Γλῶσσα* has three significations: 1, the tongue; 2, language; 3, an antiquated poetical or provincial word.

The first signification Bardili and Eichhorn have attempted to prove the right one here, supposing that when the disciples spoke in the state of ecstasy, they did not utter distinctly articulate sounds, but only a kind of stammer. They appeal in defence of this view particularly to 1 Cor. xiv. 7–9, where speaking with tongues is compared with indistinct tones from an instrument. But this comparison does not refer to the single sounds of an instrument, but to the whole melody produced upon it; and therefore it can only be the obscurity usually prevailing in the speeches taken as a whole of the person who spoke with tongues (*γλῶσσαις λαλῶν*) that is indicated, and not the inarticulateness of single words, which would have made the discourse unintelligible even to the interpreter. Besides, there is the philological argument against this supposition, that it would always require the phrase *γλῶσσαις λαλεῖν* to be used, while yet you have the plural *γλῶσσαις* applied to an individual speaker in 1 Cor. xiv. 6. This first signification of the word must therefore, at all events, be abandoned. On this very account, however, there has been the greater vigour displayed of late in defending the third of the significations specified above. Bleek¹ has shewn, by ample details, what indeed was

¹ In Ullmann's Studien, 1829, part i., page 33, &c.

not doubted, that γλῶσσα may mean "an old provincial expression." Besides other passages, he appeals in particular to the words γλῶσσαί κατὰ πόλεις occurring in the "Anecdosis Græcis" of Becker, by which are meant the provincialisms of particular Greek cities. Γλωσσῆμα is used quite synonymously with γλῶσσα, and is by no means the explanation of a provincialism or rare poetical expression, as is usually supposed. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (de verb. or composi. c. 25) calls poetical expressions γλωσσῆματι καὶ λέξεις. Now, following this signification of γλῶσσα, Bleek supposes that the γλῶσσαί λαλεῖν, meant an inspired address uttered in the common language, but intermixed with unusual poetical expressions. But he himself confesses, that although all other passages of the New Testament in which this gift is mentioned might appear favourable to his hypothesis, yet the history of Pentecost is not so; for the first and abiding impression made by St Luke's statement is, that the gathering strangers heard the disciples speak not in poetical and uncommon diction, exhibiting here and there an Arabic and Egyptian phrase, but in their own language, and accordingly γλῶσσα and διόλεκτοι are interchanged with one another in verses 6, 8, 11. Bleek, therefore, can only construct a negative argument here, for he attempts to shew that the idea of the use of foreign tongues involves an inconsistency, and ought therefore, notwithstanding what the text seems to affirm, to be rejected. But the correctness of this assertion may be easily controverted,¹ and this leads us to the consideration of the second meaning of γλῶσσα, viz. language.

¹ Olshausen does not here display his usual good sense. He seems to concede to Bleek, that, unless it can be shewn how the gift of tongues might originate, we are warranted to deny it altogether, and to take some other view of the passage, though it affirms so plainly that foreign languages were spoken. And, accordingly, he sets himself to explain how individuals might speak a language which they had never learned, and appeals to animal magnetism as exhibiting similar phenomena. But this is mere trifling. The gift of tongues is manifestly exhibited as a miraculous occurrence, and it is vain for us to attempt explaining how it was brought about: miracles would cease to be miracles if they could be explained on natural principles. The only question we have to do with in studying the word of God, after we are convinced it is the word of God, is, what is the meaning which, on fair principles of interpretation, the different passages must bear. After we have settled this question, we are not at liberty to reject a meaning because it may not accord with our notions of what is reasonable. And as Bleek himself acknowledges that the passage in this chapter plainly refers to strange languages, we are bound to take this as the meaning. It is presumptuous to say, that because we cannot comprehend how the thing could be, therefore, although the text plainly says it was so, we must throw it aside and seek another explanation. This is

Of the unsuitableness of this signification in the passage before us there can be no question, for, in Acts ii. 6, 8, 11, as has already been remarked, the words *γλῶσσα* and *διάλεκτος* are manifestly interchanged, of which the latter can never stand for poetical expressions: besides the whole description accords with the supposition, that the apostles spoke in foreign languages. But it appears surprising that in no other part of the New Testament is there anything expressly said of speaking in foreign languages: on the contrary, it is only the sublime and the obscure which are exhibited in the speeches of the *γλῶσσαις λαλῶν*. For this reason I differ in my view from the old and certainly untenable supposition, already opposed in these pages, that the gift of tongues was the permanent power of speaking foreign languages. To me it appears to be the fact that the gift of speaking with tongues was frequently manifested, simply in the way Bleek describes, as a kind of elevated speaking in which single uncommon words might be introduced; but *first*, it was not always so; and *secondly*, I am persuaded that the name was not borrowed from the unusual expressions. We must rather maintain, in accordance with the account of Pentecost given by St Luke, that on that occasion the gift undeniably displayed itself in the employment of foreign languages. But the power of using them was not a permanent endowment, but only an ability communicated for the time, and was displayed as part of the gift, only when the gift was exhibited in its highest form. The miraculous features of the gift must of course be acknowledged as such, although there are analogies which enable us to soften down its startling aspect.¹ The foreign

the arrogant presumption of sitting in judgment upon God himself. And, with respect to Olshausen's illustrations from animal magnetism, it is quite inappropriate, for even supposing the alleged facts of that very questionable system to be well founded, it would make the inspired individual who spoke with tongues dependent for what he said upon the uninspired foreigner.—Tr.

¹ Neander, in his excellent and exceedingly instructive work on the times of the apostles (part i. p. 17), affirms that different foreign languages cannot here be spoken of, because in all the regions that are named, the Greek tongue was at that time the prevailing one. But this view I think is only the consequence of the general notion which this learned man entertains of the nature of the gift of tongues. Neander considers this gift only as the original index of the great change which Christianity accomplishes in the hearts of men, and he appeals for proof to such passages as Luke xxi. 15. (Apost. Zeit, p. 19.) He supposes, however, that afterwards the expression, "speaking with tongues," was fixed particularly to denote that inspired speaking, in which the consciousness of the speaker himself disappeared. But, in reference to the passage before us, this view appears to have little to recommend it; for St Luke's in-

tongues, in which the individuals *γλωσσαῖς λαλοῦντες* spoke, were only such as were used by strangers actually present: no apostle spoke Chinese, because no individual from China was there. If we think of the imparted Spirit as the principle of love and true communion (*κοινωνία*), then we may imagine how his communications rendered a meeting of hearts possible, and in this way led to a transference of one into another. When the fire which filled the apostles, passed from them into the hearts of the strangers, so as to make them also believe, then too the language of the strangers went over from them to the apostles. There is presented, upon the very different region of animal magnetism, a phenomenon which affords an illustration of this transference. We find that somnambulists speak languages, of which at other times they are ignorant, when they are brought into connection with those who know them. This in like manner is a fact which can only be explained by supposing the inward life of different individuals to be communicated to one another. At Pentecost the gift of tongues appeared in its first full power, and displayed itself in the speaking of foreign languages. From this first exhibition of it it took its name, which in the full form ran thus: *ἐπίταις* or *καταῖς* *γλωσσαῖς λαλεῖν* or more shortly *γλωσσαῖς*, or *γλώσση λαλεῖν*, also *γενή* *γλωσσῶν* (see 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Comm. on 1 Cor. xiv. 10), and the same name continued to be employed afterwards, even when the gift was not so fully manifested. In the phrase *γλωσσαῖς λαλεῖν*, then, the signification of *language* is the only one that is applicable to *γλώσσα*, and this signification too brings out plainly the meaning of *γλώσση λαλεῖν*, for this form arose from the fact that sometimes there was only speaking in one foreign language. But if you take Bleek's view of *γλώσσα*, this phraseology must always appear improper, because no person could display the gift of tongues in a speech by the employment of a single provincialism or antique word.

tention in giving the catalogue of nations could be nothing else, than to indicate that all the languages of the world were understood. Neander supposes he is able to justify his view by passages from the Fathers, but the places he quotes are of such a kind as are quite compatible with other views of the gift of tongues. The passage from Irenæus, v. 26, in particular, presenting the expression *παντοδαπαῖς γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, which does not at all occur in the New Testament, points evidently to an actual speaking in different languages. But the declarations of the Fathers, proceeding as they did upon the principle that the gift was known from observation, are of too general a kind to allow anything decisive to be inferred from them respecting its nature.

Regarding the details, see Comm. on 1 Cor. xiv. Of works on the subject before us, a full enumeration is given by Kuinoel at the passage, and by Bleek in the work mentioned above. The most important are : J. A. Ernesti opusc. theol. pag. 455—477. Bardili significatus primitivus vocis προφήτης. Gotting. 1786. Eichhorn, allgem. Bibl. der biblischen Literatur Bd. I. iii. Herder, von der gabe der sprachen, Riga, 1794. Storr, notitiæ hist. in epist. Pauli ad Corinthios, Tübingæ, 1788. Melville observationes de dono linguarum, Basil, 1816. Again Bleek's treffliche abhandlung in den Studien von Ullmann und Umbreit as cited above. Together with the supplement to it, 1830, part i. page 45, &c. The latter has reference to my remarks, which are to be found in the same journal, 1829, Part III. p. 538, &c. ; 1830, P. I. p. 64, &c. ; 1831, Part III. p. 566, &c. The papers of Baur and Steudel in der Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie, are uncommonly instructive, 1830 and 1831. Consult also the article of Scholl in Klaiber's Studien, Bd. iii. h. i., 1831, p. 168, ff., and that of Baümlein in the same work, Bd. vi. h. 2, 1834, p. 40, ff. On the Catholic side Wei-hart has expressed himself on the subject in den Jayrb. für Theol. und Christl. Phil., Bd. v. h. 2, p. 288, ff. Frankf. A.M. 1835. Again, the gift of tongues is handled by Flatt, in a special appendix to the first epistle to the Corinthians, p. 414—448, and by Billroth at the 14th chap. of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and finally by Jäger, in his exposition of the epistles to the Corinthians, Tübingen, 1838, appendix, p. 186, &c.

Verses 12—16. In few words, St Luke further describes the uncertainty of the strangers who had come together : the more timid natures among them apprehended some danger from this violent excitement, the more bold mocked at it. Yet plainly this mockery is not to be regarded as bitter and malignant mockery, but as good-humoured jesting. Their observation of the scene was in fact accurate, for the outward appearance did resemble drunkenness (Ps. xxxvi. 9) ; and therefore Peter, in the speech that follows, censures their allegation but mildly.

Here St Luke communicates to us the first preaching of the Gospel by the apostles, and thus the institution of the preacher's office appears connected with the very founding of the church. All the peculiarities of the apostolic κήρυγμα we discover in this first discourse. It embraces no reflections or reasonings upon the doctrine of Christ, no enunciation of new and unknown dogmas,

but simply and alone the proclamation of historical facts. The apostles appear here quite in their proper character as witnesses of what they had experienced, and the resurrection of Jesus forms the central point of their testimony. In the further development of the church it is true they could not abide by this bare proclamation: preaching was gradually directed to the additional object of guiding believers onwards in knowledge. Yet never in preaching ought the simple declaration of the mighty works of God, such as is here made by St Peter, to be wanting, for the sake of those whose hearts have not yet been penetrated by the word. This disciple is here again presented to us, notwithstanding his denial of Christ, as the organ of the apostolic company: he is, as it were, the mouth by which they make themselves understood, their speaker. (Διαχλυσάζω equivalent to the more common χλυσάζω, corresponds entirely to the word ἐμπαιζεν.—Πλεῖστος equivalent to 𐤒𐤕, Job xxxii. 19, lxx.—Ἐνοπιζέσθαι, equivalent to 𐤒𐤕𐤕 appears to belong to the Alexandrian dialect.

Vers. 17–21. For the purpose of leading the Jews who were assembled to the meaning of the spectacle before them, St Peter quotes in detail a remarkable prediction from the Old Testament (Joel iii. 1–5), in which the outpouring of the Spirit was promised. The idea of spiritual communication was quite familiar to the prophets of the Old Testament, as has already been remarked; they had themselves experienced in a lively manner the breathing of the Spirit, and yet still there remained to them the feeling of a void and of longing desire: hence they were able to conclude, from the analogy of development, which displays itself in greater and greater results, that one day an infinitely richer fulness of the Spirit would be poured out, not upon a few merely, but upon all flesh, upon the entire community of those who were concerned for salvation. And to this conclusion the Spirit of prophecy affixed in their minds the seal of perfect certainty. Hence, besides Joel, several other prophets speak of the effusion of the Spirit to be expected. (Comp. Numb. xi. 29; Isaiah xxxii. 15, xlv. 3; Ezek. xxxvi. 25, xxxix. 29); but St Peter quotes the passage before us, because it describes not only the outpouring of the Spirit, but also its effects, and that too in such a manner, as to furnish an explanation of the inspired state in which the assembled believers were seen to be. The γλώσσαις λαλῆν, together with the whole excitement, which dis-

played itself not only in the men but also in the women (i. 14), St Peter comprehended under the *προφητεῖαν*, which Joel promises. He says, therefore, as it were, "behold we all prophecy ! instead of the few single prophets of the Old Testament, the whole people are now filled with the prophetic spirit." As to the relation of the words quoted to the original text, and to the Septuagint, there is agreement in every essential point ; only as they are quoted from memory, it is not surprising that there are transpositions and unimportant additions. One deviation, however, from the Hebrew and the Septuagint must not be overlooked. Just at the beginning, St Luke (verse 17) writes *ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις*. This expression is surprising, because it was not yet the last time when the spirit fell upon the apostles. Besides, the Septuagint has only *ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα*, and the Hebrew *וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵינוּ*, which expression appears far more suitable to St Peter's purpose. But this passage is to be explained from the idea of the apostles, which pervades the whole of the New Testament, that with the advent of Christ in the flesh the end of things was really at hand. Therefore the apostle quotes also the verses, in which mention is made of the terrible signs connected with the future : this description is designed to excite to repentance by means of fear, while verse 21¹ allures to it by the exhibition of mercy. (See the particulars in the Comm. on Matt. xxiv. 1. Respecting the promised wonders, too, compare the prophetic passages of the New Testament, Matt. xxiv. 2 ; 2 Pet. ii. 3 ; Rev. viii.) Besides this deviation, there is also in the Hebrew text of Joel, a remarkable difference from the Septuagint ; and the passage as given by Luke entirely agrees with the Septuagint. While in the Hebrew it is said with comprehensive generality, *וְהָיָה כִּי יִפְּשֹׁט רוּחַ יְהוָה*, Luke and the Septuagint have *ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος μου*. By this latter mode of expression, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, powerful and mighty as it was, is yet characterised as a partial effusion ; so that the prediction of Joel in its original form still remains for the future, when the complete fulness of the divine Spirit is to be conferred upon the church, which shall then have received into her bosom the countless kindreds of mankind. (Comp. Comm. Part. I., at Luke iv. 18, 19.)

¹ Regarding verse 13, see Comm. on Rom. x. 13

Vers. 22—24. The predictions of the Old Testament referred to by St Peter afforded a proof that the new economy, now brought under the notice of the gathering multitude, was the fulfilment of prophecy, the flower, as it were, of the ancient stem. The apostle therefore now appeals to his hearers with the view of awakening their hearts to repentance, and thus preparing them to receive the rich grace of the Gospel. He reminds them of their wickedness in putting Jesus to death. But in this it seems as if St Peter were accusing the innocent, for it is inconceivable that the strangers from afar, who had come to Zion only under the impulse of longing desire, and in obedience to the law, should have taken part in the murder of the Holy One; and even supposing there were some of the multitude who had joined in the cry, "crucify him, crucify him," why does St Peter accuse them all without distinction of so heinous a crime, when doubtless they were not all in the same condemnation?¹ Now, strange as such language sounds to man in his natural isolation, in which he fancies himself separate from all his brethren, and bearing alone his own guilt and merit, it yet appears plainly true to him who feels himself connected by the social principle with the great whole of human life. What any one member of the community performs, he recognises as the deed of the community; what any one man performs, he recognises as the deed of the race. Everything good, therefore, awakens in him sympathetic joy; everything evil, pity; for he shares in them both. Of all evil in particular he discovers the root in his own heart, which in unfavourable circumstances might have borne all the bitter fruits, which it anywhere tends to produce. But the murder of the Holy God is just the highest point of development which sin could reach; and always and everywhere it is the nature of sin to hate him (and hatred is murder itself, 1 John iii. 15) who has come to exterminate it. Just

¹ Meyer makes the apostle's charge rest simply upon the fact, that Jesus was put to death by the Sanhedrim, the highest court of justice among the Jews, and that therefore his death was a judicial murder perpetrated in the name of the whole nation. But in that case St Peter should have said the very thing which Meyer improperly starts as an objection to my view, "We have killed him," for St Peter and the other apostles belonged to the Israelitish nation too. What St Peter here says to the Jews, may be said at all times and among all nations. It was the sin of mankind that brought Jesus to the cross. And he only is free from this sin, who has confessed it with penitence and faith, and received pardon. Now as this was the case with the apostles, St Peter could not speak in the first person.

as widely, therefore, as sin prevails in man, does hatred against the Lord possess him; for Christ and sin are always opposed to one another, they seek each other's destruction: first of all, sin kills the Prince of Life, but, when his life is reproduced by its own power, he destroys sin finally. This deep connexion of the individual with the whole race, the hearers of St Peter apprehended quite correctly, although the feeling was then first excited within them. Not one of them declares he is innocent of the death of the Lord, but on the contrary the word of the Spirit like a sword pierced them through the heart (verse 37), and they recognised in the death of Christ a common act of the human race, which contracted a common guilt. For a fuller consideration of this subject, see Comm. on the leading passage respecting it, Rom. v. 12, &c.

On the ideas expressed by *δύναμις*, *τέξας*, *σημεῖον*, see at Matt. viii.

1. The word *ἀποδείκνυμι* here indicates the authentication which the miracles referred to were intended to give to the divine mission of Christ. *Ἀπὸ* is not equivalent to *ἐκ*, as Kuinoel supposes, but indicates that the miraculous power proceeds from God.—*Ἐκδοτον* with *λαμβάνειν*, as well as with *δοῦναι*, occurs very frequently, especially in Josephus, in the sense of “delivering into the power of any one, or receiving.” *Προσῆζαντες* must have *στανεῖν* supplied to it. The higher necessity that existed for the death of Christ has already been made the subject of detailed remark in the history of the passion at Luke xxii. 22. The ideas denoted by *βουλῇ* and *πρόγνωσις* are will and knowledge, which in God must necessarily be viewed as one. *Ἐξισμένους* expresses the fixedness and absoluteness of the divine will. See the particulars in the Comm. on Rom. viii. 29.

The sin of man, however, was retrieved by God's mercy, which called back the crucified Redeemer into life. In the simple thought presented in the 24th verse, there is only one thing doubtful, how we are to understand the words *οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτόν*; whether it was impossible that the bonds of death should hold him, because he was himself the *ζωή*, and consequently also the *ἀνάστασις*, or because God designed to raise him. But both reasons coalesce, when you keep in view, that it was the will even of the Father, that the Son should have in himself the fountain of life (John v. 26); and therefore it is sometimes said the Father raises the Son, and sometimes the Son takes

up life again himself (John x. 18.) The expression *ᾠδῆς θανάτου* corresponds entirely to the Hebrew *רֶמֶס בְּרִיחַ*. The Septuagint sometimes renders the phrase by *σχοινία* (Ps. cxix. 61.), and sometimes by *ᾠδῆς* (Ps. xviii. 5), because the Hebrew word unites the two significations of "cord" and "child-bed pains." In the pure Greek tongue, *ᾠδῆς* has only the latter signification, but in the Hellenistic it has acquired the other too, because they are conjoined in the Hebrew word. In the passage before us, *λῶεν* and *κασατεῖν* plainly point to the signification of "band or cord" as the proper one.¹ The reading *ἄδου* instead of *θανάτου*, is supported by such weighty authorities, that it stands at least upon a level with it; but with respect to the sense there is no difference, for Hades is just to be conceived as the place of the dead, and so is identical with *θάνατος*.

Vers. 25–31. For the purpose of exhibiting the correspondence between the fact of the resurrection and the predictions of the Old Testament, St Peter quotes a passage, following the Septuagint exactly, from Ps. xvi. 8–11, and subjoins an exposition of these verses in verses 29–31. In this exposition he shews that the words of the psalm were not applicable to David, because he was dead and buried. His explicit declaration makes a typical view of the words quite inadmissible; for in no sense has the prediction been fulfilled in David, that he should not see corruption. We must here accordingly, as in Psalm cx., acknowledge a real direct prophecy. Yet we are not to view it as having no subjective connexion with the person of David: even in direct predictions some such connexion must always be supposed as the ground-work. In the case before us, it may be thus conceived, that in David the dread of corruption and of the dark valley of death awakened the longing desire of victory over it; and this victory the prophetic Spirit led him to see realised in the person of the Messiah. Now in Psalm xvi., death is contemplated in its twofold operation, first in relation to the body, and secondly in relation to the soul. The body is represented as guarded against the last effect of death, viz. corruption, *διαφθορά*; and the soul is described as beholding indeed the dark place of shades, but as speedily delivered from it, and restored to the kingdom of light.

¹ Meyer, on this passage, doubts whether in the Hellenistic dialect *ᾠδῆς* was used in the signification of "band, fetter." The passages quoted by Schleusner in his *Lexicon* on the Septuag., tom. v. p. 571, sqq. might teach him better.

The exactness with which these points were realised in the development of Christ's life, makes the prediction one of the most remarkable in Holy Writ. While his sacred body was untouched by corruption, and rose from the grave, his soul went to the dead (1 Pet. iii. 18), but speedily returned again, and ascended with his glorified body to the eternal mansions of light.

The word *πρὸς ὡμῶν*, in verse 25, expresses the idea of contemplating an object, "having it before the eyes." The expression *ἐκ δεξιῶν*, equivalent to *יְמִינִי*, carries with it here the idea of help, support.—For *ἡ γλῶσσά μου* the Hebrew text has *לִּי*, meaning *ἡ δόξα μου*. It is probable that the Seventy, who like Luke have *γλῶσσα*, already read the original differently: perhaps their Hebrew MSS. had *לִּי*.—*Κατασκηνοῦν*, equivalent to *נָחָם*, denotes rest in the grave.—On the subject of Hades, comp. Comm. on Luke xvi. 23. To *εἰς ἄδου* we must obviously supply *οἶκον*.—Ver. 27. As to the reading *יְהוָה* in Ps. xvi. 10, see De Wette's Commentary on the passage before us.—In the expression *ὁδὸς ζωῆς*, in verse 28, the outward and the inward are intimately combined. According to the connexion, the word *ζωή* refers primarily to the outward life, but the highest manifestation of the life that overcomes death is never to be conceived apart from the inward *ζωή* which the *πνεῦμα* bestows.—In verse 29 David is called the patriarch, which the Seventy, in 1 Chron. xxiv. 31, put for *אֲבִי*. *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. Comp. Acts vii. 8, 9; Heb. vii. 4.—The supposed tomb of David was pillaged by Joannes Hyrcanus and Herod. Comp. Joseph. Arch. vii. 15, 3, xiii. 8, 4.—In verse 30, Peter refers to Ps. lxxxix. 4, 5, and cxxxii. 11, which represent David in his peculiar relation to the Messiah, not simply as one of his ancestors, but also as a prefiguration of the theocratical kingdom. This position pre-eminently fitted him for receiving those prophetic views into the future, which the apostle had just explained to his hearers. The reference, however, to these passages is only of a general kind; and therefore *καρπὸς τῆς ὑσφύου* is put for *יְרֵכָה לֵב*, while more strictly *κοιλίας* might have been employed. *Ἐκ καρποῦ* must have *τινά* supplied.

Vers. 32–36. Along with the resurrection of our Lord, St Peter also mentions his ascension, with which the outpouring of the Holy Ghost was most closely connected. In this respect too St Peter again compares David with Christ, and shews that he styled the Messiah his Lord, and foretold his session at the right hand

of God. And thereupon the apostle demands of the house of Israel that they acknowledge him who was crucified a few weeks before as their Lord and Messiah: *And they believe!* A stronger proof cannot well be imagined than this, that it was the power of the Holy Ghost which made the words of the preacher move the hearts of the hearers! To all Jews the cross of Christ was a stumbling-block, and yet they recognize, on the word of a private individual, the crucified and deeply abased Jesus as their Saviour.

In verse 32 *οἱ* is not to be understood as neuter. The apostles are the witnesses of Christ, and not merely of his resurrection. This is clear from the parallel passage in chap. v. 31, where it is said *ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες τῶν ἐξημάτων τούτων*. In ver. 33 *τῇ δεξιᾷ ὑψωθείς* is not to be understood as meaning "exalted by the right hand of God," but "exalted to the right hand of God," as is shewn by ver. 34 and the parallel passage in chap. v. 31. The connection, it is true, of the dative with verbs of motion is rare, and occurs almost solely in poetical diction. But the representation here given partakes somewhat of a poetical strain. For more particular information on this point consult Winer's *Gramm.* p. 191, sq. — Ver. 33, respecting *ἐπαγγελίαν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς* see Comm. on John xiv. 16. — Ver. 34. The quotation is taken from Ps. cx. 1. Comp. what is said respecting the Psalm in Comm. on Matt. xxii. 44.

Vers. 37—41. To the question of the hearers, *τί ποιήσομεν*; the apostle replies by admonishing them to repentance and faith, both of which are presupposed in baptism. It is not to works of one kind or another he points, but to an inward change of heart. The word *μετανοήσατε* in ver. 38 defines more narrowly the idea suggested by *κατακλύσθαι τῇ καεῖδι*. In this expression, as here employed, the idea of pain is not the predominant one, as is usually alleged, but there is only indicated by it in general the idea of being struck or arrested. The discourse of St Peter touched them to the inmost soul, and excited feelings of every kind, sad as well as joyful, for the apostle had let them see, that the promises of the prophets were now fulfilled. (The proper signification of *κατακλύω* is "to pierce," "compungere," then by piercing "to excite," "to awaken.") In the word *μετάνοια*, on the other hand, the idea of pain predominates. The admonition of St Peter is accordingly to be conceived thus: "First of all, lie low in your sin and abase yourselves, that you may feel the full sorrow it

should inspire, and long for a thorough conversion." With this *μετάνοια* baptism is then connected, which necessarily presupposes faith, because it requires an acknowledgment of Christ as the Messiah. And baptism is accompanied with the *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν* as a result. This is the negative side of the blessing, the removal of the *old man*, which is a necessary preparation for the positive side, the communication of the Spirit, with which the establishment of the *new man* takes place. Quite correctly, therefore, does Luther say, that "where there is the forgiveness of sins, there is life and blessedness;" for a reconciled heart, as such, possesses the gift of the Holy Ghost, although not in the form in which it was displayed in the apostolic church. (Compare Acts viii. 15.) If you compare now the description given in Matt. iii. 11 of the baptism of John, its relation to the baptism of Christ will appear quite obvious. The former aims at the awakening of repentance (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*), the latter begins where the former ends: it presupposes repentance (*μετάνοια*) together with faith, which it confirms and seals, and it communicates a real heavenly power. There is a difficulty still in verse 39, where St Peter represents those likewise who are far away (*οἱ εἰς μακράν*), as called to receive the Holy Ghost. The question presents itself, whether St Peter was here thinking of the Gentile world. It has been supposed that what is mentioned in the tenth chapter obliges us to doubt this, and to refer the expression either to the Jews scattered through the Gentile world, or taking the idea of time, as Beza does, to the remotest posterity. Let it be considered, however, that St Peter, according to chap. x., did not doubt the calling of the Gentiles, but only whether they were to be called without passing through Judaism, and then it will be evident that the ground completely falls away, which might lead us to exclude from the meaning of the apostle all reference to the Gentiles. In fact, the words *οὗτοι ἂν προσκαλέσονται κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν* necessarily point to the Gentiles, for the Israelites could not then be called for the first time, as they were already in possession of God's gracious covenant. (Respecting baptism in the name of Jesus, see Comm. on Matt. xxviii. 19.) The words of St Peter which are recorded, are only a brief specimen of his more detailed admonitions, from which the author adduces yet one other exhortation: *σώθητε ἀπο τῆς γενῆς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης*. The word *σώζεσθαι* is here to be understood as referring to the judgments, described above in verses 19 and

20 as near ; so that there is plainly suggested a comparison with the flood or the destruction of Sodom. " Save yourselves like Noah or Lot, getting out from amongst this untoward generation, that is doomed to destruction." Γενεὰ σκολιὰ agrees with Deut. xxxii. 5 ; comp. Phil. ii. 15. Σκολιός denotes primarily " crooked " (Luke iii. 5), then, as applied to moral subjects, " impure, sinful."

As the hearers received with joy (ἁσμένως) the intelligence of salvation presented by St Peter, baptism was immediately administered to three thousand persons. Thus, along with the preaching of the word, the sacrament of baptism was at once dispensed on the day of Pentecost, and that too no longer, like the apostolic baptism which preceded the outpouring of the Spirit, as a mere baptism of repentance, but as the baptism of regeneration. This baptism, however, took place without any preparatory instruction. It was after baptism that the ὁδὸς, mentioned in verse 42, was first given, which was probably, however, confined to the proof of the Messiahship of Christ from the Old Testament ; and hence we may see that it was not dogmas upon which the apostles laid stress, but the disposition and bent of the mind.² The man who received the proclamation of the Gospel with susceptible mind, who professed faith in Christ, who was penetrated with the new principle of the higher life brought by the Saviour to mankind, was for that reason baptized, and by this means his faith was confirmed and sealed, the powers of the Spirit were imparted to him,

¹ Respecting the question, whether those who had been baptized by St John the Baptist were again baptized by the apostles, see the remarks on chap. xix. 5. It is difficult, however, to answer the question how the baptism of three thousand persons could be performed in one day, according to the old practice of a complete submersion, the more especially as in Jerusalem there was no water at hand with the exception of Kidron and a few pools. But to have baptized so many persons in these would necessarily have excited in the highest degree the attention of the authorities. The difficulty can only be removed by supposing that they already employed mere sprinkling, or that they baptized in houses in tubs ; formal submersion in rivers or larger quantities of water probably took place only where the locality conveniently allowed it.

² Neander, in the work cited above, page 28, observes correctly, that we must not regard the three thousand who were converted in one day as all at once transformed into thorough Christians : without doubt, the very suddenness of the change that took place in their condition would leave much of a heterogeneous character connected with them. But, on the other hand, again, it must not be overlooked, that this sudden conversion undoubtedly produced in the thousands mentioned a specific change. As a tree always continues an improved one, although below the precious graft water-shoots continue to grow ; so also were those minds, which had been put by the leaven of the Gospel into spiritual fermentation, really born again, although in them the old man was not yet annihilated.

and he was thus separated from the world, and became a saint, ἄγιος, ἡγιασμένος. But in proportion as the original power and fullness of the Spirit disappeared in the church, the necessity would become the more urgent for making instruction precede baptism, because the communication of clearer views respecting the specific nature of Christianity, was the only means, in the more lifeless period of the church, of giving to the weaker influences of the Spirit, as they came upon the mind, that right direction which He himself at an earlier period had instinctively, as it were, imparted to sincere minds, by his more powerful working. The church therefore, in its gradual development, followed exactly the course of development in the individual. As in the child simplicity of mind prevails, and though life certainly is present, there is not the clear consciousness of the properties of life, so also was it in the young church: it is in youth that the intellectual faculties begin to assert their pre-eminence, and so also in the church the need of Christian knowledge gradually made itself apparent, a need which, in the great mass, presents itself as the requirement of instruction before baptism. The perfection of the church will be the return of the original immediateness of life, connected with perfect clearness of knowledge.

Vers. 42—47. In connexion with the special account of the first Christian discourse of St Peter and its effects, there is presented in the following verses a general view of the life of the church in Jerusalem. Passages thus running into a general view are intermixed in the Acts of the Apostles with special accounts of particular occurrences; at first the general statements are longer (iv. 32—35, v. 12—16), then they become shorter (v. 42, vi. 7, viii. 25, xii. 24, 25), and at last they cease altogether after xiii. 1, and the narrative becomes a connected particular statement. Now, as this coincides exactly with the point where the particular accounts of the apostle Paul and his journies commence (xiii. 1), it is certainly more than probable that this interchange of special accounts with general views, in the first half of the Acts of the Apostles, is to be traced to the manner in which the book was formed. The general observations have *either* proceeded from St Luke himself, and been inserted among the special accounts drawn from documents of particular occurrences, or they are the concluding statements of those documents themselves. I would declare myself for the former view, if in the general observations there appeared

any perceptible difference of style ; but so little is that the case, that in them, just as in the particular accounts, the Hebrew colouring of the language can be very plainly recognised. The language from the beginning of the xiii. chapter has a far less heterogeneous stamp ; and therefore it is in the highest degree probable, that in the second half of the work, St Luke wrote less from documents lying before him, than from his own knowledge.

Further, the general view itself, which is presented to us in this passage, is by no means without interest, because with a few touches it describes the mode of life in the most ancient Christian church, and exhibits the earliest elements of worship.¹ The peculiar spirit of the gospel is exhibited by this description quite clearly before the eyes. Those men who had poured in from curiosity to see what was going on, we find here knit together by the uniting spirit of Christ into a living brotherhood. The young church of Christ had but few peculiarities in its outward form, or even in its doctrine: the single discriminating principle of its few members was, that they all recognised the crucified Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. This confession would have been a thing of no importance, if it had only presented itself as a naked declaration, and would never in such

¹ Although the gospel teaches that God is to be worshipped in spirit, it yet requires an outward form of worship. The Redeemer designed to found a visible church, which necessarily presupposes an external service of God (cultus.) Worship accordingly exists in the Christian church not merely for the sake of the weak, but also for the most advanced, in whom the old natural man that needs an outward form still lives ; worship too is instituted, not merely for the proclamation of the gospel to unbelievers, but it also embraces an element of pure adoration for the faithful. The worship of the church is designed for a perpetual thank-offering of believers, which is presented to the Lord for his propitiatory sacrifice of ever-during validity (1 Pet. ii. 5 ; Heb. xiii. 15.) This element of adoration, with spurious objectiveness, has acquired in the Catholic church an undue predominance, while in the Reformed church, with spurious subjectiveness, the preacher and his discourse have too much supplanted the element of adoration. The middle course is the right one, and it requires the two to be so distributed that the minister may stand forth, not only in his subjectiveness as a teacher, but also as a true "liturgus," that is, as the organ through which the adoration of the church receives expression. According to this view divine service has two essentially different halves ; *first*, the preaching of the gospel, which is designed partly to convert unbelievers, and partly to advance believers in knowledge ; *secondly*, adoration, which has its central point in the eucharist, the great thank-offering of the church, and a symbolical representation at the sametime of the sacrifice of Christ. For these ideas I am indebted to the spirited preface to the Romish hymn book, in which (page lxxxvi. &c.) they are developed in an uncommonly attractive and convincing manner.

a case have been able to form a community, that would spread itself in a few years over the whole Roman empire: this confession of Jesus as the Messiah acquired its value, only through the power of the Holy Ghost passing from the apostles as they preached to the hearers, for he brought the confession from the very hearts of men (1 Cor. xii. 3), and like a burning flame made their souls glow with love. By the power of this spirit, therefore, we behold the first Christians not only in a state of active outward fellowship, but we find them also internally changed: the narrow views of the natural man are broken through, they have their possessions in common, and they regard themselves as one family.

The first thing which is named as an element of Christian worship, is the *διδαχή τῶν ἀποστόλων*. As the original form of church order was borrowed from the Jewish Synagogue, we may conclude that the apostolic *διδαχή* would have the writings of the Old Testament for its basis. Its specific Christian character was derived from the circumstance, that the predictions of the Old Testament were exhibited in their fulfilment in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. As, however, no instruction preceded baptism, the teachers of the church, in their lessons from the Old Testament, must have provided, according to circumstances, for the advancement of believers in all parts of knowledge, which, particularly among the Gentile churches, must have been imperatively necessary.

The second point, viz. the *κοινωνία*, is attended with more difficulty. The word cannot possibly be understood of the general fellowship of the Spirit, for this could not have been represented as a separate particular, being the general principle from which every thing else proceeded. And to connect the word with *κλάσις ἄγρου* so that *κοινωνία* and *κλάσις* may be viewed as a hendiadys, is plainly precluded by the repetition of *καὶ*, which places *κοινωνία* upon the same level as the other three particulars. It only remains therefore that we understand *κοινωνία*, as not only Mosheim (de rebus Christianis ante Const. p. 113, sqq.), but also the most recent interpreters of the Acts of the Apostles do, to signify the bestowment of outward means of support, whether in money or goods.¹ To express this idea the Apostle Paul uses the word

¹ Neander supposes that *κοινωνία* can only mean the whole of the common intercourse of Christians, of which two parts, viz. the fellowship of meals and that of prayer, are

frequently (Rom. xv. 26 ; 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 13), and in so far as such a physical *κοινωνία*, if I may use this expression, was collected and remitted to strangers, it was called also *δραζομία*. (Acts xi. 29, compared with 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 13.) As the passage before us, however, speaks of the meetings of believers for the worship of God, this circumstance gives to *κοινωνία* a modified signification. It must denote such gifts as were presented in the public assemblies. But these are just what were named oblations at a later period, in which therefore we must recognise a primitive Christian institution. Mosheim rightly observes that the offering of Ananias, mentioned in chapter v., must have been such an oblation.

There are fewer difficulties connected with the third point, viz. the *κλήσεις τοῦ ἄγτου*.² The whole question, whether common or sacred repasts, should be understood by the expression, loses its importance, when it is considered that the ancient Christians were in the habit of eating together daily, or holding the love-feast, and never took a common meal without observing the Lord's Supper. In the apostolic church at Jerusalem there appears to have obtained, as is plain from the very idea of a community of goods, a family union of all believers in the strictest and most proper sense. Accordingly, they took food together daily (verse 46), that is, they celebrated the "agapae," and to the common meal the Lord's Supper likewise was daily appended. In the African church, where the ancient Christian institutions maintained their ground, in other respects, for the longest period, we yet find that even in the days of Tertullian the supper was separated from the "agapae." (See Neander's Tertullian, p. 153, &c.) In the first century it was probably everywhere celebrated, conformably to the last meal of Christ, in connexion with a common meal.

In the last place, prayers are mentioned, which are connected especially with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There is no

particularly brought into view. But this supposition, as it seems to me, is untenable, because everything in the enumeration refers to the worship of God, as the first named word *διδάχη* plainly shews: if Neander's view were the right one, then *κοινωνία* would necessarily have been mentioned first. See Neander's Geschichte der pflanzung und eitung, &c. page 30, note.

² The Catholic church employ this expression for the purpose of proving from Scripture the administration of the Lord's Supper "sub una specie" in the days of the apostles. (Compare the confut. conf. Aug. in Meyer's Ausg. der symbol. Bücher, p. 543.) Of course, however, this name has been given to the whole act only a potiori.

mention made of singing, but it is certain that at a very early period¹ it was an element of divine service. (Plin. Epist. x. 97, in Olshaus. *Histor. Eccles. veteris Monum.*, vol. i. p. 24. *Affirmabant Christiani quod essent soliti stato die² ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.*) Perhaps we may suppose that the prayers were spoken, not merely by one in the name of all, but by all in common; and if we suppose, at the same time, that perhaps psalms were read as prayers, then we might find something of the nature of song in the rythmical utterance which the Jews were accustomed to employ in the reading of Scripture. Yet it is more probable that church singing first arose along with Christian poetry, which did not appear before the beginning of the second century.

To render the blessed joy of the little company of believers the more conspicuous by contrast, the fear (φόβος) of those who did not believe is brought into view. All who were of susceptible minds traced the mighty power of the Spirit, and this could not but first of all excite fear. Yet from these did the church recruit her ranks (ver. 47.) In contrast with the fear of the unbelievers, the active unity of the Christians is portrayed. As to the meaning, first of all, of the phrase *εἶναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*, the number of the converts (ver. 41) forbids us to refer it to one place of meeting; and, indeed, the words *κατ' οἴκον* in verse 46 lead to the conclusion that there were houses in several parts of the city where they met. The collective body of the faithful had therefore been obliged to divide themselves into smaller societies, and thus was the establishment of various churches, and the appointment of church office-bearers brought about, as we find was the case at an early period in the larger cities. The more particular consideration of the community of goods, intimated in verses 44, 45, we defer till we come to the exposition of chap. iv. 32, &c., a passage that is more decisive on the subject. From the passage before us, taken by itself, nothing

¹ According to Acts xvi. 25, Paul and Silas sang in prison, but this perhaps should only be understood of the rythmical utterance of a psalm in prayer.

² According to this quotation, it appears that by the time of Pliny the daily meeting had been given up; and, according to the nature of things, it could only continue so long as the number of believers was small. In the lesser churches, however, they might meet daily till a later period. The observance, too, of love feasts, became difficult as the churches became larger. The church of the United Brethren, it is well known, have introduced them again. See respecting their rise, Spangenberg in his *life of Zinzendorf*, vol. iii., page 446, &c.

farther can be gathered than that a highly excited spirit of beneficence led the followers of Christ to regard their property and goods as common, and to support the poorer brethren. But from chap. iv. 32, &c., it has been supposed that a common chest was formed of the proceeds of all goods that were sold, a view which will be afterwards more narrowly considered. *Κτήματα* denotes here "houses, lands, real property;" *ὑπόζυξις*, on the other hand, means "moveable possessions." Verse 46 may appear a repetition of verse 42, but in this verse the stress is to be laid upon the opposition between *ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ* and *κατ' αἵον*. The latter expression cannot be understood to mean, as Erasmus and Kuinoel suppose, from "house to house." Doubtless there must have been, on account of the large number of believers, several places of meeting, and they may have changed from one to another; but this is not expressed in the words before us. It is rather the private that is placed in opposition to the public. The earliest Christians of the church at Jerusalem had not ceased to associate with the Jews in the services of the temple, they only held their Christian institutions in connexion with the ordinances of the Old Testament, and, so little did this appear to the people an incompatible thing, that they wished well to the Christians. But so soon as the fickle multitude perceived, in addition to the loving spirit of the brotherhood of believers, the moral earnestness which reigned among them, they changed their views, and began to persecute the Christians. (See chap. xii. 1, &c.) The Christian church in Jerusalem in its outward appearance may have had at first much resemblance to the societies of the Essenes, because like them it presented the spectacle of an intimate union of hearts. But in its inward character the church stood immeasurably higher, because in it the union of souls was a reality, established by a uniting, heavenly power, while among the Essenes, it was something formed by themselves, and therefore, as in all associations of a sectarian kind, unreal, and mingled with much impurity.¹

Προσκαρτερεῖν is commonly construed with the dative, when you are speaking of *things* to which the continuance relates; but in Rom. xiii. 6, it is connected with *εἰς*. Applied to *place* it is followed by *ἐν*, as in the apocryphal book of the history of Susanna,

¹ In particular, a spiritual conceit was spread among the Essenes, which went so far that the members of the higher classes regarded themselves as polluted by simple contact with the humbler brethren.

verse 7.—The word ἀφελότης occurs in no other part of the New Testament but this. It is similar to ἀφέλεια, which Josephus (Arch. iii. 12, 2) uses for ὁλοκληγία, “integritas,” in a physical sense. Transferred to spiritual things it denotes, like ἀπλότης, simplicity or singleness of heart. The adjective ἀφελής is derived from φελλός, φελός, φέλα, in the Macedonian dialect, which denotes a stone, and therefore the words πεδία ἀφελῆ mean level fields, without rocky inequalities.

§ 3. CURE OF A LAME MAN.

(Acts iii. 1—26.)

Vers. 1—10. After the general description which has now been presented to us, there again follows a detailed particular statement respecting the cure of a lame man, with which a discourse of St Peter is connected. St Luke had already, in chap. ii. 43, made mention in general terms of the miracles of the apostles; but now for the first time there is an occurrence of the kind described in detail. The narrative itself, however, embraces nothing peculiar, (see the remarks made on miraculous cures in general, in the Commentary on Matt. viii. 1), only it must not be overlooked that St Peter (ver. 6) performs the cure not in his own name, nor in the name of God, but in the name of Jesus. By no means therefore did he consider himself as possessing independently the power of healing, but simply as being the instrument of Christ: he was conscious to himself, that it was the power of the Lord which wrought by him. There is here presented indirectly a striking proof of the higher nature of Christ. The view of Thiess, that the man only pretended to be lame, is a lame view, and needs no serious refutation. As to the particulars of the narrative, we are informed that St Peter and St John went to the temple at one of the usual hours of prayer, and found a lame man at one of the gates.

It has already been mentioned in reference to ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ at chap. i. 15, that it must be understood here not of place, but rather of time, and be taken in the signification of “together,” “at the same time.” This idea was lost sight of by a number of transcribers; and therefore they annexed ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ to the close

of the second chapter, while they left out $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$. The new chapter they then began with $\Pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa.\ \tau.\ \lambda.$, or with $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\varsigma$. The critical authorities, however, sufficiently establish the common text.

The gate beside which the lame man sat, is named $\eta\ \omega\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha$. The name probably took its rise from the magnificence of the gate, and it is likely that the same gate is here meant to which Josephus (Bell. Jud. v. 5, 3) gives this name, and which is styled by the Rabbins פֶּתַח , probably from the bas-relief lily work in Corinthian brass (see 1 Kings vii. 19), with which, according to the account of Josephus, the door was covered. In reply to the entreaty of the infirm man, St Peter declares that he has no earthly help to give, but he has something greater to bestow; and at his touch the lame man rises and is able to walk. (Verse 3. According to a well-known Greek idiom $\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\tilde{\nu}$ is redundant with words of giving.—At verse 5 you may supply $\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ to $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\gamma\chi\epsilon$; the outward look is necessarily implied along with the attention of the mind.—Ver. 7. The word $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\xi\epsilon\omega\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ indicates that the man's lameness had its origin in debility. $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ denotes commonly the step, but here in connexion with $\sigma\tilde{\varphi}\upsilon\varsigma\acute{\alpha}$, the ankles, it denotes the sole of the foot, together with its muscles and ligaments.)

Vers. 11–13. The man who was healed immediately attached himself to his benefactors, and followed them with a great multitude of people to the porch of Solomon. (With respect to this porch, see Comm. on John x. 23.— $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}$, to hold, is here employed like $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\nu}$, to denote an inward attachment, a cleaving of the mind to another.¹ The Seventy, in 2 Sam. iii. 6, have translated $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\nu}$ in a similar connexion by $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}$.) And here St Peter began (see on $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\kappa\tilde{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ the Comm. at Luke i. 60), and spoke to the people. The address of the apostle which follows has very much resemblance to the first one: the very same ideas in substance are expressed; the Messiahship of Jesus is proved from the Old Testament, and the people are invited to repent and believe on him. Only in verses 20 and 21 there is introduced a peculiar thought,

¹ Meyer, on this passage, insists that the physical signification of holding fast ought to be here retained. His translation is: "but when he held St Peter and St John fast, that is, seized them and held by them." But in this case undoubtedly $\chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\sigma\iota$ would have been added. The signification of $\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}$ is not altered by my view of the passage; the word is only explained as referring not to a physical seizing and holding, but to a spiritual.

in the promise of times of revival. In the first place, the apostle puts away from himself all the honour of the cure, and ascribes it to the Lord, whom God had glorified. In verse 12, some transcribers have taken offence at the connexion of *δύναμις* and *εὐσεβεία*; and have therefore, instead of the latter word, written *ἐξουσία*. But there is no ground at all for this change. Piety is viewed, on account of the connexion of the pious individual with God, as imparting a real power. In verse 13 there is the peculiarity of the name *παῖς Θεοῦ* being applied to Christ, and it is repeated in chap. iii. 26, iv. 27–30. After the observations of Nitsch (in Ullmann's Studien, 1828, Part II. page 331, &c.), no one probably will ever again be disposed to maintain that the expression is identical with *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*. It has already been remarked, in the Commentary on Luke i. 35, that *παῖς* corresponds to the Hebrew word *נָזַר*, which is so frequently applied to the Messiah, particularly in the second part of Isaiah. The Seventy translate it by *παῖς*, which word occurs also in Matt. xii. 18 in a citation from the Old Testament. According to the same usage, David also is called *παῖς* in Acts iv. 25, and the people of Israel in Luke i. 54–69. This name accordingly stands less related to the person of our Lord than to his office; and, considering the frequent use of *נָזַר* in the Old Testament, we may with more propriety wonder that in the New Testament *παῖς* is so seldom applied to Christ, than that it is so used at all. In verse 13, *κατὰ πρόσωπον* is to be explained with Meyer: ye denied him in the presence of Pilate.

Vers. 14–16. For the purpose of placing their sin in all its hideousness before the minds of the people, St Peter contrasts their conduct towards the Redeemer with their conduct towards Barrabas. It is a peculiar name, *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς*, which is applied in this passage to the person of our Lord. In Acts v. 31, you find *ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σωτὴρ*, and in Heb. ii. 10 *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας*. Critics in general attempt to shew that the proper signification of *ἀρχηγὸς* is that of author. Much light is thrown upon the meaning of the word by the passage in Heb. xii. 2, where *ἀρχηγός* and *τελειωτής τῆς πίστεως* stand together. According to this connexion the signification of “beginning, leading to something,” suits the word; although indeed this does not by any means stand in contradiction to the sense of “producing.” The word *ζωή* must here (comp. John i. 4) be taken in the absolute sense, and in the most comprehensive application. It embraces not only the higher spiritual

life, which Christ has introduced into the world, and to which he guides his followers; but also the conquest of physical death by the resurrection. And now in verse 16 to this Jesus whom they had despised, the miracle is ascribed, which was filling the multitude with astonishment. The construction of the sentence, however, is not quite plain. If with Kuinoel you translate ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ: "propter fiduciam in Christi auxilio repositam;" then the second half of the verse exhibits a complete tautology, which you do not remove by putting a point after ἐστρέψωσιν, and attaching τὸ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ to what follows. The passage becomes intelligible only when you translate ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, "for faith," or "to faith;" that is, St Peter healed the infirm man for the purpose of leading him, as well as others, to faith in the name of Christ. So Heinrichs rightly. With respect again to the expression ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ in the second half of the sentence, Kuinoel is likewise wrong, when he supposes that it is quite synonymous with the forms πίστις εἰς αὐτόν or πίστις αὐτοῦ. This mode of expression is plainly designed to represent the πίστις as something called into existence by grace, in opposition to a self-originated and therefore inefficient opinion. Here the word ἀκεκλησία is to be understood only of physical "integritas:" the substantive (see James i. 4) occurs in no other part of the New Testament but this.

Vers. 17-19. After having addressed them with some severity, the apostle turns round again, and brings into view the higher necessity which the prophecies have declared to be connected with the death of Christ,¹ and thus mitigates their guilt. It has already been remarked at Luke xxiii. 34, that the ἄγωνα by no means takes away the guilt completely, for it was itself deserving of blame; but certainly it has a mitigating effect (1 Cor. ii. 8); and you cannot well say, in accordance with these passages, that the chief priests and members of the Sanhedrim who put Christ to death, committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. (See Comm. Matt. xii. 32.)

By the extenuation thus made, the way is now paved for an invitation to repentance and conversion. The word ἐπιστρέφειν implies also the πίστις, of which mention has already been made

¹ There is mention here expressly made of *all* the prophets, which many regard as a hyperbolical expression, and therefore modify it to mean *some*. But, according to the typical view of sacred history, it is perfectly true that they *all* prophecy of Christ.

in the 16th verse. As the first consequence of penitence and conversion, the forgiveness of sins is now brought into view, which again must be considered as involving life and blessedness. To denote the ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν the word ἐξαλείφω is here employed, which occurs in a figurative acceptation only in this passage. The ground work of this figurative usage is the idea of a bond (Col. ii. 14) which is cancelled. The same image is to be found in the Old Testament, for example in Isaiah xliii. 25, הַיְיָ עָשָׂה לִּי חֲסִידִים, where the Seventy also use ἐξαλείφω.

Vers. 20, 21. It is a peculiarity, as has already been observed, of this discourse of the apostle, that it makes mention of times of refreshing. The very different explanations which have been given of this passage are to be judged of altogether in accordance with the observations which I have prefixed to the leading passage respecting the last things, viz. Matt. xxiv. 1. The alleged fact that the apostle conceives the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως to be quite close at hand, has led some interpreters to regard the time of death as what is meant, others the abrogation of the Jewish ceremonial law, or perhaps a delay of the judgments impending over the Jews, or the warding off of persecutions. These different suppositions, however, do not need to be seriously confuted. They may be looked upon as antiquated, because it is only the reference of the words to the times of the Messiah that is tenable. Still, it is a question whether the χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως in verse 21, and the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως in verse 20, be identical, or whether the former expression refers to the future, and the latter to the present. According to the fundamental ideas of the New Testament, both views considered in themselves might be entertained, for we notice a double form of representation in the doctrine of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, of which the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως are the realization; *first*, one according to which the kingdom of God appears as already present; *secondly*, another, according to which it appears as future. (See Comm. Part i. at Matt. iii. 2.) But the grammatical connexion admits only the first view, which requires us to consider both expressions as the same, and as not referring to the present time. Without doubt the apostle Peter, as well as all the disciples and the whole apostolic church, regarded the coming of Christ as near at hand, but still always as something future. If the reference of verse 20 to the present be maintained, then the words ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι—καὶ ἀποστείλῃ must be translated “cum venerint, et Deus

miserit," as Kuinoel supposes. But this translation is inconsistent, not only with the particle *ἄν*, which is not connected with the conjunction *ὅπως*, excepting when the end is conceived as attainable only in the future, but also with the employment of *ὅπως* in connexion with the subjunctive mood, for it can only mean "when, as" in connexion with the indicative. (Comp. Passow's Lex. under this word, and Winer's Grammar, page 285.) The coming of Christ, accordingly, that is, his *παρουσία*, is to be conceived as coinciding with the times of refreshing, and his sojourn in the heavenly world, closes with his return to the earth for the completion of his work. The conversion of men, therefore, and the diffusion of faith in Christ, are the condition of the speedy approach of that blessed time, a thought which occurs again in 2 Pet. iii. 9. The expression occurring here, *καὶ τοῖς ἀναψύξεως*, is easily explained. Life in this sinful world is conceived as a time of conflict and distress, and it is followed by rest in the kingdom of the Messiah. The phrase is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament, and it is but feeble parallels to it which the Old Testament supplies, as for example 2 Sam. xxiii. 7. Probably it takes its origin from a comparison of the Messianic era with a Sabbath day in the higher sense, which it is known was very current among the Jews.

The expression *ἀπὸ παροσώπου*, equivalent to *ἔξ*, which is by no means quite synonymous with *ἐκ παροσώπου*, equivalent to *ἐξ*, embodies the idea that the revival or refreshing proceeds from the Lord, that he himself produces it. Instead of the common reading *πρὸς ἐκζητήσμεν*, many and important manuscripts, (A, B, C, D, E, and fifty-three others,) besides several versions, read *πρὸς ἐκζητήσμεν*, which, as the more unusual reading, certainly deserves the preference. *Πρὸς ἐκζητῆσαι* occurs only in the Acts of the Apostles (xxii. 14, xxvi. 16), in the sense of "appointing," "electing to something." Properly it means "to take in hand, to undertake, to determine." It is to be found in the best profane writers, and the Seventy also use it frequently, as in Joshua iii. 12, for *ἔξ*.

In the 21st verse there is contrasted with the coming of Christ to this world his heavenly condition, described in the words *δέχεσθαι ὁδεύον*, which cannot be referred so well to the act of reception, as to the state of possession and authority. For the view of the words which takes *ὁδεύον* as the subject in this sense, "the heaven must receive him," which, after Beza's example, Ernesti,

Kuinoel, and Schott have defended, although it is certainly not inadmissible on grammatical grounds, yet must give place to the other, because it is an unscriptural view to conceive heaven like an independent agent receiving Christ into itself, while it is he, as Lord and King, who takes it and holds it in possession. With as little propriety can you make the former of these statements, as you can say the throne takes up the king upon it. Beza, without doubt, has been led to this idea by his views as connected with the reformed Church.¹ The form of concord expressly rejects this interpretation (sol. declar. art. vii. towards the end.²)

As the period of the Redeemer's return, the Messianic æra is again mentioned, which is here styled *χρόνος ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων*. This connection of ideas occurs only here, though in Hebrews

¹ This passage has always been differently interpreted by the Lutheran and the Reformed churches; and if Beza might be unduly biassed to the one side, Olshausen himself might lean in a similar manner to the other. The Lutheran Church has viewed *ἐν* as the subject, and understood the meaning of the clause to be that Christ took possession of the heavens: their feeling has been that the omnipresence of Christ would be compromised by saying that the heavens receive or contain him. The Reformed Church, again, make *οὐρανὸν* the subject, and translate, as in our version, whom the heavens must receive: their idea has been that the simple object of the clause is to describe Christ as dwelling now not on earth, but in heaven. The words doubtless are ambiguous in construction, and admit of either rendering, for the verb *ἐκχρίσθαι* is to be found in both shades of meaning. The cases, however, are more numerous where it is applied to a place receiving or containing a person, than to a person taking possession of a place. Indeed, only one passage has been produced from Euripides, Alc. 817, in support of the latter meaning, and the bearing of it has been disputed, so that on mere philological grounds the interpretation of the Reformed Church deserves the preference. Nor is there much force in our author's argument that it is unscriptural to conceive of the heavens as receiving Christ, receiving him as a place does the person who enters it. Was he not, without prejudice to his omnipresence and divine authority, in this world for a term of years; and why might he not, with as little prejudice to these attributes, be described as received into heaven when he left this world, to remain there till the period specified in the text? Calvin expresses himself with more moderation than those who followed him in the Reformed Church. *Ceterum loquutio est ambigua: quia tam intelligere possumus Christum caelo capi vel contineri quam caelum capere. Ne ergo verbum dubiae significationis urgeamus: sed eo contenti simus quod certum est, Christum, interea dum seperatur ultima rerum omnium instauratio non alibi quam in caelo quaerendum esse.* Calv. in loc.—Tr.

² The Form of Concord (Concordienformel) here mentioned is one of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, though not so important a one, nor so universally acknowledged, as the Confession of Augsburg. It was called the book of Torgaw, from the place where it was composed in the sixteenth century, and the book of Concord, from the purpose it was designed to serve. It became the source, however, of many disputes, and was violently opposed, not only by the Reformed Church, but by some also of the most distinguished Lutheran churches and divines.—Tr.

ix. 10 there is to be found the very similar expression *καιὸς δι' ἐθῶσιν*. Respecting the sense of the term, however, no doubt can arise, if you keep steadily in view the relation of the Redeemer to this sinful world: Christ is the restorer of the fallen creation, and therefore the word *ἀποκατάστασις* derives from his redeeming power its peculiar meaning, viz. that of bringing back to an originally pure condition. It seems, indeed, from the connection of the passage, as if *πάντων* had reference only to what the prophets have spoken, but not to the universe of existing things or circumstances in general. But the prophets have really spoken of all things; and therefore the expression *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων* denotes the restitution of every thing. That *πάντων* is not to be understood as masculine, is self-evident.

(The substantive *ἀποκατάστασις* does not occur any more in the New Testament, but the verb does, being applied to physical restoration, as in Matt. xii. 13; Mark viii. 25; Luke vi. 10, and also to spiritual, as in Matt. xvii. 11; Acts i. 6.—At the close of verse 21 there are some various readings. The textus receptus has inserted *πάντων* before *ἀγίων προφητῶν*, but it should be struck out here, because it is certainly an interpolation from the 18th verse. The phrase *ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, however, is improperly omitted in some manuscripts; it is not so definite a period as is immediately specified in what follows, and therefore we may refer the expression to the whole series of God's promises with respect to the restoration of men, because there are prophets mentioned in the New Testament who were prior to the deluge. (See Jude ver. 14.)

Vers. 22–26. Looking back to the admonition to repentance given in the 19th verse, the apostle adduces some passages from the Old Testament,¹ in which the necessity of recognising the great Messianic prophet is exhibited with peculiar force. First of all, the well-known passage in Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19, is cited. The language of the Septuagint is followed in the main; but the words of the 15th and 18th verses are drawn together, and in the 19th, instead of *ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ*, you have *ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκδικήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ*, the Hebrew being *יִשְׁפֹּט מִן הָעָם*. From the connexion, certainly, it appears that this passage refers in the first instance to the order of prophets in general, but as the prophetic character

¹ Respecting the want of precision in the words: *πάντες οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν κατεξῆς ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν*, consult Winer's Grammar, p. 464.

is exhibited in the Messiah in the highest, nay in absolute perfection, the passage applies to him too in the very highest sense. In this view the words *ὡς ἐμέ* (וְכִיִּי) must have a decided reference to the legislative character, which was exhibited in Moses, and afterwards appeared only in Christ. As it stands in the Old Testament, the threatening of the 23d verse has an external reference, but according to the economy of the New, it is to be understood spiritually, and in this respect, it is quite similar to the words of our Lord, *ὁ μὴ πιστεύων ἥδη κέκριται*, in John iii. 18. All promises belong primarily to the seed of Abraham, according to the divine appointment, and upon that consideration Peter grounds the invitation to his hearers, to appropriate to themselves the blessing that is in Christ. The quotation in verse 25 is taken from Gen. xii. 3, or xviii. 18, xxii. 18. It is almost exactly in the words of the Septuagint, which instead of *πατρίαι* reads *ἐθνῶν* or *φυλαί*. The words *ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ὁ Θεὸς—ἀπέστειλεν αὐτόν*, in verse 26, contain an intimation of the universality of the grace that is in Christ, that is, of the introduction of the Gentiles into the Christian church, which the prophets had so frequently foretold; for it was not against this introduction considered in itself that Peter at a later period (chap. x.) entertained scruples, but only in so far as it might take place directly, without the reception of the law on the part of the Gentile converts.

§ 4. FIRST IMPRISONMENT OF PETER.

(Acts iv. 1—31.)

The auspicious opening bloom of the young church of Christ could not fail speedily to attract the attention of those who occupied the seat of Moses. But as they were themselves the murderers of the Son of God, and would not humble themselves before him to receive even the pardon of their sins, which was offered to them by the apostles preaching in their presence, they fell of consequence into the new sin of seeking to quench the Spirit. Yet their first undecided procedure against those who announced the resurrection of the crucified Jesus, plainly evinces that a smitten conscience bore witness to them, of their alienation from God and their struggle against the defenders of true

piety. But soon we behold them grow more daring, and by gradually working upon the mass of the people, they excite the fickle multitude against the Christians, as despisers of the national religious solemnities.

Vers. 1-7. In the power of the Spirit the apostles continued to preach, and their word wrought so powerfully, that already about five thousand men believed. In verse 4 it appears, if you compare it with chap. v. 14, that men only are named exclusive of women. It might, therefore, be supposed that the number of the Christian community was much greater. But at first perhaps it might be only men that were added to the church. In all likelihood this occurrence must be placed only a few days after Pentecost, for it is hardly to be supposed that the priests would not interfere at once, for the purpose of extinguishing the flame as speedily as possible. The conversion of so many was the source of vexation to the whole party of priests, but above all to the Sadducees; whose views were directly impugned by the preaching of the resurrection. (Compare the Commentary on Matt. iii. 7, and xxii. 23.) The person who took the active part in the arrest of Peter (for John appears in all these transactions only as the companion of Peter, without any independent agency),¹ is described as the *στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. It has been erroneously supposed that the expression denotes a Roman officer; but it should rather be understood as meaning the captain of the Levitical guard of the Temple who was on duty. This guard had the charge of preserving tranquillity in the neighbourhood of the Temple; and the pretence, that the apostles were disturbing the peace, was made to furnish an occasion for their arrestment. Compare Josephus, Arch. xx. 6, 2. B. J. ii. 12. 6; 2 Maccab. 4, where *πρεσβύτερος τοῦ ἱεροῦ* is the title used.) As it was already late (verse 3), the examination was delayed till the following day, when the Sanhedrim assembled.

Ἐγενήθη, in ver. 4, is a form that does not occur in the Attic writers, though it is frequently to be found in the common Greek. Compare Lobeck ad Phryn. page 108. Respecting *ἀνελκόμενος*, *πρεσβ-*

¹ This may be explained partly from the circumstance, that these sections of the Acts of the Apostles were taken from some writing or from several short memoirs, which originated with the school of Peter; but the character of John, too, on the other hand, renders it probable that he did not at the first display very great energy. Compare the Commentary on John, page 4.)

ἐνταῖοι and γραμματεῖς, as also respecting Caiaphas and Annas, see the particulars stated in Comm. at Matt. xxvi. 57. At the same place too see regarding γένος ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Nothing is known of the two other persons whose names are mentioned. Lightfoot on this passage supposes that John corresponds to an individual, of whom intelligence is preserved in the Talmud. He is called Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai, and is described as a priest of distinction. Far more improbable is the conjecture which has been made, that Alexander may be the brother of Philo; for he was named Alabarches of Alexandria, and could not therefore be a member of the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem. Compare Eusebius Hist. Ecc. ii. 5, and the note of Valesius upon that passage. Alabarches was considered the highest magistrate of the Jews in Alexandria and all Egypt.

Vers. 8–12. The Sanhedrim had interrogated the apostles respecting their authority to teach publicly, a question which undoubtedly was competent to them. (Consult the Comm. on Matt. xxi. 23.) And Peter now replies to their question, by appealing to a decided miracle, the healing of the lame man, as his authority; and he ascribes this miracle to the power of Jesus of Nazareth.¹ The first consideration was quite a natural one, for miracles were to be the means of establishing the authority of a prophet (compare the passage quoted, viz. Ps. cxviii. 22), but the second point is remarkable. According to Jewish principles, the prophet was required to perform his miracles in the name of Jehovah the true God; but the apostles wrought theirs in the name of Jesus. In this way, therefore, they indirectly declared him to be their Lord and God: they announced that in him God dwells and is manifested; and the members of the Sanhedrim would undoubtedly understand their words to mean, that they proclaimed themselves to be the messengers of Jesus, and recognised a divine majesty as belonging to him. With undaunted boldness Peter

¹ In verse 8 it is expressly mentioned, that Peter spoke these words πνεῦμα ἁγίου. The same thing is said in iv. 31, xiii. 9, and very frequently of Paul. In this we are not simply to recognise the general idea, that the apostles spoke at the suggestion of the Holy Ghost, and not by their own ability; but we are rather to see an evident proof, that the Holy Ghost, who was always really working in them, was at these moments producing effects that were peculiarly palpable. In the inward spiritual life of the apostles, therefore, we must distinguish between periods of high excitement and periods of less elevation (see Comm. on 2 Cor. xii.); and the expression before us denotes the former.

now reproaches them with having rejected this corner stone of the spiritual temple, while yet it was Christ only in whom there was salvation for them. He therefore, the impeached humble citizen, preaches the way of salvation to the godless ministers of the sanctuary ! (Respecting the quotation from Ps. cxviii. 22, consult Comm. at Matt. xxi. 42.)

The 12th verse is attended with peculiar doctrinal difficulties : it confines the σωτηρία so strictly to Christ, that the question may present itself, How then can those who have never heard of him, be σωζόμενοι, or become so ? Quite inadmissible is the shift which some have had recourse to, of making the σωτηρία relate only to what is physical, because the subject previously under consideration has been the healing of the lame man. It is plain from the preceding citation in the 11th verse, that σωτηρία can only mean the Messianic salvation, which Christ bestows. Nevertheless it was a total misunderstanding of this passage, from which however the primitive church stood clear, when it was explained, so as to exclude unbaptised children and Gentiles from the σωτηρία. The ancient fathers rightly conceived every exhibition of superior excellence, even in the heathen world, to be the effect of the λόγος σπευματικός (so expressly says Justin Martyr, page 51 c.), and for all, to whom no ray of divine light had penetrated, they opened up in the “descensus Christi ad inferos” the possibility of obtaining salvation. But as the circle can only have one centre, so also the divine being alone can be the Saviour, and this is the deep thought of the apostle’s language. Not without reason, therefore, is the general expression ὅτι ἐστὶν more narrowly defined in the second clause by the words ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι, by which the possibility of any other way of salvation is most decidedly excluded. Only the one λόγος, “logos,” has very various forms of manifestation ; in consequence of which there arises an apparent variety of ways of access to God. (Regarding the expression δεδουμένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, consult Winer’s Grammar, page 177.) In accordance with the sense, it may be said that ἐν stands for the dative ; but grammatically it is more correct to give it the signification of “among,” making the thought this : “there is no other name given,” that is, “exhibited” *among* men, and at the same time, *for* men.

Ver. 13—18. The Sanhedrim were unable, partly because they were restrained by the power of the Spirit of truth speaking in the apostles, and partly because they feared the people (verse 18)

to adopt any severe measures against the preachers of the resurrection of the crucified Jesus. They dismissed the apostles with an unmeaning admonition. The two expressions ἀγράμματοι and ἰδιῶται appear to be synonymous, for the latter as well as the former frequently denotes the unlearned as opposed to the learned. Suidas explains it by ἀγράμματος and ἀμαθής. But the word is also applied to the *lowly* as distinguished from the great and the wealthy, and therefore it is best to give it this sense for the purpose of making a distinction between it and ἀγρόμματος. This latter word, it may be further remarked, implies nothing more than the want of formal Rabbinical training; for, where this was wanting, the Pharisees, whose minds were quite ossified, were unable to recognise any higher knowledge as existing. Διανέμω, denoting “to divide, to disperse,” and thence “to propagate,” occurs in no other part of the New Testament but this.

Vers. 19–22. Although the apostles openly declare that they cannot comply with the admonition given to them, yet the chief priests dismiss them without punishment, merely adding a threat. Perhaps it was their hope that by mildness they might most efficiently suppress the growing sect, which appeared to them so dangerous. But the apostles at once gave utterance to the great principle, which is repeated by them (chap. v. 29) at their second imprisonment, that we must obey God rather than man. The relation of this principle to the general command, to obey “the power” as the minister of God (Rom. xiii. 1), is attended with some difficulty, especially when, as in the case before us, that power enjoins no positive sin, but only negatively forbids something. Many enthusiasts and rebels have misapplied this principle to the defence of their insane or mischievous undertakings. Now, such an abuse cannot be prevented by restrictions and regulations, because this principle, like every other, is regulated in practice by the character of those who apply it, whose insincerity may pervert what is most excellent. But, in its purely objective character, the highest freedom of the believer maintains no conflict at all with his unqualified obedience to “the power,” even though it be an unrighteous one. He moves, in fact, with his old and new man, as it were, in a twofold world. In the one character he is placed in subjection to earthly relations, and therefore willingly gives to Cæsar what is Cæsar’s; but in the other he is a member of the spiritual world, and therefore gives to God what is God’s. And

because he thus leaves to the earthly power whatever belongs to it, he secures to himself perfect liberty of deciding in accordance with a higher will, in whatever does not belong to it. But every misapplication of the principle has really the earthly element in view, to obtain which, the heavenly is only used as a means. Where such obliquity does not disturb the inward vision, the connection of the two commands will be easily perceived. Peter appeals, therefore, with respect to the truth of the principle that God's command rises above that of man, to the moral feeling of the Sanhedrim themselves, and they were unable to resist it. In verse 20 we must with Lachmann prefer *ἴδαμεν* as the more unusual Alexandrian form, which is also to be found sometimes in the LXX. See 1 Sam. x. 14; 2 Sam. x. 14. In verse 21 *μηδέν* must be taken as an absolute accusative; it stands for *μηδαμῶ* or *μηδαμῶς*.

Vers. 23—31. After their release the apostles repaired to their friends, who broke out into a prayer of thanksgiving to God. *Ἰδοὶ* cannot mean all Christians, for all could not assemble in one place, but only the household church of the apostles, those with whom they were accustomed to unite in social prayer; compare xii. 12, it cannot mean, as Meyer supposes, the other apostles. It is self-evident, that this prayer of thanksgiving was either uttered by one in the name of the rest, or that the common feeling of all is exhibited in these words. The latter idea is rather favoured by the expression: *ἡμασὶν ἡμεῖς πάντες τὸν θεόν*. And in this case the form of the thoughts belongs either to St Luke, or perhaps rather to the author of the memoirs which he employed in constructing his narrative. Meyer's supposition is quite inadmissible, that the prayer which follows may have been a form that was in use in the church of Jerusalem; in this way you will improperly transfer to the primitive church the usages of a later time. In the prayer, it is the concluding verses only (29, 30) which touch upon the fact to which the whole scene refers; and they do so only cursorily, in the entreaty that the threatenings may be averted. The first verses are entirely occupied with the fruitless attempts against the Redeemer, a thing which appears unseasonable. But on closer consideration this is seen to express a very deep feeling, which affords a strong warrant for the correctness of the narrative. The apostles were so thoroughly engrossed with the person of Christ and his affairs, their own individual

concerns were thrown so much into the background, and it was so exclusively Christ's cause which appeared to them intrinsically important, that they saw even in their own sufferings nothing but persecutions directed against Christ. Their prayer therefore concerned itself only about him; and their desire looked exclusively to this, that they might be enabled to glorify him. Of the omnipotence of God, mention is made, to bring into view the fact, that he is able everywhere to give help. (On *δεσπότης*, comp. Comm. on Luke ii. 29.) This power of the Almighty, which protects against all the rage of men in rebellion against heaven, is strikingly described in Psalm ii. 1, 2, which passage is quoted exactly according to the LXX., and explained as referring to Christ. (Vers. 27, 28.) The second psalm is very frequently applied to Christ in the New Testament.¹) (Acts xiii. 33; Heb. i. 5, v. 15; Rev. ii. 26, 27, xii. 5, xix. 15.) There may certainly be in the psalm a historical basis, and it may relate to the installation of a king in Israel: but the peculiar reference of it to the Messiah, the universal king, cannot be mistaken. (Comp. Hengstenberg's Christology, vol. i. page 95, &c.) The hostility of the world is so little able to overthrow God's plan, that it is compelled to become the means of accomplishing it. (Ver. 29.) This idea of a divine necessity in the free actions of men has already been made the subject of consideration at Matt. xxvi. 24.

Respecting *ἡστί*, see Comm. on Matt. xxvii. 46. *φροῦρτω*, equivalent to *ᾤστω*, is first of all applied to neighing horses, and then it denotes, "to storm," "to rage."—In verse 27, *ἐπ' ἀληθείας* is used, as in Luke iv. 26, xxii. 59, by way of asseveration. According to the common text it connects itself immediately with *ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου*; while Griesbach, following codices A. D. E. and others, has inserted *ἐν τῇ πόλει τάυτῃ*. If we compare such passages as Matt. xxiii. 37, Luke xiii. 33, this addition acquires very great force. The holy city, St Luke means to say, they have made the seat of infamous treachery.—*Ταυῶν* occurs again in Acts xvii. 30, xx. 32, xxvii. 22. It is used also by profane writers as synonymous with *ῶν*. Compare Herod. vii. 104. After the prayer was concluded, the place where the disciples were

¹ Peter ascribes it to David, although both the Hebrew text and the LXX. have no inscription. In this he follows the general opinion of the Jews, which ascribes to David all psalms whose authors are not definitely marked. With respect to the second psalm, the correctness of this view is not to be doubted.

assembled was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. It has already been remarked at chap. iv. 8, that the being filled with the Holy Ghost, must be regarded as denoting a state of unusually high spiritual excitement ; for at Pentecost the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost once for all. The common excitement which here found place in all who were assembled was, like the outpouring of the Spirit described in chap. ii. 2, accompanied with an external manifestation, viz. the shaking of the place. Now, a common earthquake is as little to be thought of in this place, as a common storm was at chap. ii. 2 ; for both of these must have struck the city, and not merely the place of meeting. But certainly there is something parallel to this occurrence in the view of the ancients, for they regarded earthquakes as a sign from the gods. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 89. The earthquake was to them like a gigantic exhibition of the power of the gods, a token of their presence, and at the same time of their favour.

§ V. THE COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

(Acts iv. 32—v. 11.)

After the special narrative thus given, there follows again a general view of the state of the church in Jerusalem. (Compare at ii. 42—47.) This passage only brings more prominently into view a particular usage, viz. the community of goods, of which mention has already been cursorily made in the passage just referred to.¹ And in connexion with the general statement respecting the community of goods, two particular narratives are presented, in which the use and the abuse of the practice are described. With respect to this ancient Christian institute, we

¹ That in the progress of mankind there is a tendency to the abolition of private property, is illustrated by the sect of the St Simonians in France, whose case is worthy of attention in a history of the church. Only, this party ridiculously pervert a right feeling, because they strive to establish by external regulations, what can only be effected by the power of love operating from within. No power or plan can supply the place of the omnipotence of love. The gospel establishes in a truly cordial manner a community of goods, because, without changing anything externally, it awakens pure love, which teaches us to regard and to treat the need of a brother as our own.

may now, after Mosheim's enquiry ("de vera natura communionis bonorum in ecclesia Hierosolymitana" contained in "diss. ad hist. eccl. pertin. vol. i. diss. i."), regard the old view as antiquated, which supposed that all property had ceased among Christians. They must in this case have lived upon a common fund, which would have speedily wasted away ; and, instead of the dwellings which were sold, others must have been hired anew. The passages ii. 45, iv. 35, appear at first sight to favour this view, because it is there said, τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον, language which seems to include all possessions, whether moveable or real, and because in the latter passage, iv. 35, the distribution is represented as so general, that one is tempted to think of a common fund out of which every individual received what he needed. But when we investigate the circumstances more narrowly, we come upon invincible difficulties, and find ourselves compelled to admit only an active liberality, which led the more wealthy to sell much for the support of their poorer brethren ; and so disposed every one that he managed his own private property for the common good of all. There is only one circumstance which seems to lead to the conclusion, that in the earliest time there did in fact prevail in Jerusalem a proper community of goods. We find the church there remarkably poor, so that Paul, in particular, is continually occupied with collections for the mother church. The fact might be explained in this manner : in the first glow of love, the believers in Jerusalem really went too far ; they sold all their possessions, they lived upon the common fund, and hoped the Lord would soon return to conduct them into his kingdom. But, when the advent was delayed, they fell into temporal destitution, and needed support. From this circumstance too it might be explained why there is not even a trace of this institute to be found in any other church. It may be said that the apostles, taught experience by this trial, ceased to form after the manner of the Essenes, such a common stock, and nowhere else established it. In opposition to this view, it would be no proper argument to say, that the apostles must in this case have either made or allowed an unsuitable regulation ; for the apostles do not by any means appear infallible, excepting where a matter of faith is concerned : in a regulation for the church, therefore, they might perhaps have conceived wrongly for a moment, and the more so as they themselves would have erred as individuals

in such a case: their whole error would have consisted in applying too pure and heavenly a standard to the circumstances of an earthly church.¹

But other considerations present themselves, which forbid me to regard the foregoing argumentation as sufficient to prove, that a complete community of goods prevailed among the primitive Christians. First of all, Peter expressly declares to Ananias (chap. v. 4), that it was in his own power either to sell the field or to retain it: it is inconceivable, therefore, that it could be a law in the church, as it was among the Essenes, that every one must sell all his goods. Again, we find in chap. xii. 12, an example of the private possession of a house. The poverty therefore of the Christians in Jerusalem, which is certainly a very remarkable fact, must be accounted for in some other way. Either the church was formed from amongst the poorest inhabitants of the city, or many, without the constraint of any law, went so far under the influence of spontaneous affection in selling their possessions, as to impoverish themselves too much, or finally both causes may have operated together, which is perhaps the most probable opinion. And the way in which the apostles might be led to the idea of a community of goods, is very easily conceived, when one considers that difference of possession is nothing but a consequence of sin. (Comp. Comm. on Luke xvi. 1, &c.) The ideal perfection of man's condition is just that, in which neither poor nor rich are to be found, but every individual has his wants supplied. Anticipations that such a condition must one day be realised, are to be found, not only in the daring cry after freedom and equality, but also in the most exalted of our race. Pythagoras and Plato were captivated with this idea: the Essenes² and other small

¹ The statement here made regarding the apostles is pushed too far, nor is there any ground for it in the practice under notice, for this practice resulted out of the spontaneous love of believers, and was not wrong. The apostles were appointed by Christ not only to proclaim the truth, but also to plant and regulate churches, and they received the promise of the Holy Ghost to fit them for these duties. Their infallibility therefore went beyond mere matters of faith, and extended also to the ordinances and institutions which they established for the churches. Apostolic practice, clearly made out, is a good rule to us.—Tr.

² The Essenes really and truly had no private property; all that they earned went into a common fund, out of which all were supported. (Comp. Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 12.) The question, whether the Essenes had any influence upon the Christian institute of a community of goods, I would thus answer: "not upon the institute as such,

sectarian bodies attempted to realize it. But the outward realization of it requires certain internal conditions ; and just because these were wanting, the attempts referred to could not but fail. These conditions, however, were secured by the Redeemer, who poured true brotherly love into the hearts of believers ; but as the church herself still appears in this world externally veiled, so the true community of goods cannot be outwardly practised : this will only take place when the kingdom of God is openly manifested as the victorious and ruling power at the advent of the Lord.

With respect to verbal criticism, there is not much to be noticed in these words. In the first place, it is not without reason that in verse 32 the expression is employed : *ἣν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία*. It could not have been said *τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ἡμῖν*, at least this would have conveyed quite a different meaning, it would have referred rather to knowledge than to feeling. But here the idea to be expressed is, that the church was feelingly sensible of its community of life ; and therefore the *ψυχὴ* is brought prominently into view, and its middle point the *καρδία*, as the centre of feeling. Again, at first sight, verse 33 appears to interrupt the connexion, because verse 34 treats anew of the community of goods. But closer observation makes it plain that verse 34 does not look back to verse 32, but refers immediately to verse 33. It was the brotherly love, which displayed itself among the Christians, that won for them in so high a degree the favour of the people. In verse 35 the words *τιθέναι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων* are a symbolical expression, meaning, to place under their control.

Vers. 36, 37. Regarding the well-known Joses, surnamed Barnabas, of whom mention is so frequently made in the sequel, the information is here communicated, that, with an upright purpose, he sold a field, and handed over to the apostles the money realized by the sale. The pretended identity of Barnabas with Barsabas, and the different reading of the names, have been already sufficiently considered at chap. i. 23. In this passage the tribe to which Barnabas belonged and the land of his birth are mentioned. For the purpose of exhibiting the import of the name Barnabas, Luke gives a Greek translation of it, *ὁὶος παρακλήσεως*. It is uncertain, however, what etymology the sacred historian had before

which originated solely in Christian love ; but their regulations may perhaps have exercised an influence upon individual Christians who knew them, and may have recommended the institute to them, and led them to prize it."

his eyes: one is most readily led to think of $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$, but this word denotes "to foretell, to prophecy." Admonition, however, and consolation, are certainly a part of the functions of a prophet; and therefore St Luke might put $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ for $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$. At least this idea is certainly not so harsh as the supposition of Grotius, that $\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ just means prediction, which cannot at all be made good.

Chap. v., vers. 1-6. The event which follows embodies a case of a totally different kind, viz. an example of the abuse which sordid individuals were tempted to make of the institute of a community of goods. This is the first trace of a shade, which falls upon the pure bright form of the young church. A member of the Christian body misguidedly attempts, along with his wife, to deceive the apostles and the whole church, by bringing forward a smaller price than he had received for a piece of ground which he had sold. Hypocrisy was therefore the peculiar sin of Ananias and Sapphira. It is probable that among the new Christians a kind of holy rivalry had sprung up: every one was eager to place his superfluous means at the disposal of the church: now this zeal actuated many a one, who was not in heart properly freed from attachment to earthly things; and thus it happened that Ananias too sold some property, but afterwards secretly kept back part of the price. *Vanity* was the motive of the sale, *hypocrisy* the motive of the concealment: he wished to appear as disinterested as others, and yet he could not let go his hold of mammon. But still the punishment with which he was visited always appears very severe, especially when we compare it with the treatment which was given to far more dangerous individuals, Simon Magus (chap. viii.) and Elymas (chap. xiii.) Appeal indeed is made to the fact that the hypocrisy of Ananias and his wife was uncommonly daring, and must have undermined, if it had succeeded, the consideration of the apostles; and certainly this remark is not without force. But the proper solution can only be found in this, that these persons had experienced the power of the Holy Ghost, and yet could abandon themselves to so gross a sin. It is not the deed therefore itself alone, but also the condition of him who perpetrates it, which determines the measure of the guilt. Simon and Elymas were free from the great responsibility which lay upon Ananias, because they had not the experience of the power of the Spirit, which we must ascribe to him. Where

this experience existed, even an apparently smaller sin required to meet with a severer punishment.

Ananias (אַנָנְיָא) and Sapphira (from סַפְּרָא) his wife, sold a piece of land, for the purpose of putting the proceeds into the chest of the church, but they secretly kept back a part of the price. *Κτήμα* might mean a moveable possession, but verse 3 shews that it here denotes *χωσίον*, a field.—*Νοσφίζεσθαι* comes from *νόσφι*, “remote,” “apart.” In Homer *νοσφίζεσθαι* occurs both in the sense of physical withdrawal, and moral or spiritual, that is turning away from one out of hatred. Later writers use it also as an active verb, in the signification of “removing, robbing, stealing.” And still more frequently is the middle voice to be found in this sense in Xenophon, Polybius, and others. In the New Testament you find it again in Titus ii. 10, and in the translation of the LXX. it occurs in Joshua vii. 1.

In his address, St Peter first exhibits the greatness of the guilt of Ananias, ascribing the idea of the deception to diabolical influence, and representing it as directed against the Holy Ghost. The unholy accordingly appears here in conflict with the Holiest; as the representatives of whom, the apostles are to be regarded (comp. Acts xv. 28) as filled with the Holy Ghost. It almost appears as if the act of Ananias were represented as a sin against the Holy Ghost, which would explain the fact, that all admonition to repentance is wanting, and all mention of pardon; the apostles in this case only exercise their prerogative of retaining sin. (Comp. Comm. on Matt. xvi. 19.) And from this it follows that the peculiar procedure of Peter in this affair is inexplicable, if you suppose that he learned by information from others that Ananias committed this fraud: an external communication respecting the fact could not place the apostle in a position to determine the degree of the man's inward guilt. Yet such a determination was necessary to him, if he wished not to do injustice to Ananias, and for this therefore nothing but the power of the Spirit could qualify him. It has already been remarked on verse 4, that the words of Peter clearly shew, there was no obligation resting upon Ananias to sell the ground; yet that he might not be outstripped by others, he parted with it, but hypocritically kept back a part of the price. Further, the fact that verse 4 ascribes to Ananias himself, what verse 3 imputes to Satan, involves no contradiction at all; nor is it right to say that the ascription of the evil

thought to Satan is only a popular expression for the simpler idea, that the thought came from the heart of Ananias himself. The twofold form of expression in these verses, is one quite suitable to the nature of the circumstances, because the influence of the devil is not compulsory ; and accordingly the reception into the heart of an evil thought suggested by him requires the consent of the will. In like manner, the expression in verse 4, *ὅτι ἐψεύσατο ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ*, does not deny that Ananias had lied also to men ; but as this aspect of his misdeed came not at all into consideration, in comparison with the deceiving of God, the apostle in the ardour of speaking denies it. Explanations therefore such as these, “not only to men, or not so much to men as to God,” are to be rejected as enfeebling the thought. With regard, finally, to the sudden death of Ananias, mentioned in verse 5, many interpreters, on the one hand, explain it as an apoplectic fit brought on by terror ; and many, on the other, as a purely supernatural occurrence. This total separation between the natural and the supernatural is another mistake ; there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the death of Ananias might be quite a natural event ; but this supposition does not destroy the marvellous character of the scene. What is natural in itself may become miraculous by connexion with circumstances and adjuncts ; and in this case it is plain that the death of Ananias is an event supernaturally arranged by a higher power, because it is connected with the penal sentence of the apostle, which was spoken in the power of the Spirit, and like a sword pierced Ananias, while alarmed on account of his sin.

The sudden death of Ananias naturally excited a solemn awe in the minds of all who were present. The servants of the church buried the lifeless body. Certainly Mosheim is right (comm. de rebus Christ. ante Const. p. 114), and he is followed by Kuinoel (Heinrichs leaves the question undecided), in supposing that *νεώτεροις*, equivalent to *νεανίσκοις* in verse 10, denotes not merely some young men, but the regular servants of the church, who are also in Hebrew styled *עֲבָדֵי*. The article plainly leads to the conclusion, that it was not any young people who pleased that took charge of the interment, but certain definite persons, and as, moreover, they performed this duty unsummoned, we are led to suppose that they regarded it as belonging to their office. These *νεώτεροι* are best conceived as occupying a position similar

to that of the acoluthi or acolytes at a later period.¹ The agapae or love-feasts, and the numerous meetings held, must in fact have made the need of servants be felt, as early as that of rulers. (Συστέλλω or περιστέλλω is, like συγκομίζω in Acts viii. 2, applied to the burial of the dead and the whole preparatory steps, like the Latin “pollingere.” In the New Testament it is only to be found in this passage; but it occurs also in the Septuagint, Ezek. xxix. 5, and in profane authors, *e. g.* Herod. ii. 90. It denotes, primarily, the dressing of the dead body with a shroud, from στέλλω, “to place, to set in order, to prepare, to dress,” whence στόλη.—In like manner, ἐκφέρειν equivalent to “efferre,” is a common expression for performing the interment of the dead.)

Vers. 7–11. After the lapse of a few hours, the wife of Ananias likewise appeared; and, as she boldly persisted in the concerted fraud, the same fate befel her. The precision of the narrative discovers itself in the careful fixing of the time (verse 7.) The only peculiarity of these verses is the idea exhibited in πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου. Though the expression “to tempt God,” יִסָּתֵּן ה' הָאֱלֹהִים, occurs frequently, especially in the Old Testament, yet the phrase “to tempt the Spirit” is only to be found in this passage. There is expressed in it the idea that Ananias and Sapphira not only in general tempted God, as he is made known in the remoter manifestations of his character, but even supposed that they were able to conceal their sin from the Holy Ghost, the highest exhibition of the divine agency (ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγίον, ver. 3), although he searches not only the depths of the hearts, but even the deep things of God. (1 Cor. ii. 10.) The view of Pott and Kuinoel is quite wrong, that to tempt God is exactly the same thing as sinning in general. It rather means a species of sin, viz. that sin which displays itself audaciously and presumptuously. Man fro-

¹ Neander (Apost. Zeitalt. page 39) advances the opinion that the νεώτεροι here mentioned might be no regular church officers, but only younger members of the church who undertook the interment. But in this case, doubtless, another expression would have been chosen instead of νεώτεροι, and at all events τινὲς would have been added: the article points to known individuals. It might rather be supposed that the expression denotes the deacons, if the existence among deacons of such men as Stephen and Philip did not render it improbable, that employments of this outward kind would be imposed upon them. Certainly there were in the church at a very early period persons who were entrusted with the care of mere external matters, such as the cleaning of the places of meeting and the like: these might also take charge of the interment of the dead.

quently puts God's love and mercy and omniscience, as it were, to the proof by his sins ; and this boldness of the creature against the Creator is called "a tempting of God." That in this case covetousness was also at work by no means excludes the idea indicated ; for a mere common covetousness would have either wholly restrained Ananias from joining himself to the church, or at the least would have been a motive to forbid the sale of his property. In ver. 9 the phrase $\tau\acute{\iota}$ ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$) $\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\iota$ $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\varphi\omega\nu\eta\theta\eta$ $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\iota}$, "wherefore have ye agreed, or concerted together," must be explained on the principle of the well known construction of the passive with a dative. Compare Winer's Gram. page 196. In the words $\text{\textit{\iota}\delta\omicron}\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\acute{\omicron}\iota$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tilde{\omicron}\epsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa.$ $\tau.$ $\lambda.$, you recognise the expression of immediate knowledge : "behold, we hear the tread of the young men returning."

§ 6. SECOND TRIAL OF THE APOSTLES.

(Acts v. 12—42.)

This narrative of matters in the bosom of the church is followed by a scene of a more public kind, and we have an account of a new imprisonment of the apostles. It is introduced by a general description of the healing power of the apostles (verses 12—16), especially of St Peter. This excited attention in so high a degree, that even from the neighbouring cities sick people were brought to Jerusalem ; which indicates that probably in these cities too small bodies of believers would be formed, because, according to God's appointment, outward circumstances were always designed to be a means of drawing attention to the inward spiritual truths which the apostles proclaimed.

Respecting the porch of Solomon, comp. Comm. on Acts iii. 11. It appears to have been the usual place where the apostles met. In verse 13 the expression $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is undoubtedly to be understood of the multitude of those who were not yet converted, but whose attention at the same time was arrested by the spiritual power of Christianity.— $\text{\textit{\textbf{Κολλᾶσθαι}}}$, equivalent to $\text{\textit{\textbf{ᾶν}}}$, is frequently applied to scholars and their attachment to teachers. The Christians remained together, and a certain awe restrained the multitude from mingling themselves with them. According to verse 14, there were many women also who believed their baptism

rendered the appointment of deaconesses necessary, who it is probable existed from a very early period in the church at Jerusalem, although they are not expressly named. The devout women among the followers of the Lord himself were probably not baptized, any more than the disciples, who had only received the baptism of St John. The baptism of the Spirit compensated in their case for the outward baptism.—Verse 15. What is mentioned of the shadow of St Peter is to be regarded primarily as a view of the people, but this does not imply that the view was a mere notion: we must rather suppose that where pure and child-like faith existed, it was not put to shame. Certainly, however, it was not the shadow that could heal, but only the wondrous influence which streamed from the apostle in conformity with his will. The passage is analogous to what is said of the touching of the hem of Christ's garment.¹ Comp. Comm. on Matthew ix. 20.—Verse 16. *περί* in the signification of “round about” occurs in no other part of the New Testament but this. On the position of the adverb with respect to the substantive, compare Bernhardt's Syntax, page 323.

Vers. 17–23. The statement that follows of a new imprisonment of St Peter and several other apostles (verse 29), agrees in substance with the account of the first imprisonment (iv. 1–22.) The only things which are peculiar to this narrative, are the mention of their deliverance by an angel (verses 19, 20), and the information respecting the proceedings in the Sanhedrim itself (verses 33–42.) With respect to the first circumstance, however, we pass it over here, because it will receive a minute consideration at the passage in xii. 7, &c., connected with xvi. 26, &c., where deliverances quite similar are narrated far more in detail.

Ver. 17. The expression *ἡ οἶσα ἀίρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων* which stands related to the preceding words, *ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ*, denotes that the high priest and even his family were attached to this sect, and in a manner represented it.—Verse 20. The phrase *ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης* is a singular one, because the expression *ζωὴ αὐτή*, agreeably to the analogy of *αἶων οὖτος*, might appear to be employed in opposition to *ζωὴ μέλλουσα* or *αἰώνιος*; but, in the first place, such a mode of speaking does not occur in the language of Scripture, although it is quite common in German and English,

¹ Something similar is related of St Paul in Acts xix. 12.

and, in the second place, it does not suit the connexion, which would rather have required *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. The forced conjecture has been made that for *ζωὴς* we should substitute *ὁδῶ*; which indeed removes the difficulties, but for want of critical authorities it cannot be admitted. It is common to regard the expression as a hypallage for *ῥήματα τοῦτα τῆς ζωῆς*, but Winer (Grammar, p. 519) supposes that the phrase might be better understood thus: "words of the salvation, in proclaiming which the apostles were just engaged." But this idea is harsh here, because there has been no mention at all previously made of the proclamation of the gospel. Meyer prefers to understand it thus: "the words of this life, that is, of the life present to your ideas and to your interest," but neither can this be called simple or plain. Perhaps it is best, as the hypallage of the pronoun is doubtful, to explain the words on the principle that reference is made to the fact that it is the angel, a being from heaven, who is speaking. In this view the sense will be: "the words of this heavenly life, of which I speak to you."—Ver. 21, *ἐκκλησία* means "council, assembly of the elders:" it is to be found in no other part of the New Testament. This council of elders is here distinguished from the Sanhedrim; it must denote experienced men, who in particular cases were associated with that body in their deliberations. In the Apocrypha the word denotes the Sanhedrim itself. Compare 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44.

Vers. 24–28. Freed from imprisonment, the apostles immediately resumed preaching in the temple; which they only left when brought away by the astonished officers to be placed before the court. The word *ἱερεὺς*, in ver. 24, is remarkable on account of *ἀρχιερεὺς* which follows; and hence may be explained the omission of it in A.B.D. and other authorities. Without doubt, however, it is genuine, because it is inexplicable how it could be inserted. *ἱερεὺς* is here used absolutely for the high priest, while *ἀρχιερεὺς* denotes the members of the Sanhedrim.

Ver. 28. *παράγγελία* occurs again in Acts xvi. 24; 1 Thess. iv. 2; 1 Tim. i. 5. In connexion with *παράγγελῃ*, however, it is only to be found here, and this addition as usual gives force to the thought. In the chiding words of the Sanhedrim, there is here a peculiar expression: *βούλομαι ἐπαγγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ ἄμια*. These words doubtless express not only the apprehension that the people may hold them guilty of the death of a righteous man, but also the consciousness of guilt itself.

Vers. 29—32. Peter first of all reminded them of his former public declaration, (iv. 19), that we must obey God rather than men; and then he again proclaims to them that Jesus, who had been put to death by the Sanhedrim, was raised from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of God. At the same time, however, he shews that there was pardon even for their sins in the Saviour.

Διαχειρίζεσθαι, “to kill, to strangle, to put to death,” occurs again in chap. xxvi. 27.—Κρεμάσθαι ἐπὶ ξύλου is equivalent to כָּרַח לְבָנַיִם, the usual expression in Hebrew for crucifixion.—Ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς occurred in chap. iii. 15: we need not here with Kuinoel suppose the signification to be different, because ἀρχηγὸς stands alone. The leading idea implied in it is, that the Redeemer goes before men, and prepares the way for them. In the first passage the ζωὴ is only stated to define as the object, which here is not named. The most important idea in these verses is the one embodied in δοῦναι μετάνοιαν, in verse 31. We have already, in Luke xxiv. 47, found the μετάνοια in conjunction with the ἄφεςις, appearing as the object of the preaching of the Gospel. Here, however, there is a more precise intimation given in the word δοῦναι, that the μετάνοια is not a thing which can be produced by the will of man, but must be effected by grace. All Pelagian modes of conception therefore stand in most decided opposition to this passage.

Vers. 32. Their testimony to the events described, the apostles conceive as borne and supported by the Holy Ghost, whose influences they at the same time presuppose in the hearts of their hearers.

Vers. 33—35. The wild hatred of the rest, which this discourse of Peter had excited, was opposed by the wise Gamaliel alone, and he guided them back to reason.¹—Διαπρίω occurs again in chap. vii. 54: it denotes properly “to saw through or in pieces,” then “to gnash with the teeth, to grow furious.”—Γαμαλιήλ בַּנְיָמִין (Numb. i. 10; ii. 20) was the instructor of the Apostle Paul. Acts xxii. 3.) According to the Talmud, he was the son of one Rabbi Simeon, and grandson to the celebrated Rabbi Hillel; and on account of his piety and rabbinical learning, he had acquired much fame, and

¹ Respecting Gamaliel and the character of Jewish learning, compare the discussion of Tholuck in the Studien. 1835, Part ii., on the life and character of the Apostle Paul, page 367, &c. According to the tradition of the church (Recognit. Clem. i. 65. Phot. bibl. cod. 171), he was a Christian secretly.

at the time of Christ was president of the Sanhedrim. (Comp. Lightfoot on this passage, and Comm. on Matt. xxvi. 3.) The expression, ἔξω ποιεῖν, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, bears in verse 34 the signification "to put away," "to send forth," "to remove." It is to be found also in the best profane authors, for example in Xenoph. Cyrop. iv. 1, 3.

Vers. 36, 37. Gamaliel strikes into a historical path, for the purpose of leading the Sanhedrim to a temperate view of the new phenomenon, which was presenting itself to their eyes. He makes mention of Theudas and Judas Galilaeus,¹ who both represented themselves as the Messiah, but were soon unmasked as deceivers, and he predicts a similar speedy destruction to Christianity also, if no higher power were at work in it. First, as to Theudas, Josephus informs us (Ant. xx. 5, 1) of a rebel of this name, who appeared under the Proconsul Cuspius Fadus, declared himself to be a prophet, and promised to the multitude whom he had collected together, that he would divide the Jordan before them, and lead them through it. But Roman troopers scattered the multitude, and killed Theudas. We naturally at first think of this man; but he lived under Claudius Caesar, and therefore much later than the time when Gamaliel uttered this speech. Many interpreters have supposed, that St Luke here gives the speech of Gamaliel freely, and that he falls into an anachronism, by making him mention a man who appeared at a much later period. If we consider that Luke could hardly possess such accurate information of the proceedings within the Sanhedrim, as to be able to give word for word the speech of Gamaliel as it was spoken, then one might feel disposed to conclude that there was such an oversight committed here. The character of Holy Scripture would in no respect suffer by this supposition; but only the literal theory of inspiration, which must be given up at any rate as opposed to truth, and as presenting a weak side to the assaults of adversaries. Infallibility belongs to the Scriptures only in matters of a religious and moral kind; in circumstances that are purely external, it has the full "fides humana," as much as any other work can deserve it; but it is no rule on such points, and therefore not infallible.

¹ Comp. on chap. v. 36, 37, the ample discussion of Dr Kuhn, in the Kath. Zeitschrift. Jahrb. für Theol. und Christl. Philos. Von Kuhn, Staudenmaier and others. Frankf. A. M. 1834. Vol. i. Part i. Also Tholuck über die Glaubwürdigkeit der evang. Gresch. p. 388, &c.

But there is one consideration which prevents me from adopting this opinion as my own ; in verse 37, Judas is expressly placed after Theudas (μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας), and according to the above supposition, St Luke must have committed a double oversight : in the first place, he has let Gamaliel name a man who sived after him : and in the second place, he has put Judas, who appeared under Augustus, after Theudas who lived under Claudius. That St Luke should have committed the latter mistake, is really altogether improbable, because such false prophets and false Christs must have strongly attracted the notice of all believers who lived along with them ; and the time therefore of their appearance we must regard as universally known among their contemporaries. I decide therefore in favour of the other view, which supposes an earlier Theudas under Augustus, of whom Josephus has made no mention.¹ And this is quite consistent with the circumstance, that according to the statement of St Luke, the whole number of his followers was so insignificant that it only amounted to four hundred.

(Respecting the phrase, λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν, in verse 36, compare the parallel passage in chap. viii. 9, where the same is used in full of Simon Magus, with the addition of μέγαν to ἑαυτὸν λέγων. Some codices have added μέγαν here too, but critical authorities are wanting to prove its genuineness, and it is not even necessary as a supplement. The phrase εἶναί τινα forms a contrast with the phrase that follows, γίνεσθαι εἰς οὐδέν. Instead of προσεκολληθῇ, there are found in manuscripts the readings προσεκληθῇ, προσεκληθήθῃ, προσετέθη. The first of these three, the reading προσεκληθῇ, has the most critical authorities in its favour, and perhaps, as being the more unusual

¹ Olshausen seems here very needlessly to go out of his way, to make the statement that St Luke might fall into a mistake, while after all it appears he is convinced there was no mistake. It is a very large promise which Christ gives to his disciples that he would send the Spirit, who should bring all things to their remembrance, and guide them into all truth. Certainly these words of our Lord do not suggest the idea, that it was in some respects only they were to be infallibly guided, while in others they were to be left to the risk of mistake. But how, we are asked, was St Luke to know what Gamaliel said in the Sanhedrim? Doubtless, he gathered it from some sure source, for he tells us that he investigated every point with accuracy and care (ἀκριβῶς.) But in whatever way he might learn this and an hundred other things he describes, our security rests not upon his diligence, but upon the fact that he enjoyed the direction of the Holy Ghost. Like the holy men of an earlier age, he spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost.—Tr.

expression, it is to be preferred to the common reading. *Διὰλύω*, "to unloose," here applied to the band of rebels, means to "scatter," and is equivalent to *διασκορπίζω* in ver. 37.)

The second false prophet was Judas Galilæus, who, as has already been mentioned, appeared in the days of Cæsar Augustus. On the occasion of the census under the Proconsul Quirinus (comp. Comm. on Luke ii. 1), this Jew (Josephus Ant. xviii. i. 1) raised a disturbance, and declared that it was not at all allowable to the Jews, as the people of God, to pay taxes to the heathen Romans. Josephus, though not with any propriety, considers the followers of this man, whom we must regard as political fanatics, as the fourth Jewish sect. The followers of Judas actually maintained their position till the great Jewish war under Titus.

Vers. 38, 39. By referring to these rebels, Gamaliel made way for the declaration, that God's power displays itself in shaping historical events, and that without his will nothing can acquire enduring stability. Now, with respect to the idea embodied in this celebrated judgment of Gamaliel, we should of course greatly err, if we conceived it to mean that man should allow every thing to proceed in its own way, on the ground that that only can secure success which is accompanied with the blessing of God, for according to this view it would be necessary to leave untouched every evil that might spring up. The words of Gamaliel can only have a claim to be reckoned wise, if we suppose that he regarded Christianity neither as a thing plainly objectionable, nor yet as a thing to be entirely approved of: he knew not what to think of this new phenomenon; and therefore he left the explanation of it to time, which could not fail to develop fully its true character. Had he perceived it to be decidedly objectionable, then he would have felt constrained to crush it; had he perceived it to be decidedly good, then he would have been obliged to recognise it openly as such. It might be said indeed, that Gamaliel ought rather to have investigated what the nature of Christianity was, than to wait for the development of it; but undoubtedly he had instituted researches,¹ though without being able to come to a

¹ I entirely agree with Neander (Apost. Zeitalter Th. i. s. 56, &c.) in my view of the state of Gamaliel's mind. It is not to be supposed that this Jewish scholar was secretly attached to the gospel: on the contrary, he was honoured to the end of his life as a model of the piety prevailing among the Pharisees. But as a Pharisee, he was moderate and well-intentioned; and he may therefore, upon the whole, have re-

decision. Yet this must not be made a ground of reproach against him, for the old man probably was no longer sufficiently plastic to be transplanted into the new element of the gospel life, and perhaps it was rather his destination, like the Baptist, to be perfected in the Old Testament life. (*Θεομύχως* occurs in no other part of the New Testament.)

Vers. 40—42. In consequence of Gamaliel's advice, the Sanhedrim dismissed the apostles again; and they continued with joy to preach the gospel. (Ver. 40. On the beating of the apostles comp. Luke xxiii. 16. Ver. 41. With respect to the joy that was felt under the suffering of persecutions, comp. the remarks on Matt. v. 10. Ver. 42. The expression *κατ' οἴκων* stands opposed to *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, and denotes the private meetings which the apostles held in various parts of the city. Comp. chap. ii. 46.)

§ 7. HISTORY OF STEPHEN.

(Acts vi. 1—viii. 1.)

Vers. 1—7. With respect to the first division of this paragraph (vi. 1—7), it might be supposed that the evangelist's design in it was to communicate some information regarding the public regulations of the church at Jerusalem. But a closer consideration of the connexion of the passage with what follows renders this supposition quite improbable. If this were the author's design, there would undoubtedly be some information communicated, not only respecting the deacons, but also respecting the presbyters and their election: nay in this case the narrative even of the choice of the deacons must have proceeded quite differently from what it has done; because the seven that are mentioned, as will be more clearly shewn immediately, could not be the only deacons of the church at Jerusalem. The whole complexion of this narrative makes it about certain, that it could only be designed for an introduction to the history of Stephen: Luke wished to

ceived an impression of the character of the apostles, which gave him the conviction that these men aimed at nothing decidedly objectionable. He prevented therefore violent means of suppression, and rather left to the cause its free course, supposing it would probably soon come to nothing of its own accord.

inform his readers shortly of the occasion on which this celebrated martyr received an office in the church, and thus to introduce him to them as a distinguished member of the body.

With respect to the position of the seven individuals who were chosen, there can be no doubt that they are to be regarded as deacons.¹ We are led to this conclusion not only by the expressions *διακονία καθήμεσιν* in ver. 1, and *διακονεῖν τραπεζαίᾳ* in ver. 2, but also particularly by the view of the seven which has been handed down from primitive times. The ancient church did not venture, in consequence of the number here specified, to go beyond seven deacons in any church. In the third century there were in Rome, along with forty presbyters, not more than seven deacons. (Compare Euseb. H. E. vi. 43.) Certain however though it be that these newly chosen individuals are to be regarded as deacons, it is equally certain that they could not be the first nor the only deacons. For the service of the church, even at an earlier period, must have required persons to manage the funds, to take charge of the sick, and to attend at the love-feasts. At the first these were chosen from amongst the Jews of Palestine; but when the Greek Jews complained of the neglect of their poor, it is probable that the church proceeded to the election of these seven men from amongst the Hellenists, for they all bear Greek names. Now if the poor of the Jews of Palestine had been committed to the care of these men, the same complaint might readily have been repeated on the other side. Undoubtedly, therefore, there were more than these seven deacons instated in office in the ancient church of Jerusalem. (Compare Moshemii Comm. p. 118, &c.) That there were also presbyters appointed from the earliest date in the church of Jerusalem, is rendered probable by the very mention of the *πρώτοι* in chap. v. 5, and besides, they are expressly named in the passages xi. 30, xv. 2.² The ecclesiastical duties to be performed, especially baptizing

¹ Some learned men have been disposed to regard as presbyters the individuals whose election is described in this passage: so the celebrated Canonist J. H. Böhmer (in his diss. jur. eccl. ant. diss. vii. p. 373. &c.) But this view does not at all admit of being properly established, and ought decidedly to be rejected.

² Neander (Apost. Zeitalt. page 40, &c.) supposes that the deacons were first appointed, and that until their election all the members of the church at Jerusalem stood upon a level, so that the apostles themselves were the only rulers and guides. During the first weeks or months this may have been the state of matters. But if we consider

and the internal government of the church, rendered the speedy appointment of presbyters absolutely necessary. The proper work of teaching (*διακονία τοῦ λόγου*) the apostles appear at first to have reserved entirely to themselves. (Compare ver. 4.) It is certain, however, that from amongst the number of the presbyters, no bishop had as yet assumed the rule, because the college of apostles retained the prime direction of affairs. It was when the apostles left Jerusalem that the need was first felt of unity ; and from that time James, the brother of the Lord, governed the church as bishop. (Euseb. H. E. II, 23.)

With respect to the particulars of this section, the indefinite expression *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις* does not permit us to fix precisely the chronology of the event. Still, however, it must be placed in the earliest times of the church, and accordingly the fact is undeniable, that at a very early period differences displayed themselves in the Christian community. The pure ideal conception of the apostolic church cannot stand before these and similar facts, which we shall have to consider in the sequel ; but by no means do they prove prejudicial to a temperate estimate of the life displayed in it. Never can the earthly fellowship of believers be without blemishes, partly because it always comprehends individual unworthy members, partly because even in the best the sinful principle is not yet entirely extinguished ; but never was the life of faith more purely and powerfully exhibited than in the apostolic age. And particularly as to the contest before us, it was really just an emulation of love : each party would have their own poor taken care of in the best possible manner : we are not to suppose there was any deceitful overreaching of either party by the other.

how rapidly the church increased, how much the time of the apostles was occupied by transactions with magistrates, by imprisonment, and the like, it will appear, I think, more probable that very soon men with the gifts of teaching were appointed by them as presbyters, and persons with powers of management chosen for deacons. (Compare at Rom. xii. 4.) If we only give up the idea, that Luke designs here to inform us expressly of the election of the deacons, and if we suppose instead that the whole narrative is just intended as an introduction to the history of Stephen, then there is nothing which can be advanced against this supposition. Now, that it is not St Luke's primary object here to make formal communications respecting the nature of ecclesiastical offices, plainly appears, in the first place, from the conciseness of the whole account, and, in the second place, particularly from the circumstance that he says not a word of the presbyters, although they come before us in chap. xi. 30, and xv. 2, as office-bearers already appointed in the church.

The two contending parties, who are mentioned in this passage, are the *εξραῖοι* and the *ἑλλημισταί*. By the former expression we are undoubtedly to understand the Jews of Palestine who spoke Hebrew, and by the latter the Jews who spoke Greek, and who had come to Jerusalem from abroad.¹ The only point about which there can be any uncertainty, is whether the word *ἑλλημισται* includes proselytes or not. But since (verse 5) there is one proselyte to be found among the seven deacons who were chosen, it admits of no doubt that this class is to be understood as included; and indeed it is difficult to imagine that the proselytes who went over to Christianity should be kept back in any way, or separated from the rest. It was language only which established a distinction between the Hebrews and the Hellenists; and all proselytes on the very ground of their language belonged to the latter class.

Again, as to the *subject* of the contest, the Hellenists affirm that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. This passage confirms the view we have already expressed at chap. iv. 32, that it was only the poor and the destitute who could be supported out of the common fund: the widows are here put by synecdoche for all poor and needy persons. And the expression *διακονία καὶ μεζονή* leads to the conclusion, that the assistance was not given in money, but in food, which is also confirmed by the phrase *διακονεῖν τραπεζαίαις* in verse 2. It is probable that in various parts of the city, in the places of meeting belonging to the church, there were apartments for eating prepared, in which the poor were fed free of expense. And thus we see appearing at the very origin of the church, the charitable feeling, which is so peculiar to the gospel, and which has produced so many institutions in the church. (The adjective *καὶ μεζονός*, formed from *καθ' ἡμέρας*, is to be found in no other part of the New Testament.)

The matter in question was laid by the apostles before the whole body. Here accordingly we find the democratical element prevailing in the church; but it gradually passed through the aristocratical into the monarchical.² This transition was by no

¹ The word *ἑλλημισταί* never has the same signification in the New Testament as *Ἕλληνες*, which means Greeks, who were not proselytes. In chap. xi. 20, *Ἕλληνες* is the right reading.

² It must not be overlooked that the multitude here certainly exercise the right of election, and yet the apostles retain the right of ratifying the choice (*οὓς καταστήσομεν*,

means merely a result of priestly ambition, though certainly at a later period that passion was often enough displayed in the church, but it was a necessary consequence of the course of events in the church as a whole. So long, for example, as the Christian spirit continued to display itself vigorously in the church, the public voice might well be consulted ; but when this spirit afterwards disappeared, it would have been ruinous to the church if the plurality of voices had been allowed to decide. A glance at the rudeness of the masses in the middle ages may convince us of the necessity of their being guided by those above them. Even in the latter part of the apostolic age, as is plain from the pastoral epistles, the democratic element appears to have fallen back in the church ; and the predominating influence in the management of affairs is seen to proceed from the body of the teachers. Further, the great number of believers, without doubt, made many places of meeting necessary for them, in which the assemblies might be conducted by individual apostles.

In ver. 3, σοφία is taken in a more restricted sense than prudence in outward affairs : it is not to be conceived, however, as a natural talent, but as a gift of the Spirit, for St Paul enumerates even the διακονίας among the Charismata, 1 Cor. xii. 5. The word χρεία, “ want, need,” is also used synonymously with λειτουργία, “ office, employment ;” on the principle that every employment presupposes some need. So also in profane authors, for example Polyb. vi. 12, viii. 22.

Ver. 5. Of the seven deacons that were chosen, Stephen and Philip (chap. viii.) only are known. Of Nicolaus it has been falsely supposed, that he was the founder of the sect of the Nicolaitanes : on this subject see more at Rev. ii. 6.—Ver. 6. Although it was the church that made the choice, yet the apostles had the right of confirmation and consecration, as being endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The form of consecration was the imposition of hands with prayer. The χειροθεσία, כְּמִשְׁחָה יָדַיִם, is a usage which is to be found even in the Old Testament in Gen. xlviii. 14, Numb. xxvii. 18, and which also occurs in the New, as in Matt. xix. 13, Mark vi. 5. It was a standing ordinance in the

verse 3.) But, according to the pastoral epistles, the bishops appear to have possessed the appointment of office-bearers : there is no trace in them of an election by the church. Among the Gentile churches, which were often but little confirmed in the faith, it might be early found by the apostles that a general election was impracticable.

church for the communication of the Holy Ghost (Acts viii. 17), and for the consecration of office-bearers (1 Tim. iv. 14 ; 2 Tim. i. 6.) The idea embraced in the laying on of hands was really just this, that by means of it there was effected a communication of the Spirit from the individual consecrating to the one ordained. It is expressly stated in verse 7, that among the increasing number of believers there were many priests even to be found. They belonged probably to the sect of the Pharisees, who were far more likely to be subdued by the power of the truth than the sensual Sadducees. The Essenes had no priests. .

Vers. 8-10. After the account of the election of Stephen along with the six other deacons, the narrative proceeds immediately to a more particular statement respecting him. First of all, it is mentioned of him that he wrought miracles. In him accordingly we see this gift already removed one step further from its source, for Christ bestowed it upon the apostles, and they upon Stephen. Later traces of the gift of healing are to be found even in the second and third century of the church (compare Justin Martyr, apol. i. p. 45 ; Iren. adv. haer. ii. 56 ; Orig. cont. Cels. vii. p. 334) ; but the farther we recede from the apostolic age, the more do these very striking exhibitions of the power of the Spirit become lost to our view. (Regarding the particular Charismata, see details at 1 Cor. xii.) Of the Jews, who were connected with the foreign synagogues existing in Jerusalem (compare Comment. on Matt. iv. 23), several now fell into disputation with the zealous Stephen ; but he overpowered them all.

It is remarkable that the Libertini are mentioned along with the names of nations, and that they had a separate synagogue. Perhaps freedmen (and beyond all doubt, as the name indicates, Roman freedmen, not Palestinian, as Lightfoot supposed, for the institute of freedmen was entirely of a Roman character) built the synagogue, and from this circumstance it derived its name ; yet we need not suppose that freedmen only were connected with it, any more than that the other synagogues numbered among their members only men of Alexandria or Cyrene. They had their names either from their founders, or from the preponderating class of people who were connected with them. Valckenacr's conjecture of *Λιβερτίνων* is a very prepossessing one, only it wants all critical authority. The supposition of a city named Libertum is not sufficiently confirmed to permit us to think of Jews from

it. Sickler, in his *Ancient Geography*, recognises no city of this name.

Vers. 11–15. The success of Stephen's ministry raised up a keen opposition to him. His enemies accused him before the Sanhedrim as a blasphemer of God and of the law. And just as in the case of the accusation brought against the Lord himself (comp. Comm. on Matt. xxvi. 60, &c.), so here likewise it is said, that false witnesses appeared against him. These give testimony that Stephen said, Jesus would destroy the Temple, and change the Jewish manners and customs. In this the Jews, according to their ideas, might find a blasphemy against the Temple and against Moses, who had founded and regulated its services, but not any blasphemy against God.¹ It may be said that indirectly there is blasphemy against God, inasmuch as Moses arranged his religious institutions according to a divine command ; but that is not sufficient, for it is only on account of this circumstance that a word against Moses could be regarded as blasphemy at all : if he were not viewed as a messenger sent from God, then no reproachful word uttered against him would be different from the reproaches thrown upon any other man. The ἔγχεα βλάβημα εἰς Θεόν must therefore still have some special reference ; and that without doubt is no other than what lies in the exhibition of Christ's divine worth. (Comp. Comm. on Matt. xxvi. 65.) But here again the question presents itself, as at Matt. xxvi. 60, how these witnesses can be named μάρτυρες ψευδεῖς, when in fact Stephen did teach Christ's divine dignity, and declared that God dwells not in temples made with hands (chap. vii. 48), which contains an indirect intimation that the Temple at Jerusalem might be dispensed with ? One would expect, not that the witnesses should be accused of falsehood, but rather the Sanhedrim of a deficiency in discernment, which prevented them from perceiving that the ideas promulgated by Stephen did not at all contradict the true sense of the Old Testament, and consequently not the divine will. This difficulty, however, will be solved, if here again we make the supposition that the Jews, with a disposition of mind that looked to outward things, did not rightly comprehend the thoughts of Stephen, but took a distorted view of them. *What* he had represented as a *consequence* of the operation of the Spirit of Christ, whose design it was to consecrate the world as a

¹ In the Talmudic tract styled Sanhedrim (chap. vii. 4) it is said : Lapidator profanator Sabbathi, magus et qui ad apostasiam impellit.

great temple of God, and to guide religion from externals to the heart: *that* the Jews conceived as a *purpose* to be accomplished by violence; and thus they ascribed to him the destruction of the Temple, and the abolition of Jewish usages, things which he had never attempted. Stephen, in fact, blames the Jews that they had not kept the law of Moses (vii. 53), while, if he had been aiming at the positive abolition of it, they would have been acting exactly according to his wish. The New Testament, therefore, does not abolish the Old in a violent manner, but only in the way of organic development, that is, in such a manner, that the eternal and permanent substance of the Old Testament is preserved, and passes over into the New Testament life itself. The Holy Scriptures testify against all revolution, whether in political or ecclesiastical affairs; and, on the contrary, recommend the gradual remodelling of what is old, in accordance with the necessities of the times. The fact, however, that this relation of the gospel to the external aspect of the Old Covenant, which was thus placed as a hedge between Gentiles and Jews, came into question in connexion with the person of Stephen, and not in connexion with one of the twelve apostles, undoubtedly had its ground, as Baur (in a holiday programme of the University of Tübingen, of the year 1829), and Neander (Apos. Zeitalt., page 60, &c.) rightly remark, in the course of culture through which Stephen had passed. As a Hellenist, he had undoubtedly from the very first entertained freer notions of the Old Testament, than was possible for a Jew of Palestine; and therefore the Spirit might more readily bring into his view that aspect of Christianity, by which it was to draw the whole heathen world within the circle of the higher life, an object that necessarily presupposes the dissolution of the Temple at Jerusalem as a centre of union. Rightly, therefore, may Stephen be styled the forerunner of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. Out of *his* blood grew this powerful preacher of the heathen world, and the echo of the words heard from Stephen may have been to Paul, after his conversion, the main means of drawing out his ministry in the direction of the heathen world.

Ver. 11. ὑπεβόλλων occurs nowhere else in the New Testament: it means primarily "to lay under," "to push under," then like the Latin subornare, "anstiften," to "contrive, to instigate, to abet," and therefore ὑπεβόλητος is a secret accuser. Josep. Arch. vii. 8, 4. Ver. 13. βλάσφημια is undoubtedly spurious: it is merely

an interpolation from verse 11.—Ver. 15. The words *ὡσεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλου* describe the glory that brightened the features of Stephen, supported as he was by the consciousness of the divine favour. Similar is the expression in 2 Sam. xiv. 17, *הַאֵלֹהִים כִּי הַמַּלְאָךְ*.

Chap. vii. 1—3. The speech of Stephen which follows, exhibits both in its general structure and in its particular parts, much that, is striking and difficult.¹ *First of all*, as to its general bearing upon the position of Stephen, the address does not appear to be very suitable. It is only an incidental reference that is made to the charges that were brought against him (verses 48, 49), and the rest of the discourse embraces nothing but a review of the history of the Jewish nation till the time of Solomon. But this peculiar character unquestionably imprints upon it the seal of genuineness, for no one certainly would have thought of framing a discourse of this kind for the circumstances in which Stephen was placed. Moreover, as there were many priests, according to chap. vi. 7, connected with the church, the question can occasion no difficulty, how the speech delivered before the Sanhedrim could become known. In order to explain the peculiar character of this discourse, many interpreters have supposed, that the narrative it gives of the fortunes of the Jewish people embraces a concealed parrying of all the charges which had been brought against Stephen. But this view leads to forced interpretations, as for example, that the history of Abraham was intended to intimate that there were pious men even before the building of the Temple, and that accordingly it cannot be service in the visible temple which alone is acceptable to God. So Grotius. The simplest view is, that Stephen's reason for narrating the history of the Old Testament so much in detail, is just to shew the Jews that he believes it, and thus to induce them, through love of their national history, to listen with calm attention. For, although the nature of the history itself was fitted to make it a mirror to the hearers, and particularly to bring before their minds the circumstance, that the Jewish people in all stages of their progress, and of divine revelation, had resisted the Spirit of God, and that consequently it was not astonishing they should now again shew

¹ Comp. in Heinrichs' Commentary, the sixth and seventh excursus, which refer to this speech of Stephen. Further, the treatise of Luger (Lubeck 1838) respecting this discourse, and the remarks of Lange in the Studien 1836, Part iii. page 725, &c. Above all, Baur's programme de orationis a Stephano habitæ consilio. Tubing. 1829.

themselves disobedient ;¹ yet it does not appear to me that this object was definitely kept in view in the discourse, and that for the following reasons : First, because in this case the mode of exhibiting the history of the people of Israel would have been different. Stephen would have allowed the contrast to have come out far more decidedly, and would have paid less attention to secondary points than he has done. And further, the Jews would not have listened so quietly, if they had noticed any trace of such a design. We should therefore be obliged to suppose that the speech of Stephen had failed of its object, inasmuch as the Jews did not at all perceive that it inflicted any censure upon them.

Again, it is a characteristic of this address, that it contains so many references to Rabbinical tradition, of which traces are also exhibited in the translation of the LXX., which is frequently followed by Stephen.² Reference has already been made in an earlier part of the Commentary (at Luke iv. 18) to those deviations of the LXX. which are received by the New Testament writers ; and I have remarked that they are by no means at once

¹ Even Baur, in the treatise already quoted, regards this as the main thought of the discourse : *Quo ampliora fuerint Dei beneficia, eo alieniorem a Deo se gessisse populum.* But if this really stood before the mind of Stephen as a definite purpose, while he was speaking, then it will be difficult to give any reason for the fulness with which accessory points are handled, which admit of no reference to this main thought. We shall be obliged therefore to suppose, at the least, that there are other objects besides this, as for example, to shew that he is well acquainted with sacred history, that he believes it, and that he holds it in high honour. Such detailed references to the points of charge against Stephen, as Meyer and Luger suppose to be in this speech, I cannot find in it, and I regard the effort to make them apparent as quite fitted to mislead. Luger supposes that, according to my representation, the design of Stephen's discourse was not answered, inasmuch as the Jews after all did not listen to him when he came to the main point. In so far as the Jews interrupted him, the failure certainly is a fact ; but on any other explanation, the martyr's speech appears equally in this sense to have miscarried, and in particular, according to the view brought forward by Luger, that his object is to parry the individual charges, it certainly failed, for the Jews after all killed him. There was not any failure, however, in so far as St Stephen obtained ample opportunity of declaring his faith in the word of God, and making it plain to every lover of truth that he was innocent.

² This reference to traditional elements in the discourse of Stephen is particularly striking in this respect, that his whole tendency of mind, more free as being a Hellenist, does not lead us to expect the like. This circumstance has never, amid the numerous investigations to which the remarkable speech of Stephen has been subjected, been sufficiently considered, nor anywhere satisfactorily explained. In any case it obliges us to suppose that Stephen, though a Hellenist, had yet received a thorough rabbinical education, without however having allowed himself to become a prey to the narrow-hearted spirit of Pharisaism.

to be rejected. And with respect to these references to tradition, they render it in fact very probable, that ancient genuine elements were preserved traditionally among the Jews, which received their higher confirmation by admission into the New Testament. If we consider the general prevalence of oral tradition among all ancient nations, and particularly the stationary posture of things which was common among the Jews ; such a descent of genuine traditionary elements through a succession of centuries will lose the astonishing character which it seems to have.

The speech commences with Abraham, the root of the Jewish nation, and the first appearance of God with which he was favoured. In the very first verses, however, the historical statement does not appear to be purely connected with the original sources ; for there is no mention made in Genesis of any appearance of God before the departure from Ur. The words which are here (ver. 3) quoted as spoken *before* the residence in Haran, were spoken, according to Gen. xii. 1, during the appearance with which Abraham was favoured *in* Haran. It has been attempted to remove the force of this circumstance by the remark that, according to tradition, the departure from Ur likewise took place at the command of God. (It is probable that this opinion was formed in consequence of the passages in Gen. xv. 7 ; Neh. ix. 7. Compare Philo de Abrah. p. 11, 12. Vol. ii. edit. Mangey. Joseph. Arch. i. 7, 1.) However the words of the quotation always appear to stand in the way of this view : they are to be found literally, according to the LXX., in the passage Gen. xii. 1. Only the LXX. has, in accordance with the Hebrew, the additional words, *καὶ ἐν τοῦ ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς σου*. The words *καὶ ἐν* are wanting in the Cod. Alex. Even supposing, therefore, that we chose to refer to that tradition, still we must confess that the words contained in ver. 3 appear to be transferred from a later appearance of God to an earlier one. For the supposition of Luger, that, according to the narrative of Genesis, the theophany which is recorded in Gen. xii. 1, did not take place in Haran at all, but in Ur, the accounts in the eleventh chapter being anticipated simply for the purpose of completing the external history of Abraham, before the author begins to communicate the spiritual (as if the external history of Abraham did not continue to be recorded even after the 12th chapter), is, on account of the connexion between xi. 31 and xii. 4, quite untenable. It is only the notice of Terah's

death that is anticipated (xi. 32) ; in other points the narrative advances forward step by step.

Another difficulty, that Haran (חָרָן, *χαρζάν, χάρζαι*, Carrae) is really situated in Mesopotamia itself, while Abraham here seems to have departed out of Mesopotamia to go to Haran, is more easily disposed of. Ur, which Genesis transfers to Chaldea (xi. 31), is itself, in a somewhat wider sense, a city of Mesopotamia, because the Chaldeans inhabited the north of Mesopotamia. (Compare Winer's *Reallex.* page 253, &c.) There might, therefore, even before the arrival of Abraham in Haran, be mention made of his residence in Mesopotamia.

Vers. 4, 5. In the account of Abraham's migration from Haran to Canaan, there likewise appears an inconsistency with the narrative in Genesis. It is alleged here that the migration followed after the death of Terah, the father of Abraham ; but according to Genesis xi. 32, Terah reached the age of 205 years, and therefore he lived for 60 years after the period in question, for he was 70 years old when he begat¹ Abraham, and Abraham was 75 when he removed to Canaan. By altering the number 205 into 145, the inconsistency would indeed be removed, but that is plainly too violent a measure : the only method which is here of any avail, and which is therefore followed by Michaelis and Kuinoel, is to summon tradition to our aid. And in fact, among the traditions of the Jews, the opinion had arisen, that Abraham (because the opposite appeared like a violation of the fourth (fifth) commandment) first left Haran after the death of his father. But as the book of Genesis expressly places the *literal* death of Terah later, they understood the former death *spiritually* of his apostacy to idolatry, which obliged Abraham to leave him.² This view appears to have been followed here by Stephen, and such indications of his Rabbinical learning may have been peculiarly attractive to his hearers.³ (Compare Philo de migrat. Abrah. p. 463, and

¹ You may indeed understand Gen. xi. 26 to mean that Terah was seventy years old when he began to have children, and you may suppose that Abraham was not the oldest of his family : but this will not suffice to fill up sixty years.

² That Terah was odious among the Rabbins as an idolater (Jos. xxiv. 2) is shewn too by other traditions. Thus it is related that Abraham had broken down the idols of his father, and was therefore delivered by him to Nimrod. And Nimrod threw Abraham into a fiery furnace, from which however he escaped without any injury. Compare Lightfoot on this passage.

³ Other explanations, like that of Bengel in the *Gnomon* : " Abram, dum Thara *fixit*

Lightfoot on this passage.) In verse 5 the faith of Abraham is commended, who, although no part of Canaan was yet actually in his possession, and although he had no children, believed that the land was bestowed upon him and his posterity. In the expression *ὅν ἔδωκε*, the word *ὅν* is to be understood as equivalent to *ὅπω* (compare John vii. 8); on his first arrival, God in fact had not given him any thing which he could call his own in the land.—*Βῆμα ποδός* is equivalent to *בֶּמֶלֶךְ* in Deut. ii. 5.—*κατάχσεις* occurs again in verse 45 as the rendering of the Hebrew *כָּתַבְתָּ כְּתָבִי*. Compare Gen. xvii. 8, Numb. xxxii. 5, in the LXX. version.

Vers. 6, 7. The words of the promise itself are now quoted agreeably to the passage in Gen. xv. 13; but Stephen, or rather the translator of the speech, which undoubtedly was delivered in Hebrew, does not follow the LXX. closely. The deviations, however, have no effect upon the thoughts, excepting that the last words of verse 7, *καὶ λατρεύουσά μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ*, are entirely wanting in the passage in Genesis; they have probably been taken from Exod. iii. 12, and blended with the former passage into one whole. According to Exod. xii. 40, the bondage really lasted 430, but here the round number merely is given as in Gen. xv. 13. Respecting the difficulty that springs out of the statement in Gal. iii. 17, compare the remarks on that passage.—*κακῶ* occurs likewise in chapters xii. 1, xviii. 10, and in 1 Pet. iii. 13, in the signification of “persecuting.”

Vers. 8—12. In what follows the history is pursued farther; and particularly Joseph's fortunes are handled in detail. It is very probable that in this detail there floated before the mind of Stephen a typical relation of the history of Joseph to the Redeemer. In the phrase *καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην περιτομῆς*, there is a blending of two thoughts to be observed: fully expressed, the clause must run: *ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ περιτομὴν, τῆς διαθήκης σημῆτον*. It is not admissible to understand *διαθήκη* directly in the signification of “command, ordinance.” For *ὅπως* some codices have the easier reading *ὅτιος*, but this has certainly resulted from a correction of the unusual use of *ὅπως*. We are not to suppose that there is an interchange between *ὅπως* and *ὅτιος* (compare Winer's Grammar, page 434), and therefore it only remains that we understand *ὅπως* here as a

in Haran, domum quodammodo paternam habuit in Haran, in terra Canaan duntaxat peregrinum agens; mortuo autem patre, plane in terra Canaan domum unice habere coepit,” must be rejected as forced.

particle of transition in the sense of our words "then, so," as it occurred in common language. Compare Passow's *Lexicon* under this word. In the New Testament, it is similarly used in Acts xvii. 33, xxviii. 14.—The twelve sons of Jacob are styled *πατριάρχαι*, as the heads of the twelve tribes or *πατριάι*. Compare ii. 29. *χορτάσματα* denotes properly the fodder of cattle; but it is here used generally in the wider sense of "means of subsistence."

Vers. 13-16. In the statement of the number of Jacob's family that went down to Egypt, another difference presents itself, for only seventy persons are mentioned in Gen. xli. 27; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22; but here seventy-five. As the Septuagint likewise mentions seventy-five souls in the passages referred to, we cannot well say that Stephen only meant to state a round number, but rather that he must have followed this version; and probably the Seventy, or the tradition which is preserved in their version, included the children of Ephraim and Manasseh, and so made up the number, which in this case, of course, does not specify precisely the number of those that went down, but the number of all the posterity of Jacob.

Other difficulties are presented in verse 16, according to which all the patriarchs were buried in Sychem, which Abraham bought from the sons of Emmor. But, according to Gen. xxxiii. 19, Jacob bought this field (it was the cave of Machpelah in Hebron that Abraham bought), and Jacob, moreover, according to Gen. l. 13, was buried in Abraham's sepulchre in Hebron: of the other patriarchs there is nothing mentioned in Genesis, with respect to the place of their interment. Joseph, however, was buried, according to Gen. l. 25, in Sychem, and the other sons of Jacob likewise, according to tradition. Yet there is another tradition, which says they were buried with Abraham in Hebron (Joseph. Arch. ii. 8, 2), and such a twofold account might readily arise, as Genesis presented nothing decisive either in favour of the one or the other. In the passage before us, therefore, *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν* may be regarded as supplying the subject to *μετετίθησαν*, and thus the one difficulty is solved. For the removal of the other it has been conjectured that instead of *Ἀβραάμ* we should read *Ἰακώβ*, or that Abraham's name should be thrown out, and *ὠνήσατο* taken impersonally; but the manuscripts do not support these conjectures; and nothing therefore remains, unless we are disposed to use violent measures, but to confess that here Abraham has been

put for Jacob by the speaker or by the narrator, a confession which, according to my view of the relation of the spirit to the letter, is not in the smallest degree dangerous.¹

Vers. 17–19. In these verses the speech passes on to the history of Moses, which is treated very fully in what follows. The quotation in verse 18 is taken from Exod. i. 8. The expression *οὐκ ᾔδει* is not to be understood of ignorance properly speaking, but rather of a want of regard for the merits of Joseph. *κατα-σφίγγεσθαι* is to be found nowhere else in the New Testament. It is borrowed from Exod. i. 10; and conformably to the Hebrew *סָפַק*; it denotes “to circumvent or mislead in a crafty manner,” “dolose agere.” *ζωογονεῖσθαι* means primarily to be born alive, and then to be preserved in life. (Comp. Comm. on Luke xvii. 23.)

Vers. 20–22. Down to verse 44, the history of Moses is now related very fully. In these first verses, the remark (ver. 22) that Moses was instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians, contains another reference to Jewish tradition, for Genesis mentions nothing of the kind. As Moses was brought up in the palace of Pharaoh, it was very natural to suppose that he was instructed in the sciences and arts of Egypt. But certainly, in making this supposition, the ancients were far from the notion of modern infidelity, that it was the training he received in Egypt which put him in the condition of becoming the founder of the political and religious life of the Israelites. All the education of the Egyptians was in the hands of the priests; and if their influence therefore had determined the inward life of Moses, he would necessarily have spread their idolatry among the Jews, and yet he abolished at once all the traces of it that had crept in among them. Just as little therefore as St Paul became an apostle, in consequence of his Grecian education in Tarsus, did Moses become the great founder of religion, in consequence of the wisdom he had learned in Egypt. And yet God might employ the outward education which Moses had received in Egypt, so as to make him impart it, under the hallowing influence of the divine Spirit that filled him, in an improved shape to the Jews.

The conjecture that in verse 20, the reading should be *ἀστὲρος ὅστις* instead of *ἀστὲρος τῷ θεῷ* is quite unnecessary; for *τῷ θεῷ* is to be understood like *לַיהוָה* in Gen. x. 9.—In verse 22, the

¹ The same thing is said by Calvin also on this passage: in nomine Abrahae erratum esse palam est, quare hic locus corrigendus est.

expression, *δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις* is remarkable, for Moses we know had no gift of eloquence. The expression cannot be applied to the eloquence of Moses in writing; but it admits very well of being applied to the spiritual power, which fitted him for filling men's minds with enthusiasm in favour of his convictions. All true eloquence, in fact, rests pre-eminently upon the power of the soul to win the hearts of men.

Vers. 23–29. Respecting the age of Moses, when he went among his people, there is nothing determined in the Holy Scriptures: here too Stephen follows tradition,¹ which however was not uniform, for there are other passages which represent him as having been twenty years old at the time. The slaughter of the Egyptian Stephen appears (verse 25) to understand generally as a type of the power of Moses to protect and to help, for he declares that Moses hoped his brethren would discover his true character from this action. Of this there is nothing contained in the statements of the Pentateuch; the thought appears to be a reflection of Stephen's upon the circumstances of Moses; for there are no traditional elements that bear upon this passage, at least there is nothing upon the point in our remains of Rabbinical literature. The expression, *ἀνέστη ἐπὶ καὶδίαν* is formed upon the model of the Hebrew, *אָמַלְתָּ עָלַי וְעָלַי*. Respecting it comp. 1 Cor. xi. 9.—In verse 26, the Septuagint has *ἡμέτερον δευτέρως* instead of *ἐπιούσῃ*.—*Συνελάβειν* is used in the signification of “admonishing urgently,” “compel-
lere.”—Verse 29. *Μαδιάμ* equivalent to *מִדְיָן*.

Vers. 30–32. With respect to the important occurrence that follows, the exposition of it belongs to the interpretation of the Pentateuch; only on the subject of the interchange of *ἀγγελὸς κυρίου* and *κὺριος*, we may refer the reader to Steinwender's treatise: *Christus Deus in Vet. Test. Regiom. 1829, p. 6, sqq.* The words of God are not accurately repeated: verse 43 should have stood, according to Exod. iii. 5, 6, before verse 32. Instead of *πατρίων σου*, in verse 32, the Septuagint has *πατρός σου*, conformably to the Hebrew.

Vers. 33–36. In connexion with the words of God, by which he sends Moses as a messenger to his people, appears (verses 35, 36) the first definite allusion to the person of Jesus, on whose ac-

¹ In Bereschith Rabba, fol. 115, it is said: Moses in palatio Pharaonis, 40 annos degit, in Midiane 40 annos, et 40 annos Israeli ministravit. (See Lightfoot on this passage.)

count Stephen stood accused before the Sanhedrim's tribunal. As the Jews formerly rejected Moses, so now do they reject Jesus ; and yet God has appointed the one as well as the other to bring them help. As Moses literally conducted the people out of Egypt through the Red Sea into the land of promise, so does Christ spiritually guide through conflict and struggle into the eternal home of heaven.

It is a peculiarity of this passage that in verse 35 Moses bears the name of *λυτρωτής*, Redeemer. In the Old Testament this word is used by the Seventy to represent *גֹּאֲלֵם*, but it is only applied to God (Psalm xviii. 15, lxxvii. 35) ; in the New Testament it does not occur any more, the term usually employed to express the idea being *σωτήρ*. This, however, is to be regarded as merely accidental, because all the other words that are formed from *λύτρωον* are in other passages applied to Christ. In the case of Moses the epithet *λυτρωτής* naturally bears only an external reference to the deliverance from Egyptian bondage, but this is to be conceived as a prefiguration of the redemption from sin, which was accomplished by the Messiah. *Ἐν ἑξέσει* corresponds obviously to the Hebrew *בְּתוֹכָם*, and denotes simply interposition, being equivalent to *διά*.

Vers. 37—40. Further, we have the prediction of Moses which he uttered respecting the Messiah, and his intercourse with God, exhibited to view ; and, in connexion with these points, the unfaithfulness of the people, and their apostacy from God. Respecting the quotation from Deut. xviii. 18, contained in verse 37, comp. Comm. on Acts iii. 22. In verse 38 *γίνεσθαι*, followed by *μετὰ*, corresponds to the Hebrew *בְּתוֹכָם*.—The *ἐκκλησία* is the collective body of the Jews who were in the wilderness, between whom and God Moses acted as mediator. With respect to the expression *λόγια ζῶντα* consult Comm. on John vi. 63 ; 1 Pet. i. 23. And if here the *ζωή*, "life," is ascribed to the Mosaic law, this holds good in reference to its essential character, which is good and holy (Rom. vii. 12) ; but in the preceptive form, in which it appears among men, it has no power to communicate the *ζωή*.—The quotation in verse 40 is taken from Exod. xxxii. 1.

Vers. 41—43. The following verses give more precise information respecting the idolatry of the Israelites in the wilderness. It was undoubtedly the Egyptian worship of Apis which led to the formation of the golden calf, under which they adored the crea-

tive principle in nature. The word *μοσχοποιεῖν* was probably first formed either by Stephen, or if it was the Hebrew tongue which he spoke before the Sanhedrim, by the narrator of his speech. It is to be found nowhere else. In this apostacy of the Jews Stephen rightly discovers a judgment of God, who punishes sin by means of sin. Compare Rom. i. 24, &c. But besides the golden calf the Israelites practised in the wilderness the worship of the stars too, in reference to which Stephen appeals to a passage in Amos v. 25, 26, which he quotes exactly according to the Septuagint, with the exception that in the conclusion *Βαβυλωνίως* stands instead of *Δαμασκού* : which variation without doubt results simply from the fact, that the captivity was better known under the name of the Babylonish.

ἡστανία τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, equivalent to שֶׁמֶשׁ יָרֵחַ כּוֹכָבִים, denotes the sun, the moon, and the stars; inasmuch as these bodies were contemplated under the idea of heavenly beings. The adoration of the stars (Sabeanism) formed an integral part of all the ancient systems of natural religion, because the splendour and magnificence of the starry sky attracted even the rudest minds, and excited to the worship of a superior power.—Βίβλος τοῦ περὶ προφητῶν denotes the collection of the twelve prophets, which it is known were regarded as one whole.

The quotation from Amos, however, is not unattended with difficulty. First of all, the question being put with *μή*, requires undoubtedly a negative answer, so that the meaning is "Ye have offered unto me no sacrifices in the wilderness." But the children of Israel did offer sacrifices repeatedly to Jehovah the true God in the wilderness; and therefore the accusation appears unfounded. This difficulty, however, is very easily dispelled by the remark, that here you have just an absolute expression for what holds good only relatively, and the sense accordingly turns out to be this, "Ye have served me not alone, not always." It is an ingenious proposal of Fritzsche (Comment. on Mark, page 65) to put the mark of interrogation first after the words *προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς* in verse 43; for then you escape from the whole difficulty, because Stephen, according to this arrangement, certainly acknowledges the worship that was paid to Jehovah, but finds fault that it was connected with the worship of idols.

Again, we have here an example to shew that the prophets themselves recognised ancient traditions. The books of the Pen-

tateuch certainly make no mention either of the worship of Moloch, or of the worship of the stars by the Israelites in the wilderness; and Amos therefore, without doubt, followed in his statements the traditions of remote times. Nothing can be more preposterous than Vatke's procedure in his biblical theology of the Old Testament, when he chooses the passage of Amos for a basis upon which to build a new history of religion, and denies completely the antiquity of the worship of Jehovah, thus rejecting, on account of this single notice, the connected accounts of the Pentateuch. With respect to the first point mentioned, the worship of Moloch, the name (מלך מלך) denotes nothing else than "king, lord:" it corresponds therefore to the name Bel or Baal, which the Canaanitish nations gave to their idols. Under this name they adored the sun, as the generating principle; while the moon under the title of the queen of heaven (Jerem. vii. 18, xlv. 25), was viewed as the female or conceiving principle. (Compare Winer's Reallex under this word.) The σπηλιὰ τοῦ Μολόχ is to be regarded as a little portable temple, in which the image of the idol deity (τύπος, equivalent to εἰδωλόν) was set up, and which could be carried about in travelling. The Kalmucks and other nomadic tribes have to this day such portable sanctuaries. As to the second deity that is mentioned, the unknown name 'Ρεμφάν is very differently written in the manuscripts: we find 'Ρεφίν, 'Ρεφφάν, 'Ρομφάν. According to the Coptic, however, the name Remphan is the right reading, and it denotes the planet Saturn.¹ The Seventy have taken this name out of the Egyptian dialect, which was familiar to them, and employed it for the Hebrew מר, which stands in the passage of Amos. In the Arabic the same consonants, only with different vowels مر, likewise denote Saturn, with which too the statement of Stephen that Remphan is a star (ἀστέρον) exactly agrees; and thus that all indications concur in leading to this point.

Vers. 44—47. In the progress of Stephen's speech, there is contrasted with the worship which the Israelites, when led away by temptation, paid to the tabernacle of Moloch, the worship in the tabernacle of testimony, instituted by God himself, under whose

¹ Compare a singular treatise of by Jablonski, the great Coptic scholar, upon this name (Lips. 1731), and in his Pantheon Aegypti prol. p. L. Jablonski, however, certainly errs in regarding Moloch and Saturn as identical; the former was rather the creative principle in nature, and the latter the conservative. The passage before us too, by the juxtaposition of the two idols, indicates their difference.

protection and defence they had been able to take possession of the holy land of promise. It is obvious that this juxtaposition renders only the more conspicuous the guilt of that idolatry, from which the peculiar guidance vouchsafed by God's grace should have guarded the Jews. The *σκηνη τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, equivalent to *מִקְדָּשׁ הָעֵדוּת*, denotes, it is obvious, the moveable sanctuary which the Israelites used till the time of Solomon. The Seventy have derived *מִקְדָּשׁ* from *קָדַשׁ*, and therefore translate it as if it were *קֹדֶשׁ*. The usual derivation of the word is from *קָצַו*, "to assemble," and therefore the whole phrase signifies the tabernacle of meeting or convention. In verse 46, &c., finally, there is a transition to the charge brought forward at chap. vi. 13, that Stephen had spoken against the Temple, which receives in what follows a pretty direct refutation.

Vers. 48–50. Without disparaging the sanctity of the Temple, as an image of the heavenly dwelling-place of God, Stephen yet shews that, according to the words of the prophet himself, no external dwelling-place can contain the eternal ruler of heaven and earth. By this reference to the prophetic word, he hallows in the very eyes of his accusers the view of the Temple which he had expressed, and confutes their audacious charge against himself. On the idea expressed by the words, *ὁ ὕψιστος κ. τ. λ.*, comp. the parallel passage in xvii. 24. The quotation is taken from Isa. lxvi. 1, 2, somewhat freely indeed, but yet without any essential variations. The expression *καὶ κτιστὸν ἔργον* is just the opposite of *ἀκτιστὸν ἔργον*, to which the passage in Acts xvii. 24 points. To the temple of stone reared by men, it is the universe that is opposed, as the glorious temple of the Lord fashioned by the fingers of Deity; the former is only a figure of the latter, and has therefore only a conditional value.

Vers. 51–53. There is plainly here an interruption of Stephen in his speech, as indeed the better editions indicate. The deeper spirit of prophecy had struck root so little into the people, that the mention of prophetic declarations respecting the Temple was actually regarded as a violation of the reverence due to it. In the view of the obduracy of his hearers, therefore, Stephen altered the tone of his discourse: and instead of the gentle manner in which he had hitherto spoken, he preached now in the fiery language of rebuke. He declared to his hearers that the same spirit of disobedience and unfaithfulness, which, according to the testi-

mony of sacred history, had been displayed by their fathers, bore sway also in them, and had made them the murderers of the righteous one.

Σκληροτράχηλος is to be found nowhere else in the New Testament; in the translations of the Old Testament it occurs pretty frequently for the Hebrew קָשִׁיחוֹ. Compare Exod. xxxiii. 3, 5. It expresses the stubbornness and obstinacy which stand out so prominently to view in the national character of the Israelites. —The word ἀπείριμτος equivalent to קָשִׁי, bears the signification of “unholy, impure,” and the same expression is also in the Old Testament applied to the heart and the ear, as the internal and external organs of spiritual susceptibility. Compare Jerem. vi. 10; Ezek. xlv. 9. In verse 52, Jesus is again styled, as in chap. iii. 14, ὁ δίκαιος, the man who is in himself absolutely righteous and perfect. Special consideration is due to the concluding clause of the speech in verse 53, which declares that the Jews, though they relied upon the law, and though it had been given to them with such splendour, yet had not kept it. Without doubt, Stephen, if he had not been interrupted, would have gone on to shew, that, with such unfaithfulness, their resistance of the Holy Ghost who spoke through the apostles was not to be wondered at. There is something remarkable in the clause here added, ἐς διαπαγὰς ἀγγέλων, for the holy Scriptures make no mention of angels at the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai. Undoubtedly, therefore, this circumstance must also be traced back to tradition. Traces of it are to be found even in the Septuagint, which, at the passage in Deut. xxxiii. 2, adds the words: ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, while the Hebrew text runs thus: מִיְמֵינִי אֲנִי, that is, on his right hand there is the fire of the law for them, or, as in the English version, from his right hand went a fiery law for them, which probably denotes the Shechinah, the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire. Perhaps, however, the Seventy had a different reading before them, and besides they might very naturally be led to their translation by the Hebrew words which go before, viz., מַלְאָכָיו, which denote the angelic hosts. The same idea that the giving of the law took place through angels, is to be found likewise in Psalm. lxxviii. 17, and in Josephus Arch. xv. 5, 3, who, in his recital of the history of the Israelites, has adopted many traditional elements. The question, however, still remains, how the words ἐς διαπαγὰς ought to be understood. It has been pro-

posed to understand *διαταγαί* of the hosts, the ranks of angels; in which case the sense would be: "ye have received the law in the presence of angels." But the substantive does not occur in this signification, and besides, the preposition *ἐν* is not suitable to it. If we compare the parallel passages in Gal. iii. 19, and Heb. ii. 2, in which the same idea is to be found, then we cannot doubt that *διαταγή* ought here to be taken in the signification of "appointment, ordination," in which case *ἐν* takes the signification, which is quite suitable here "in consequence of, according to, by." The angels appear therefore here as the powers mediating between God and man.

Vers. 54-56. This keen reproof of Stephen, however, did not bring the hearers to repentance, but only excited their fury to the highest pitch. This raging madness forms a striking contrast with the calm serenity of the martyr, settled down in contemplation of the Lord. On *διατρίω* comp. Comm. on chap. v. 33. Now, with respect to the vision of Stephen, we are not to think of any external spectacle, but of an internal vision in the state of ecstasy. Meyer's remark, "that Stephen may have been able to see heaven through the windows of the chamber of session," is therefore, to speak mildly, quite superfluous. His countenance beamed with a heavenly glory, but what he beheld, those who were around him learned only from his words.

The words *ὁὕτως ὡς* are to be understood like the Hebrew *כִּכְּזֶה*, and are to be explained of the heavenly splendour which surrounds every divine appearance.—Respecting the opening of the heavens, see the commentary on Matthew iii. 17.—The special object, however, seen by Stephen in his glorious vision was the person of the Lord; elsewhere it is Christ only that applies the name *ὁὕτως ὡς* *ἀνθρώπου* to himself; but Stephen here gives it to Jesus for the purpose of making it plain that he sees him in his human form, in the well-known beloved form in which he walked upon the earth. There is a peculiarity in the expression here twice repeated *ἐστὶν ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ* (comp. Comm. on Matt. xxvi. 62—64), for it is usually sitting at the right hand of God that is spoken of. But long since Gregory the Great undoubtedly gave the right explanation of the phrase, in a passage adduced here by Kuinoel. He says: "*sedere judicantis et imperantis est, stare vero pugnantis vel adjuvantis. Stephanus stantem videt,*

quem adiutorem habuit." Hom. xix. in festum adscensionis. Compare Knapp. ser. var. arg. p. 47, Note.

Vers. 57—60. In these words of the martyr the Jews saw another act of blasphemy, and therefore they only hastened forward his death. As the Romans had taken away from the Jews the power of life and death (compare at John xviii. 31), the execution of Stephen must be regarded as a tumultuous act : at the same time this supposition is not without difficulty, because the whole occurrence, according to vi. 12, took place before the Sanhedrim. Perhaps the Sanhedrim, for the purpose of preventing any collision with the Roman authorities, pronounced no formal judgment, but connived at the execution, which was perpetrated by some fanatics. The witnesses (vi. 13) were required, according to Jewish custom, to throw the first stones at the condemned individual, as if to shew their conviction of his guilt. Ἐλπίετέ με, where it first occurs in ver. 58, is to be viewed as an anticipation of the more particular narrative of the event that follows. In the passage before us the circumstance too is worthy of notice, that we find a prayer expressly addressed to Jesus. What the Redeemer said to his heavenly Father : "into thy hands I commend my spirit," the same thing does Stephen say to Christ : ὁΐξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. There lies in this a stronger argument for the doctrine of the divine dignity of Christ, than in many other passages which are usually adduced as proof-passages in favour of it, when it is considered with what severity the Old Testament denounces every ascription of divine prerogatives to any being who is not God. The opposers of the divinity of Christ must therefore, in consistency, pronounce every prayer to the Lord Jesus to be idolatry. But Stephen, on the contrary, proceeds quite in accordance with the command contained in John v. 23 ; and the very same view of it has been taken by the church in all ages. In order, therefore, to set aside this troublesome passage, it has been proposed to understand the words κύριε Ἰησοῦ thus, "God, who art the Father and Lord of Jesus !" an explanation which is sufficiently characteristic, and ought to be known.

Here St Paul comes before us for the first time as a furious persecutor of the church of God : the murder of Stephen he regards as a deed pleasing to God. The word νεανίας affords only an approximate determination of his age, because it is applied to persons between the ages of twenty-four and forty. In the prayer

of Stephen that his enemies might be forgiven, in ver. 60, the phrase *μη στήσῃς* deserves to be noticed. It is used in the sense of "retribuere," as in Matt. xxvi. 15, agreeably to the Hebrew usage of *כִּשָּׁף*, to weigh, to weigh for one. In its complete shape the expression stands thus, *ἵσταναι ἐν ζυγῷ*, to place upon the balance. Compare Schleusner's Lexicon on the LXX., under the word *ἵσταναι*. Herodotus ii. 65 uses *ἵσταναι σταλμῷ* in the very same manner.

§ 8. SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL BEYOND JERUSALEM.

(Acts viii. 1—40.)

Vers. 1—4. And now the blood of the first martyr of the church was shed ; but even here there was exhibited a proof of the truth of Tertullian's declaration : "sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum." The dispersion of the Christians from Jerusalem had the effect of spreading the Gospel through the neighbouring regions. It is only Judea and Samaria that are named particularly, because it is probable that Galilee had churches from the beginning, for many friends of Christ lived there (compare also chap. ix. 31) ; but there can be no doubt that Christianity spread itself at this period through Phœnicia also and Cyprus and Antioch. See chap. xi. 19, 20. The apostles (viii. 1), however, considered it their duty for some time at first to abide in the central point of the church.

With respect to the arrangement of the first verses of this chapter, the 2d and the 3d ought properly to stand at the beginning, because they are immediately connected with the death of Stephen. The concluding words too of the foregoing paragraph : *Σαδὴρ δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναίξεσι αὐτοῦ*, with which the sentence *ἐγγέστο δὲ κ. τ. λ.* stands connected, do not appear to fit their place in the arrangement well. The supposition of a process of abridgment, applied to sources of information lying before the author, furnishes the best explanation of the present state of the text.—On *συγκομιζέσθαι*, in verse 2, compare the parallel passages in v. 6, ix. 10.—*Κοπιεσθῆς*, from *κόπτεισθαι*, "to smite oneself in token of sorrow," denotes lamentation for the dead, compare Gen. l. 10.—The *ἀιδοῦντες ἐβλάζεσθαι*, who buried the corpse of the martyr, are not to be viewed as believers, but as pious Jews who regarded Stephen as innocent :

believers would have been styled brethren.—*Δυμαίνομαι* is only to be found here in the New Testament; it is equivalent to *περθεῖω*, which Paul himself, in Gal. i. 13, applies to the persecutions he had directed against the church.

Vers. 5–8. St Luke does not proceed to give us comprehensive accounts of the missionary labours of the Christians who had fled from Jerusalem: he only communicates some particulars respecting the ministry of another of the seven deacons, viz. Philip: he gives an account first of his preaching in Samaria, and next of the conversion of the chamberlain of Queen Candace. With respect to the question who this Philip was, it is obvious that he was not the apostle of this name, for the apostles had not yet left Jerusalem, and besides, in viii. 44, he is expressly distinguished from them. Probably he was Philip the deacon, vi. 5, who comes before us also in chap. xxi. 8, as *εὐαγγελιστῆς, ὃν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ*. The city of Samaria, in which Philip first preached the gospel, is not named: perhaps it was Sychem, where, according to John iv., Christ had already found so much acceptance.¹ In general, Samaria with its inhabitants appears to have been very much disposed to receive divine things; but, at the same time also, very accessible to the misleading influence of false teachers. The remoteness of the district may have guarded the inhabitants from that corruption into which the inhabitants of Judea had to a great extent fallen; and in this way there might be preserved among them in activity the simple faith of a restorer of all things, viz. the Messiah, whom they styled *משיח* or *מלך*. Compare Gesenius *progr. de theol. Samarit.* a. 1822. Philip too paved for himself an entrance into their minds, by deeds of striking external aspect, which both turned the eyes of men upon him, and proved him to be the messenger of God to their souls.

Vers. 9–11. In Samaria Philip now came in contact with a man named Simon, who belonged to that numerous class of religious deceivers (*γοηται*), by whom the various countries were over-

¹ Kuinoel understands the words *εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας*, in ver. 5, to refer to the capital city itself, which bore the same name as the country; but in this case the article should have been prefixed to *πόλιν*. The 14th ver. on which the critic in question relies, because he supposes the whole land had not yet received the gospel, is only to be understood of a very wide diffusion of the truth. That Samaria means here the land and not the city, is clearly shewn by the 9th verse, where, if the opposite were the case, *ἀντὶς* would be the reading, as *πόλιν* has preceded.

run in the days of the Apostles. This Simon is no other than the one who is distinguished in church history by the surname of Magus. According to the account of Justin Martyr, he was a native of Gitton in Samaria (Just. apol. p. 69. ed Sylb.), which account agrees well with the circumstance, that here he is represented as pursuing his practices among the Samaritans. The accounts given by Josephus (Arch. xx. 7, 2) of a similar individual of the same name, who at the instigation of Felix (xxiv. 24) lent himself to the seduction of Drusilla from her husband, are not applicable to Simon Magus.¹ For the former, as Josephus relates, was a Cyprian by birth, the latter, according to Justin, was a Samaritan; but it seems altogether unreasonable to doubt the correctness of Justin's narrative, for he had every opportunity of knowing the native country of Simon, being himself a Samaritan of Sychem, and he could have no interest at all in misrepresenting the truth. Besides, Felix lived too late to allow it to be supposed that Simon Magus could still be actively engaged in those regions where he was Procurator; for Simon appears to have early left the East, and to have betaken himself to Rome, the rendezvous of all deceivers of this kind.

The ancient Fathers of the church consider Simon Magus as the Father of the Gnostics, yea, of all heretics. This view is certainly wrong, inasmuch as we cannot trace the doctrines of the later false teachers directly from Simon; but there is this amount of truth in the idea, that it is in Simon we first behold the heretical element penetrate into the church, and it is this that constitutes the peculiar interest of the occurrence that follows. The essence of heresy, according to the proper Christian sense of the word, as it is defined in the pastoral letters and catholic epistles, is not merely error in matters of faith, which might find place in many an upright believing mind in the earliest times of the Christian church only from a want of thorough mental training, but it is the intermixture of Christian ideas and doctrines with a totally foreign element of

¹ Yet Neander declares himself inclined to the supposition of the identity of the two. (Compare Zeitalt. part. i. page 80.) Let it be considered, however, how many such sorcerers there were at that time in all the provinces of the Roman Empire, and how common the name of Simon was among the Jews; and then it will appear that we must admit, without hesitation, that the two men were different, particularly as the minuter circumstances, which are communicated by equally unsuspected witnesses, vary so much from one another.

life. This intermixture we first find in Simon Magus: he was indeed overcome by the power of the Christian element of life, but he did not enter with sincerity into it. His conduct externally was not so gross as that of Ananias; the ideas of the Gospel moved him mightily, and the powers which it displayed threw him into astonishment: but as Ananias could not let go his gold, so Simon could not prevail upon himself to give up his spiritual possession, viz. his power over the souls of men: but he mingled with his circle of notions the Christian ideas, and, as it were, drew down what was Christian into the sphere of that life, where he continued standing. This mode of procedure could not but neutralize the whole purpose of Christianity, whose power was designed to establish a new principle of association among men, and to draw all to it; measures were therefore necessary against such heretical systems, severe in proportion to the ruinous character of the deceptive appearance, which they acquired from the Christian ideas admitted into them. At first it is probable Simon Magus had no formal system: he was just one of that numerous class of men, who, under the equivalent names of Chaldaei, mathematici, *γαστροί, μαγεί*, ensnared the minds of men with delusive practices: they might also state some particular philosophical speculations respecting angels and the world of spirits, or at the least they pretended an acquaintance with them. It was Christianity, with its fulness of ideas, which first gave an impulse to systematic development. Whether Simon Magus, with the help of infernal powers, may have performed real wonders, or only imposed upon men, is a question which cannot be definitely settled, since the text of the narrative before us gives no decision upon the point. At all events he had sufficient audacity to represent himself as a superior and heavenly being. The conflict which arose between this man and the Gospel, gives an uncommonly vivid picture of the proceedings of that age of excitement, which witnessed the promulgation of Christianity. The longing which was everywhere awakened after something higher, led men to attach themselves to all such persons as affirmed, that they had been favoured with glimpses of the spiritual world: every one of these persons pretended to have the power of working signs and wonders; and thus they beguiled the minds of men still more: through this mass of superstition, through the labyrinth of this wild commotion, Christianity could only hope to penetrate by means of a fulness of spiritual

power, which might destroy all those phantoms and illusive systems which were endeavouring to copy it. The miracles performed by the messengers of God, and the power of the Gospel to transform the heart and mind, excited not only the astonishment of the multitude, but also of the sorcerers themselves, who perceived here the genuine power of God, which they only pretended to possess. An example of this we behold in Simon: he bowed before the power of the cross, and was baptised, but his insincerity was a barrier to his reception of the Holy Ghost, and therefore he blended with his own unsanctified feelings the heavenly ideas which he had learned, and became a more dangerous adversary of the church, than either Jews or Gentiles were or could be.

As from *μάγος* (on this word see at Matt. ii. 1) *μαγέω* and *μαγεία* were formed, so from *γότης* came the forms *γοητεύω* and *γοητεία*. Both words are to be found only in this passage in the New Testament. As Simon's own declaration respecting himself, we find first adduced the words, *λέγων εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ μέγας*; but this expression is more narrowly defined by the words which are employed to describe the opinion of the people respecting him, *λέγοντες αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καὶ αὐθεντῶν μεγάλη*, which can only be regarded as the echo of what the sorcerer had boastfully given out respecting himself. Now, in the first place, this vain ostentation forms a glaring contrast with the humility of the apostles, who, although really replenished with the powers of the heavenly world, yet most sharply reprehended all undue estimation of their own persons: they desired to be regarded as nothing but weak instruments, and their illustrious works were designed to glorify not themselves, but only the eternal God and his Son Jesus Christ. Again we find in the expression *δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη*, precisely the mode of speaking which was adopted afterwards by the Gnostics. Heinrichs supposes that the Samaritans had only by some misunderstanding applied this name to Simon, that he may only in reality have said "God's great power works this and that by me," and that they have imagined he meant to give himself this name. But this is by no means in accordance with the spirit of those sorcerers. They supposed, like the Gnostics, a multitude of divine *δυνάμεις* who had emanated from the eternal first principle of light, and that one of these elevated beings styled Aeons, now appeared among men in the person of Simon. Jerome mentions (Comment. in Matt. ch. xxiv.) that Simon said of himself:

ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei. Now, although this declaration certainly refers to the views of Simon after he was acquainted with Christianity, yet it points out of what the man was capable; and if he ventured at a later period to arrogate to himself all the prerogatives of Christ, in acknowledgment of whom he had submitted to baptism, it is surely not at all improbable that before this he had persuaded himself, that he had brought down the powers of the angelic world to the earth. And the magnitude of his pretensions, as often happens, imposed upon men to such a degree that they resigned themselves entirely to his influence, from which nothing but the higher power of the gospel vanquishing all the wiles of the sorcerer could extricate them.

Vers. 12, 13. Without external miraculous signs, it would have been altogether impossible for the heralds of the gospel to gain the attention of men, engrossed with what struck the senses, to their doctrine of the crucified Son of God, and their preaching of repentance and faith; but the mighty works which they performed, brought to them all susceptible hearts, and proved the exciting means of faith. Even Simon was astonished when he saw the miracles of Philip, which had nothing of the deceitful appearance of his tricks, but, on the contrary, bore the impress of real miracles of God, and he had himself baptized. Some may be disposed to regard this as an act of deceit on the part of the sorcerer, and they may think Philip should rather not have baptized him, in order not to aggravate his guilt. But it is far more probable that the request for baptism really indicated a temporary improvement in the life of Simon: he was overcome at the moment by the heavenly power of the truth, and he surrendered himself to it for a time, and to a certain degree. Yet it was only to a certain degree! He allowed not the light to penetrate into the concealed depths of his heart; there was no thorough humiliation of the man. And therefore it naturally happened that he soon attempted to apply Christianity itself, as a more efficacious instrument, to the same purposes for which he had hitherto employed his arts of sorcery.

Vers. 14—17. The occasion for this attempt was furnished to Simon by the journey of some of the apostles to Samaria. This journey took its rise in the circumstance, that the Samaritans who believed, although they were baptized by Philip, yet had

not received the Holy Ghost through him: to impart the Spirit, the apostles now hastened to the new churches. This information contains something very remarkable, for one naturally enquires, why did not Philip himself communicate the Holy Ghost, seeing he was a partaker of the Spirit's influences? That he had the Holy Ghost is shewn, partly by the miracles which he performed in the power of the Spirit, and partly by such passages as chap. viii. 29, 39. Kuinoel attempts to set aside all that seems surprising in this, by the observation that the apostles really had in view the further instruction of those who were baptized on the simple confession of Jesus as the Messiah, and that then along with this instruction the communication of the Holy Ghost was first to take place. He appeals on this point to Hebrews vi. 2, in which passage baptism appears to be followed by instruction, and then by the laying on of hands. But this learned man has himself, in his exposition of the epistle to the Hebrews, which has just appeared, rectified this mistake. In the passage referred to, vi. 2, the phrase, βαπτισμῶν διδασκαλίαις is not to be separated in translating, as if mention were first made of baptism and then of instruction; but the two words are to be taken together, and βαπτισμῶν regarded as the genitive of the object. We must therefore go back to what has been already remarked at John iv. 2. As the Redeemer did not himself baptize, but only caused it to be done by his disciples; so also the apostles, after the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, did not themselves baptize, but left the rite to be performed by their associates.¹ (Compare Comm. on Acts x. 48, and 1 Cor. i. 14, &c.) The ground of this arrangement was probably, first, that, in the earliest times of the church, when thousands connected themselves with it at the same time, the act of baptizing so many would have encroached too much upon the time of the apostles; and, again, the Holy Ghost wrought, as it were, with more concentrated power in the Twelve than in other believers, and therefore the laying on of hands, as the means of imparting the Spirit, was confined to them alone. When the act of baptism thus appeared dissociated from the communication of the Spirit, it then acquired a position similar

¹ The manner in which this practice was transmitted to the church in after times, may be seen in Binghami origg. vol. i. page 319, iii. 549. The custom which still prevails in the Catholic church, of confining confirmation, as a symbol of the communication of the Spirit, to the episcopal office, is to be traced up to the fact before us.

to what infant baptism obtained at a later period, from which it may be concluded, that in the latter there can be nothing opposed to the spirit of Christianity. The different positions, moreover, in which baptism stood with respect to the communication of the Spirit in the apostolic age, may be seen from chap. x. 44, &c., where we find that the Holy Ghost was imparted to Cornelius and his household before they were baptized. It cannot, therefore, be said that the restriction of the power of imparting the Holy Ghost to the apostles was founded upon any intrinsic necessity: it was rather a practice peculiar to that time. After their death, when the intensity of the Spirit's operations had already greatly diminished, others communicated the gift of the Spirit by the laying on of hands; and even at a later period, when the extraordinary phenomena which at first accompanied the communication of the Spirit had entirely disappeared, the laying on of hands was efficacious in imparting powers of the Spirit that wrought inwardly. Verse 16. On the expression *Βαπτίζειν εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ*, compare the remarks at Matt. xxviii. 18.

Verse 18–23. When Simon perceived the extraordinary effects of the laying on of the apostles' hands, in the gifts which were exhibited, particularly the *γλώσσαις λαλῆν*, he attempted to procure for himself with money the power of communicating the Spirit, an attempt upon which the brand of infamy, as is known to all, was afterwards fixed in the church, when the name of simony was given to every purchase of spiritual dignities. It is a characteristic feature of Simon that he not only wished to obtain the Spirit himself, but also to purchase the power of communicating the gift to others. Hence we plainly perceive that spiritual ambition, the secret source of the efforts of all founders of sects, animated him: the power which he desired, he believed would furnish him with the means of still further imposing upon men.¹ Yet, although Peter rebukes him with the utmost severity on account of this proposal, he does not by any means cast him off entirely, but rather calls upon him to repent, and to pray for

¹ Striving after the noblest gifts, after the Spirit himself, after virtue and perfection, is pleasing to the Lord only when it proceeds from an humble heart, which does not wish to make a show with his gifts, and to rule, but to serve. Yea, a self-willed striving after powers from on high, with a sordid purpose in view, is an abomination to the Lord, and, as the history of all enthusiasts shews, it brings the greatest ruin upon themselves and the church.

the forgiveness of his sins. Now, here the *mildness* of the apostle appears as surprising as the *severity* shewn in the case of Ananias. Attention, however, has already been turned to the fact at chap. v. 1, that Simon had not yet experienced in himself the power of the Holy Ghost; and sordid therefore as he was, it might still be said of him that he knew not what he was doing. The circumstance that he had made a trade of religion, was the cause why he had never received it in its heart-changing power, but only prized it according to the amount of show which it was capable of making. Peter might appear to him a greater conjuror than he supposed himself to be, and it was his hope that he might procure from him, for a good recompense, the art of acquiring control over the powerful principles which govern the universe. His susceptibility, however, of spiritual impressions, similar to what we find in the Old Testament in the case of Balaam, the father of all false prophets, always left room for hoping that the truth would gain the victory in his heart, and therefore Peter preaches repentance to him. Ananias, on the other hand, was possessed of a thoroughly sordid disposition, and this prevented even the attempt being made to exert any farther beneficial influence upon him.

In ver. 20 the words *εἴηαι εἰς ἀπώλειαν* are to be understood neither of ecclesiastical excommunication, to which the expression is never applied, nor yet of eternal perdition, because this idea would be inconsistent with the admonition to repentance which follows. The expression is rather to be understood only relatively, as pointing to the result of the course which Simon was pursuing, if no change should take place.—In ver. 21, *καὶ ἡ χάρις* is used agreeably to the analogy of the Hebrew word *חֵן*. Compare Col. i. 12.—*Λόγος* is not to be taken here like *רֶגֶל* in the signification of “thing,” “matter,” as if the Holy Ghost, the promised gift of God, were denoted by it; but it means the gospel generally, in whose blessings it is here denied that Simon has any share.—The phrase *καὶ δία εὐδοκίαν*, equivalent to *רַחֲמֵי*, denotes internal purity of heart. The gospel sets no value upon the opulence of talents with which a man may have been endowed, but only upon the disposition of the mind in reference to the will of God: it is the sincere only to whom God shews favour. In verse 22, *ἐπινοία* is equivalent to *διανοήματα*, *διαλογισμούς*. On the connexion of the word with *καὶ δία*, see the Comm. on Luke i. 51. The

idea of an *evil* thought is not necessarily embraced in the meaning of ἐπινοῖα; it is only by means of the connexion that this idea is here associated with the word.—In verse 23, εἰς does not stand for ἐν; but the previous idea of motion is rather to be supplied: “I see that thou hast fallen into sin, and art now in it.” Χολὴ καὶ πικρία, equivalent to ζοὴ καὶ πικρία, denotes, according to Hebrew usage, what brings mischief and ruin, because the ideas of bitterness and poison run closely together. Compare Gesenius’ Lexicon, under the word חֲמָץ. The word σῶμαδεσμός, “bond, fetter,” occurs in Ephes. iv. 3; Col. ii. 19, iii. 14, in a good sense, being applied to love and peace. Sin is here conceived as a chain, from whose power man needs to be released. The first half of the verse, ὅσα εἰς ζοὴν, might be thus understood: “thou hast become bitterness itself,” εἰς being taken agreeably to the analogy of the Hebrew חֲמָץ; but the second requires the preference to be given to the meaning of εἰς indicated above, because it is an incongruous image to regard the sinner himself as being σῶμαδεσμός, a bond.

Vers. 24, 25. The rebuke was not without effect. Simon besought the apostles for their prayers, because he felt that his conduct could not be pleasing to God. But true humility does not appear to have called forth this appeal, for the subsequent course of his life shews that he continued in his evil ways. The government of ἐπαγγελλέσθαι varies between the dative and the accusative.

Vers. 26–28. With this narrative of the progress of the gospel among the Samaritans, there is connected another, which points to the diffusion of the doctrine of the cross among the remotest nations. Withal too, the simplicity of the chamberlain of Meroe forms a remarkable contrast with the craft of the magician who has just been described. The same Philip received an intimation, to betake himself to the road leading to Gaza. Γάζα, a very ancient city, is mentioned even in Gen. x. 19, and is called in Hebrew גִּזְרִי. It was one of the five principal cities of the Philistines. Alexander the Great destroyed it, but it was rebuilt by Herod the Great. The additional clause, ὅπου ἐστὶν ἔρημος, might indeed be referred not to the city, but only to the way leading to it; but Josephus (Bell. Jud. ii. 33) mentions that a band of insurgents destroyed among other places Gaza also. The word, ἔρημος may therefore be properly referred to Gaza itself. See Tholuck on the credibility of the Gospel History, p. 381.)

An officer of queen Candace, who probably had journeyed to

Jerusalem to a festival, was pursuing this road to Gaza, and he was reading in his chariot the prophet Isaiah. This latter circumstance points to the Jewish origin of the man, for proselytes were seldom acquainted with the Hebrew tongue ;¹ he is called αἰθίοψ, only from the place of his residence. Persons who were really eunuchs could not enter into the congregation of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 1), and therefore probably this Ethiopian was only a distinguished officer of his princess, viz. her treasurer. The word εἰσπράχτης, like פֶּרֶז, is used to denote in general a high office of state, a signification which even δυνάστης has here, though it commonly denotes an independent ruler. The name Ethiopia was employed by the ancients to denote indefinitely the lands of South Africa, as India was applied to the south of Asia. But here it is the kingdom of Meroë in Upper Egypt that is meant, as we learn from the accounts of Pliny,² who mentions, that it was governed by queens, who bore the name of Candace as a title of office.

It is worthy of notice here that in ver. 26 you find ἀγγέλους νομίαν, but in ver. 29 πνεύματα. This confirms the view we have expressed at John i. 52, that by angels we are by no means always to understand beings appearing as individuals, but often spiritual powers. Even in ver. 26, therefore, we are not to suppose the actual appearance of an angel, but an inward spiritual communication which was made to Philip. Now here we behold this disciple surrendering himself with child-like faith to the guidance accorded from above : he goes not his own way, but the impulses of the Spirit guide all his steps. Without cavilling he lets himself be taken by the Spirit to a desert road ; and lo ! even there he finds the opportunity of preaching the word.

Vers. 29—33. Philip heard the Ethiopian reading (either he read himself aloud, or listened to one that read to him), and he began conversation with him by asking whether he understood what he read. With touching simplicity the eunuch acknow-

¹ The reading of Isaiah is not indeed a decisive proof of his Jewish descent, for he might be reading the Septuagint. But the word πνεύματα refers probably to the division into Haphtaroth, which we cannot suppose existing in the Septuagint. Besides, there were many Jews living in Arabia and Meroë, so that the supposition of his Jewish descent cannot appear improbable.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 35. He makes mention of Meroë, an island in the Nile, where the chief city lay, and then continues : ædificia oppidi pauca, regnare feminam Candacem, quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transit ; delubrum Hammonis, et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella.

ledges that the sense eluded him, and he receives Philip as a messenger sent from God into his chariot, who straightway saw, that it was the famous passage in Is. liii. which he had been reading.

Κολλᾶσθαι in ver. 29, corresponds exactly to the Hebrew קָלַף.—In ver. 31 ἄρα γε is interrogative, and differs from ἄραγε, which indicates a conclusion. (See Comm. on Acts xi. 18.—Ver 32. περιτομή occurs only here in the New Testament; it denotes, as περιμήα and χωρίον do, a section in a book.) The verses of Is. liii. 7, 8, are quoted exactly according to the Septuagint, even to unimportant deviations; but with respect to the Hebrew text, it differs from the translation of the Seventy, in verse 8 very considerably. Gesenius renders the original text correctly thus: "By calamity and judgment he was taken away, and who of his contemporaries imagined that he was taken from the land of the living, that for the sin of my people punishment struck him." Instead of קָלַף the Seventy appear to have read קָלַף, and קָלַף they have understood as referring to the life of the party himself that is spoken of, and not to his contemporaries. However, this variation does not at all affect the connexion in which the words are here presented; it is a more important question whether Philip rightly explains the passage, when he refers it to the person of the Messiah. For the solution of this question, it is necessary to view the fifty-third chapter in connexion with what goes before from the fortieth chapter onwards, as well as with what comes after. The same servant of the Lord קָלַף קָלַף who is here presented as suffering, is described both before and afterwards, partly in similar, and partly in different situations. If we survey therefore the whole scope of the discourse, we shall understand why doubts should be entertained about referring the passage to the person of the Messiah, because the servant is often directly called Israel or Jacob, and is described in the plural, for which reason either the people of Israel, or distinguished personages among them, or the whole order of prophets, have been supposed to be meant. Other views, such as those which regard the prophet Isaiah himself, or king Hezekiah, as the subject of the passage, are to be altogether dismissed; but the views first mentioned do not at all stand in direct contradiction to the Messianic: on the contrary, the Messiah is the representative of the people, and especially of the better and enlightened part of them, and the people again are a type of the

Messiah. To him, therefore, in the last resort, and with the highest emphasis, the whole refers, without excluding however subordinate references. From this point of view the whole majestic picture of the second half of Isaiah is sketched; and therefore the comprehensive exposition of it must have a respect to all these different points. See Umbreit's *abhandl. über den knecht gottes*. In the *Studien*, 1828, p. 2, page 295, &c.

Vers. 34—38. Nothing hinders us from supposing in this case, that Philip entered into more detailed explanations than was possible in preaching to great multitudes, whose wants were very various, and answered questions proposed by the stranger. The passages of Scripture only formed a ground-work for his instructions. (*Γεαφί*, denoting single passages of Scripture, is of frequent occurrence: see Mark xv. 28.) And in this way are we to account for the desire of the chamberlain to be baptized, because Philip, without doubt, had made mention of the institution of baptism by the Lord. At a later period, however, offence was taken at the precipitation with which this baptism appeared to have been administered, and therefore an ample clause was added, embracing a kind of confession of faith of the treasurer. But the different shapes in which this clause appears are of themselves sufficient to raise doubts of its genuineness, which are carried to certainty by the agreement of the best codices A.C.G. and others, in omitting it.¹ It has already been remarked that baptism ensued upon a simple confession of the Messiahship of Jesus, of which the treasurer, whose heart had obviously been prepared by grace, might readily be convinced.

Vers 39, 40. After the discharge of this duty Philip returned, and came by way of Ashdod to Caesarea, where (Acts xxi. 8) he dwelt. The phrase *πνεῦμα κυρίου ἡξέπασσε* does not authorise the supposition of a supernatural removal: *ἡξέπάζεν* only expresses the idea of speed, and *πνεῦμα* that of suggestion from above.—*Ἀζωτος*, Hebrew *תִּי־עֵשׂ*, like Gaza, was one of the five cities of the Philistines, and lay north of this city.—*Καισάρεια* means here the well known city lying upon the Mediterranean Sea, which was the seat of the Jewish procurators. It was built by Herod the Great, and named in honour of Augustus. At an earlier period there stood upon the site of it a tower, which bore the

The clause here referred to by Olshausen is the whole of the 37th verse.—Tr.

name of Straton (Josephus, Arch. xiv. 8—11), and therefore the city was often called Caesarea Stratonis, to distinguish it from Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13 ; Mark viii. 27.)

The Abyssinians, it is known, trace up their conversion, though erroneously, to the influence of this treasurer, whom tradition names Indich ; their conversion was first effected in the fourth century by Frumentius and Adesius. The conversion of the treasurer appears to have produced no effects upon the country from which he came, but to have been limited to his own personal benefit.

II.

PART SECOND.

FROM PAUL'S CONVERSION TILL HIS SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

(Acts ix. 1—xviii. 22.)

§ 1. HISTORY OF THE CONVERSION OF PAUL.

(Acts ix. 1—30.)

THE second part of the Acts of the Apostles loses to a great extent the general character which was apparent in the first part: the work indeed becomes almost entirely an account of the life of Paul. Peter, it is true, does not altogether disappear from the narrative, but the principal communications which are made respecting him, have reference to the great controversy of apostolic times about the calling of the Gentiles, which must have been peculiarly interesting to Luke on account of his whole aim and the destination of his work. You cannot therefore say that the paragraphs, from chap. x. 1 to xi. 18, and in chap. xv. 6, &c., were introduced for the sake of Peter, but rather to justify the conduct of Paul by the authority of another apostle. Only there are some other sections, such as chap. ix. 31—43, and xii. 1, &c., which have reference simply to the Apostle Peter, and discover therefore still a tendency to contemplate other apostles besides Paul, and a gradual transition of the work into a form completely special. General observations respecting the condition of the whole church, such as those we found in the first part, are now altogether wanting. On the other hand, the powerful character of the Apostle Paul, whose entrance into the church imparted, as it were, a new activity to the Christian life, stands forth so prominently in this second part, that it engrosses all attention to itself.¹ The ground of this fact, that Paul occupies

¹ A connected view of the life of Paul is prefixed to the third volume of the Commentary, which embraces the epistles of Paul.

so conspicuous a place in the apostolic church, is to be sought, not alone in the greatness of his intellect, and in his zeal and faithfulness, but mainly in the circumstance that the Twelve were primarily destined for the people of Israel, and only turned in part to the Gentiles when the Jews, with obstinate unbelief, rejected the word of reconciliation. Paul's proper destination, on the other hand, was to be a messenger to the Gentile world. Although, therefore, the Twelve were not wanting to the work set before them, yet their power did not reach so full a development, as we perceive in the case of Paul.

Now it was in a very wonderful manner that the grace of the Lord made Paul so important an instrument in the church ; for it converted him at once from being a persecutor into a most devoted advocate, without any gradual change that could be traced. And thus Paul, quite irrespectively of the force of his eloquence, proclaimed at once, by the simple fact of his conversion, the power of Christ, which could not be said equally of those who had followed the Lord from the beginning. Of the remarkable occurrence itself we possess, not counting the numerous passing references to it in the letters of Paul, three detailed accounts ; first the one here given by Luke, and then two others by Paul himself. (Acts xxii. 1—16, xxvi. 9—18.) In the former of these two passages, Paul explains, in a public speech at Jerusalem, the grounds which had led him to become a believer in Christ. He mentions his birth in Tarsus of Cilicia, his being reared in Jerusalem, and instructed in the law by Gamaliel ; and he appeals, in reference to his zeal for the Mosaic institutions and against the Christians, to the testimony of the high priest and the whole Sanhedrim. And then follows a detailed account of the appearance of the Lord. In the other passage, Paul speaks before King Agrippa and Festus, and describes the occurrence to them with the same minuteness. The credibility of these accounts is not a little heightened by the circumstance that they do not literally agree, but treat the subject with freedom of narration. Along with exact agreement in essentials, we find therefore unimportant variations, by which doubts of the credibility of the accounts, involving the fictitious character of both speeches of Paul, are rendered exceedingly untenable. Besides, if you consider that his change of views brought no honour to the Apostle Paul but disgrace, procured for him no earthly happi-

ness but only sufferings, then every attempt to exhibit the occurrence as a fraud or a delusion must fall to the ground. Further, we cannot suppose a trance in which everything appeared to the apostle internally,¹ because the occurrence was witnessed by his attendants; and therefore there are only two views of the event left which can possibly be defended: either we are to suppose a real appearance of the glorified Redeemer, or we must explain the change in the apostle on psychological grounds, which coincided accidentally with a natural phenomenon in which Paul supposed he saw an appearance of Christ.

The latter view is defended by the most recent theologians, Heinrichs, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, Eichhorn (*Allgem. Bibl. der bibl. lit.* Bd. 6), Böhme (*Henke's Museum*, vol. 3), and others. The older theologians defend the former view; and the work of an Englishman named Littleton (translated by Hahn, Hanover 1751), who was himself converted by the history of Paul's conversion, is particularly worthy of notice. The older theologians however erred in this, that they frequently overlooked the importance of those psychological changes in the mind of Paul, to which later theologians have drawn attention. It is not to be denied that the mind of a Paul, who persecuted the Christians with an honest purpose, but ignorantly, must have been deeply impressed with the joyful faith of a Stephen. In consequence too of his knowledge of the Scriptures, passages could not fail to occur to him, which appeared to confirm the Messiahship of Jesus. In his heart, therefore, there might be a violent struggle, and he might have to fight against the truth forcing itself upon his mind, a state which, although not outwardly apparent, yet internally would prepare the way for the designs of God in reference to him. We may therefore quite properly connect the supposition of internal preparations in the apostle, with the miraculous appearance which Christ made to him.

But on the other hand, modern theologians of any impartiality must confess, that they do violence to the text when they assert that these psychological changes, assisted merely by some natural

¹ The passage in 2 Cor. xii. 1, &c., in which Paul describes a trance that happened to him, must not at all be taken into account here, as Neander (*Apost. Zeitalter*, Th. 1, s. 110, note) has already excellently remarked. For that trance forms an advanced point in the renovated life of Paul; but the appearance at Damascus coincides with the commencement of his new life.

phenomenon, effected the conversion of Paul. Were they to say it can be conceived possible, that Paul might have been converted by means of a flash of lightning darting down before him, then much might be said in favour of this idea: the holy Norbert, it is well known, was converted by such an occurrence: but here we have to do, not with possibilities, but with facts respecting which we have most precise accounts. The defenders therefore of the natural view of the occurrence in question, must say that Paul persuaded himself he saw the Lord in the flash of lightning, and that this view of the natural phenomenon was communicated by him to Luke and to the whole Christian church. In that case the three accounts that are given could at least be explained without any subtle refinement. However, no proof is needed to shew how much this supposition is opposed to sound psychological views. The Apostle Paul certainly exhibits in his whole conduct, if ever any person did, the utmost distance from all fanaticism: in the visionary, feeling and fancy have the unqualified mastery, but this is so little the case with Paul, that in him the dialectic element preponderates, which implies a predominance of the intellect. And should a man so constituted have been able to imagine that he held a long conversation with some person, while a flash of lightning darted near him to the ground; and that not merely at the first moment of the occurrence, but many years afterwards? The thing is not merely improbable, but altogether unnatural. To this, it must be added, that if we should suppose Paul deceived himself once as to his having seen the Lord, then we must suppose this to have occurred repeatedly with him; for we find that he declares himself that he had seen Jesus several times (comp. Acts xviii. 9, xxiii. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 9), which manifestly renders the whole hypothesis more contradictory still to the character of Paul. We may therefore say, without being unjust, that it is nothing but dogmatic views which have recommended to so many recent theologians the explanation on natural principles: if they had been able to adopt the biblical doctrine of the glorification of the Lord's body, they would not have regarded an appearance of the glorified Redeemer as a thing so inconceivable. But where it is supposed that, though a spiritual immortality must be conceded to Christ, he yet laid down his body again, there certainly a personal appearance of the Lord, such as is here related, must occasion great difficulties.

Vers. 1, 2. The commencement of the account of Paul's conversion plainly looks back to chap. viii. 1—3. Saul was so furious against the Christians, that he was not satisfied with persecuting in Jerusalem, but also endeavoured to destroy believers at a distance. Why he went direct to Damascus, which lay north from Jerusalem beyond the boundaries of Palestine, it is difficult to determine:¹ perhaps numbers of the Christians, who fled after the martyrdom of Stephen, had gone to that quarter, where perhaps there may have been formed immediately after Pentecost a small Christian society. The word *ἐκείνου* is taken from the image of a wild raging beast; it is usually construed with the accusative, though sometimes also with the genitive. In chap. xxvi. 11, you find instead of it, *ἐμμανέμενος*. The passage in xxvi. 10, 11, brings into view some additional notices respecting the persecutions which Saul stirred up; in particular, he mentions there that he had given consent to the death of numbers of Christians, as well as to the murder of Stephen; that is, by his authority as the commissioned agent of the Sanhedrim, with whose president, the high priest, Paul stood in direct communication, he had sanctioned these deeds. The phrase, *καταξίαν ὀΐζον*, is applied to a judicial suffrage: it retains almost exactly this proper signification, when you view Paul, in these persecutions, as representing in a certain measure the authorities. Without any reason, this plain declaration of Paul has been doubted, because no other who died in the persecution is named but Stephen; and it has been supposed, that using the plural, he only employed an enallage numeri. But the powerful impression which the persecution made upon the Christians in Jerusalem, leads directly to the supposition that Stephen was not the only sufferer in it; he only was mentioned, just because he was the most distinguished among those who died. Further, in chap. xxvi. 11, it is adduced as a peculiar mark of the hatred which burned in the bosom of Paul against the Christians, that he sought to compel them to utter blasphemies (*βλασφημεῖν*). It is not indeed expressly said whom they were to blaspheme, but it is self-evident, that Christ is the person meant. And this incident certainly presupposes a fearful height of rage in the heart of Paul; and the conviction afterwards reached of its great wickedness, explains the deeply humble feel-

¹ According to chap. xxvi. 12, however, Paul before his journey to Damascus, had already persecuted the Christians in other cities.

ing which he expresses, whenever after his conversion he makes mention of his earlier state, and compares it with the compassionate grace which the Lord had nevertheless poured out upon him. Further it is plain from chap. ix. 14, xxii. 5, xxvi. 12, that Paul acted in these persecutions as the official agent of the authorities. Now the Sanhedrim considered all Jews in all lands as under their jurisdiction, and as Damascus at that time (see Comm. 2 Cor. xi. 32) was under the government of a prince very favourably disposed to the Jews, viz. Aretas, they could easily effect the removal of Christians from this city to Jerusalem. The Jews, moreover, were so numerous in Damascus, that according to Josephus (Bell. Jud. i. ii. 25), ten thousand of them perished there in the reign of Nero.

Vers. 3, 4. In the neighbourhood of Damascus, and according to tradition, upon a bridge near the city, a brilliant light shone around the apostle, and he heard himself called by his name. The account of St Luke here, as respects both the facts and the speeches, is shorter than either of the accounts given by Paul himself. But it admits of no doubt that in both respects the latter, as full accounts, are to be preferred. Luke might readily present the narrative in an abbreviated form, as not feeling so lively an interest in the particulars; but Paul himself would naturally be disposed to describe the occurrence in all its details. It is a remark quite in harmony with the constitution of the mind, that in the case of events which exert a deep influence upon the life, even apparently trifling circumstances are deeply imprinted upon the memory; and it excites an agreeable feeling, when recalling the fact, to make mention also of these minute points, because the mind is assured as it were by them of the reality of the occurrence, and of the accuracy of the recollection of it. Thus Paul, besides mentioning the sudden light and the voice, brings into view also these circumstances, that it was about mid-day (xxii. 6, xxvi. 13), that the light surpassed the brightness of the sun (xxvi. 13), that the voice spoke in the Hebrew tongue (xxvi. 14), and that all his attendants fell along with him to the ground (same passage.) Now, although it must be allowed that *φῶς* and *φωνή* might signify lightning and thunder, yet it admits of no doubt, that the additional circumstance of the voice speaking in Hebrew, totally overturns the possibility of thus explaining the words; not to mention that in chap. ix. 17, 27, Ananias and

Barnabas declare in plain terms, that Paul saw Jesus, a fact upon which moreover Paul, in his whole apostolic ministry, grounds the peculiar position which he took in relation to the other apostles who had lived with the Lord. In the parallel passage, xxvi. 14, there is added to the words of Jesus, Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις, the peculiar expression, σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. As to the words, κέντρον denotes, as also βούκεντρον, a scourge furnished with sharp points (from κεντρίω), employed for driving horses and oxen. And Λακτίζειν denotes to strike with the foot (from λαῖξ), to strike out behind like a horse. To kick against the pricks therefore means to increase one's own pain by resistance, a proverbial mode of expression which often occurs in Latin and Greek authors. (See Terent. Phorm. i. 2, 27, adversus stimulum calcare. Pindar. Pyth. ii. 174. Aeschyli Agamemn. v. 1633. Euripidis Bacch. v. 791).

Further, this passage is one of the most striking of those in which grace is apparently represented as irresistible. The meaning of the words is really nothing else than this: "thy resistance to the urging power of grace helps thee not: thou must surrender thyself to it." It might indeed be alleged that it is not said ἀδύνατόν σοι, but only σκληρόν σοι; and that therefore a degree of resistance might be imagined in Paul, which grace might not have overcome. But, according to my conviction, this explanation has more verbal subtlety than truth: according to the sense and connexion of the passage, σκληρόν σοι must mean here much the same as ἀδύνατον, so that what is meant is that Paul really could not at that time resist the constraining power of grace. But although we readily acknowledge this sense in the passage before us, we do not therefore approve of Augustine's doctrine of gratia irresistibilis. This doctrine is that the gratia in the elect overcomes resistance not only at particular times, but throughout the whole of life, so that the loss of grace by unfaithfulness is impossible. But although we assert that the appearance of the Lord to Paul at this time carried along with it an overcoming power of grace, yet we do not deny that later in the life of this apostle there were moments when by unfaithfulness he might have forfeited the grace given to him.¹ Yet that grace at particular junctures may display itself thus irresistibly in the heart, is sufficiently confirmed

¹ That the most exemplary Christians do frequently in fact resist both their own convictions and the motions of the Spirit within them cannot be denied; but whether any

by the experience of countless numbers. And it is not difficult to see, in the case of the apostle Paul, how this experience must not only have operated with decisive influence upon the development of his future life, but also have been a leading principle in the formation of his doctrinal system. He, so proud of his legal piety, saw himself, by his very zeal for the law, which he imagined well-pleasing to God, converted into a murderer of the saints of God and an opposer of Messiah the prince ; and yet the Lord did not cast him out of his sight, but even chose him for a witness of his power over the souls of men, for a herald of the gospel to the heathen world. In this contrast there must have been something so overpowering, that even the strong soul of a Paul broke under it ; and this very rupture and fall of what was old, was at the same time the commencement of a new condition in the world of the apostle's mind. The outward appearance of the Redeemer therefore, and the outward light which blinded his bodily eye, were but the outward aspect of the whole occurrence ; its true inward meaning is to be found in the entrance of the light of a higher world into the depths of the apostle's mind, where, hovering over the waters of his soul humbled and purified in repentance, that light called forth from the water and the spirit, a new, a higher, a heavenly consciousness, the new creature in Christ Jesus. After such an experience it naturally became the business of Paul's life to preach the power of grace, and to shew by his own example, how possible it was for the Lord of glory, to lay down even his bitterest enemies as a stool for his feet, that is, to transform them into the most enthusiastic friends.¹

one who has been truly regenerated ever so resists the Spirit as to forfeit grace altogether, and to become a child of the devil again, is a very different question. Admonitions to perseverance, warnings against resisting the Spirit, do not prove that such forfeiture ever takes place ; for the progress of believers is secured not by physical force, but by influences operating upon them as rational and immortal beings. There are passages of Scripture which seem to place it beyond all doubt that where regeneration has really taken place, the new spiritual life, whatever fluctuations it may undergo, is never extinguished. John manifestly proceeds upon this principle when he concludes from the apostacy of certain individuals that they had never really been Christians : "They went out from us, but they were not of us ; for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us : but they went out that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." 1 John ii. 19.—Tr.

¹ All powerful preachers of grace, especially Luther and Augustine, have in a similar manner, by the power of inward experience, reached their conviction of it, and by means of the powerful utterance of that conviction they have been able to win whole centuries to the same belief.

Vers. 5—7. In the verses which follow, it is necessary first to settle the text. As the three narratives do not agree in all points, transcribers have endeavoured to smoothe down the differences. In particular, they have supplemented the shorter statement of Luke, from the two longer ones in Paul's discourses. From chap. xxii. 8 they have added to Ἰησοῦς in chap. ix. 6 the word ὁ Ναζωρεῖται; and after διώκει there occurs a very long addition in the *textus receptus*, in which particularly the phrase σιλησέν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λαπίσειν is borrowed from chap. xxvi. 14. According to the testimony of Codices, however, these words are inserted here from the speech of Paul in chap. xxvi. 14, and therefore they are omitted by the best critics. Besides, we find real variations in the narratives. According to chap ix. 7, all the attendants of Paul stood, according to chap. xxvi. 14, they fell to the ground: according to chap. ix. 7, they heard indeed the voice but saw no person, according to chap. xxii. 9, they heard nothing, but they saw the light. How this difference is to be explained, in accordance with the principle that literal agreement must exist between the different narratives of Holy Writ, I do not see. Should it be said that some of the attendants remained standing while others fell, and that some of them saw the light and others heard the voice, this explanation would be inadmissible here, because it is expressly said in chap. xxvi. 14 that they all fell down. And if any one should suppose two occurrences of the kind, and distribute the varying accounts among them, then still greater confusion would arise, for how can it be made probable that the Lord would appear twice to Paul on the way to Damascus? We must therefore take the Scripture account simply as it presents itself to us. There are plainly here variations in the narratives, exactly like those we often find in the Gospels, but they refer to unessential incidents, and are so far therefore from affecting the credibility of the event as a whole, that they rather confirm it. And certainly Paul's own statements deserve the preference above those of Luke, whose accounts, moreover, are presented in a very abbreviated form, and who might readily transpose some of the circumstances, as he was not an eye-witness.¹

¹ Olshausen recognises the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, but some of the statements made above seem rather to trench upon that fundamental principle. Plenary inspiration undoubtedly implies that, whatever apparent discrepancies may be found between different portions of the Word of God, there can be no real disagreement.

And finally, the speeches too in these verses differ from one another. The passage xxii. 10 agrees indeed in substance completely with ix. 6, but it differs so much the more from xxvi. 16-18. Instead of the short direction contained in the first two narratives, to go to Damascus and there learn every thing, chap. xxvi. 16-18 presents a detailed speech of Christ to Paul. Of Ananias and his speeches there is no mention made at all in chap. xxvi., while, on the other hand, in chap. ix. 15, 16, and xxii. 14, the very same points occur in the speech of Ananias which are to be found in chap. xxvi. 16, &c., in the speech of Jesus. The idea, therefore, very naturally suggests itself, that in chap. xxvi. Paul has transferred what Ananias said to Christ himself, on the principle : *quod quis per alium facit, id ipse fecisse putatur*. It may be objected, indeed, to this idea, that Paul expressly appeals to the fact of the Lord's having appeared to him, and instructed him (comp. Galat. i. 12), and therefore it may be alleged that the words in question must be ascribed to Christ himself. But on closer consideration new difficulties rise up against this view, which oblige us to go back to the former one. In the first place, the declaration in the Epistle to the Galatians refers to the doctrine of Christ, which Paul professes to have received from no apostle, but immediately from the Lord by inward revelation, but here in chap. xxvi. there is no mention made of doctrine at all in the speech of Christ. And again it appears that we cannot well suppose Jesus to have uttered a long

Now, surely the discrepancies commented upon by the author are merely apparent, and too much has been made of them. The two statements, "they heard the voice, but saw no man," and "they heard nothing, but saw the light," are by no means opposed to one another ; for surely they might see the light and yet see no person, and they might hear the voice so far as the sounds of it were concerned, and yet not hear the words that were addressed to Paul. The two statements combined intimate that they saw the light, but saw not the person of Jesus, that they heard the sound of his voice, but did not catch his words. And, as to the other alleged disagreement between the statements, that they fell to the ground and stood speechless, they may be reconciled on the principle that they refer to different instants of time. They might stand speechless for a little, and then fall during the progress of the scene, overcome by their augmenting alarm, or they might fall at first, struck down by the suddenness of the occurrence, and afterwards rise, but only to stand in speechless terror. Or perhaps *ἵσταναι* in Luke may not refer to the standing posture as distinguished from prostration, but simply to the fact of their being rivetted to the spot as distinguished from advancing on their journey. Even in the case of an uninspired author, a charge of contradiction is not advanced if any plausible method of reconciling two statements can be pointed out ; and surely the sacred penmen are entitled, at the very least, to the benefit of the same rule of judgment.—TR.

speech, because it is expressly remarked that Paul would receive the necessary communications in Damascus. The appearance of Christ therefore was to operate more by power of impression, and calm instruction was afterwards to be given by Ananias. This arrangement, at the same time, was wisely adapted to the character of Paul. To him, as a proud Pharisee well versed in the law, it might be a wholesome humiliation to receive from a man of little education, as Ananias probably was, instruction respecting the way of eternal life. The only way therefore in which we can hold the speech of chap. xxvi. to be real words of Christ, is to suppose that Paul has transferred words of the Lord that were spoken on the occasion of a later appearance (compare xxii. 18—21) to the earlier one, and blended them with it. Which of these views you may be disposed to prefer, it is all one to me.¹ In chap. ix. 7, the rare word *ἄσπετος* deserves notice, instead of which you find in chap. xxii. 9, *ἄμωτος*. The better mode of writing it is *ἄσπετος*, and the word denotes properly “dumb,” then also, “speechless through terror.” It occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

Vers. 8—16. Blinded by the splendour of the appearance, which was designed for him alone (a flash of lightning must have equally blinded his attendants), Paul was led by the hand to Damascus (xxii. 11.) The whole of the scene which follows is peculiar to the narrative before us. St Luke describes minutely what happened to Ananias, and that too with a local knowledge of the city (in verse 11 the street and residence of Paul are specified), which presupposes a very sure source of information. A remarkable thing in this account is the mutual adaptation of the operations of divine grace, which is displayed so manifestly. The same God who hears prayers prompts them also, and works again in another heart to bring about their fulfilment. So here the

¹ There appears to be no good ground for the conclusion to which Olshausen here comes. It rests simply upon the fact that Paul is directed to go to Damascus, for the information he needs, whence it is concluded to be improbable that Christ would say so much to him personally. But there is no inconsistency in supposing that Christ might say to him all that is mentioned in the three verses 16—18 of chap. xxvi., and that yet he might be instructed at much greater length by Ananias. We are not to suppose that Ananias said nothing to Paul but what is stated in the 17th verse of this 9th chapter. He probably conversed with him much during his sojourn in Damascus, so that the address of Christ might just suffice for an introduction to the fuller communications to be received in Damascus, and a means of authenticating them to Paul.—T2

Lord shews to Ananias Paul in prayer, and to Paul again Ananias approaching with help. Whether you suppose Ananias and Paul to have been acquainted with one another before this or not, does not at all materially influence the state of the fact. The objections of Ananias, and the removal of them by the Lord, display in a very touching manner the childlike relation of the believing soul to its Redeemer: the Saviour speaks with Ananias as a man does with his friend.

The word *ἀγιος* in verse 13, corresponding to the Hebrew *קדוש*, denotes in the New Testament, as applied to Christians, not the highest degree of moral excellence, but only the fact of being distinguished from the great mass of Jews and Gentiles, and living in the fellowship of the Spirit of Christ. (See more particular account in the Comm. on Rom. i. 7.)—Respecting *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς* in verse 15, comp. Comm. at Rom. ix. 21, &c. The expression here is plainly opposed not to the reprobate, but only to those who have a less extensive sphere of influence.—In verse 16 the apparent threatening, *ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ ὅσα ὀφείλει παθεῖν*, embraces really a promise of grace, and thus forms a striking thought, for to suffer for the Lord is the highest grace of which the believer can be accounted worthy. Matt. v. 10, &c.

Vers. 17–19. Of the relation of the passage in chap. xxvi. 16–18 to the speech of Ananias, we have already spoken at vers. 5–7: the narrative before us gives the words of Ananias, but very shortly, and in chap. xxii. 12, &c., they are to be found a little more full. On the other hand, chap. ix. 17–19 describes most minutely the healing of Paul: it is represented as effected very suddenly, and by means of the laying on of the hands of Ananias. We are not to suppose from the words in verse 18, *ἀπέπεσον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ὥστε λεπίδες*, that there was an actual falling off of anything: the word *ὥστε* sufficiently shews that there was only a feeling in the eyes, when they received the power of light again, similar to what usually accompanies the falling off of scales—*λεπίς* denotes properly a scale or scurf: it is applied to diseases of the eye in Tobit ii. 9, vi. 10.¹

In the passage xxii. 14, &c. the speech of Ananias confines it-

¹ Olshausen seems here to have fallen into a mistake. The word that is used in Tobit in both the passages referred to is, *λευκάμα*. In another passage, however, of the same book, xi. 13, the verb *λεπίζω* is employed to denote the falling off of the *λευκώματα*. καὶ ἐλεπίσθη ἀπὸ τῶν κήλων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ λευκάματα.—TR.

self to the general calling of Paul to the apostolic office for all men, which indeed indicates his destination to the Gentiles, though it does not clearly express it like xxvi. 16. It need only be remarked that in xxii. 16, the words ἀπολύνσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου plainly represent baptism as the act of cleansing from sin, as the ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. Comp. Comm. on Titus iii. 5.¹ In chap. xxvi. 16, &c., however, Paul is expressly appointed as the witness of Christ among the Gentiles, and by this appointment he receives the peculiar position in reference to the Twelve, which we find him through his whole life maintaining. At the same time it is intimated that he, as the representative of the world of light, is called to the exalted duty of delivering men from the power of darkness and its prince. (In ver. 17, ἐξαιρέσεις is to be referred to deliverance from dangers: it cannot be understood as synonymous with ἐκλενός, because the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν would not suit this idea.—Respecting the expression κληθήσῃ ἐν τοῖς ἡγαισμένοις in ver. 18, see Comm. on Colos. i. 12.)

And here now it is a highly important circumstance, that the Apostle Paul does not by any means become a member of the church, simply by means of the wonderful calling he has received from the Lord himself, but he must also receive baptism. In this the objectivity or real value of the sacraments appears beyond all mistake: they cannot be set aside on account of the immediate operations of the Spirit, but require to be administered, if it be at all possible, for exceptions must be admitted, as when martyrdom for the faith supplies the want of baptism. We must not however suppose that Paul in his baptism received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the hands of an apostle in the usual manner. In that case he would have been placed in a position of dependence with reference to the Twelve, which he himself most keenly repudiates.

¹ This statement of Olshausen is liable to be misunderstood. The utmost that can be inferred from the words of Ananias, is that baptism and the pardon of sin are in some way connected, but not that the mere act of baptism of itself in any case cleanses from the guilt of sin. If Paul had received baptism in hypocrisy, without any conviction in his mind respecting the power of Christ, or any trust in Christ, not only would the water of baptism not have cleansed him from sin, but it would greatly have aggravated his guilt. On the other hand, if, while truly believing in Christ, he had been placed in circumstances where it was not possible for him to be baptised, confined for example, as a prisoner, and cut off from all intercourse with the church, he would, notwithstanding the want of baptism, have enjoyed the pardon of his sins. The blessing would not have tarried till the opportunity of receiving baptism occurred. Being justified by faith, he would have had peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.—Ta.

(Galat. i. 12.) Probably the true state of the case was this, that Paul, like Cornelius, chap. x. 45, &c., received the Holy Ghost directly, and that before baptism. Baptism of itself placed him in no position of dependence, any more than the baptism of Christ made him dependent upon John the Baptist: but probably the communication of the Spirit would have had this effect, if it had taken place through the instrumentality of an apostle.

Vers. 20–25. According to Acts Paul went immediately (εὐθὺς) after his conversion into the synagogues of Damascus and preached Christ: according to Galat. i. 17, he withdrew soon after it to Arabia. How long he remained there is not mentioned in Galatians. We may reconcile the two accounts by supposing that Paul at first made the attempt to teach immediately, but then felt that he required a period of quietness to collect himself and to commune with his own mind, and therefore went for some time to Arabia.¹ Such an interval of repose must indeed have been essentially necessary to the apostle, because the revolution of his ideas was too violent, not to require an arranging of them and a settling

¹ This view, which is also supported by Schrader, of the object of Paul's residence in Arabia, has recently found an opponent in Neander (Apost. Zeitalt. Th. i. S. 115, Note.) The grounds, however, upon which this learned man attempts to make it appear that the apostle went to Arabia only for the purpose of preaching, have not appeared to me satisfactory. In the first place Neander is of opinion that Paul, if he had retired for the purpose of collecting himself, would have written *εἰς ἔρημον Ἀραβίας*, or simply *εἰς ἔρημον*. But one does not see the necessity why this form of expression should have been chosen to express that idea; Paul did not need to go to a desert to collect his thoughts and to arrange his new ideas, he might reside for a time in any city of Arabia. Besides, it does not appear to Neander probable, psychologically considered, that Paul, after Ananias had comforted him in solitude, should again have gone into solitude; he would rather have sought society. But intercourse with believers, and preaching of the gospel as an apostle, are surely to be distinguished from one another. As Paul himself, in his pastoral letters (see 1 Tim. iii. 6), gives the injunction that novices are not to teach, it appears to me very unlikely that he should himself have immediately entered upon his apostolic office. His first preaching in Damascus is probably to be regarded only as a testimony borne to what God had done in him: such testimony was necessary, because otherwise his conversion would have assumed the appearance of something clandestine. But after this testimony was publicly given, the apostle could not but feel the necessity of having his thoughts absorbed with the new world which had unfolded itself to him, which was hardly possible during his apostolic journeys. As three years, therefore, had been spent by the disciples in immediate intercourse with the Lord, so the same period was enjoyed also by Paul as a time of training. During this time the glorified Redeemer, unseen but inwardly near to the apostle, formed him into the powerful instrument, which he was afterwards honoured by the Church as being. For further particulars consult the exposition of Galat. i. 17.

of them by the Old Testament. The point to which all the effort of the apostle was first directed was naturally the Messiahship of Jesus¹ and that in the higher view in which Christianity exhibits the Messiah, namely, as the Son of God. Συγχύω denotes here “to confound, to bring into perplexity.” See Acts ii. 6.—Συμμερίζω properly means “to join to one another,” in which sense it occurs for example in Ephes. iv. 16. Here it denotes “to prove, to confirm, to join grounds as it were firmly to one another.” Without doubt, we must think of Rabbinical arguments, such as Paul had been conversant with in the schools of the Pharisees.

It is but very shortly that St Luke (Acts ix. 23—25) mentions the persecutions which the Jews at Damascus raised against Paul, whom they regarded as an apostate. From 2 Cor. xi. 32, where Paul himself makes mention of these occurrences, we learn that the governor of king Aretas of Arabia, ἐνθάδε ἡγετα τοῦ βασιλείας, supported the hostile Jews in their designs against the apostle. Aretas, in his conflicts with Herod Antipas, had made himself master of one part of Syria. (Joseph. Arch. xviii. 5, 1.) Paul escaped from Damascus, only because the Christians let him down in a basket through an opening in the city wall. (Comp. Comm. on 2 Cor. xi. 32.)

Vers. 26—30. The account of Paul's return to Jerusalem, which Luke here gives, may lead to the supposition, that after a short time he went back thither: but the passage in Gal. i. 17, 18, shews that, after fleeing from Damascus, he withdrew to Arabia, then came back to Damascus,² and first revisited Jerusalem after three years. Probably this time, respecting the employment of which no express information is given to us, was spent by the apostle in making a thorough revision of his ideas. The internal change in Paul was exceedingly violent; he needed repose, that he might free himself entirely from his old principles, and become thoroughly grounded in the new to which he had been drawn. And this long absence explains well, why the believers in Jerusalem were still afraid of Paul. Certainly they had heard of his conversion, but as nothing had been known of him for three years,

¹ In verse 20, instead of the common reading Χριστόν, Ἰησοῦν should stand.

² The incident of being let down through an opening in the wall appears to have occurred on the occasion of Paul's second visit to Damascus, which Luke does not distinguish from the first, because he entirely omits the journey to Arabia; for farther particulars, see Comm. on Gal. i. 16, &c.

they might fear that he had fallen away again. But Barnabas brought him to the apostles, and bore witness to the reality of his conversion. Yet it is surprising that Barnabas needed first to describe to the apostles how he had been converted. But as three years had elapsed, during which time they had heard nothing of him, the true state of matters might have escaped their memory: at the first they might not consider the event of his conversion to be so important, as his commanding personal qualities afterwards shewed it to be. Further, according to Gal. i. 18, 19, Paul met only Peter and James in Jerusalem. And of course the more definite words of the apostle there exhibited, must be allowed to modify the more general statement St Luke. The evangelist had not been personally acquainted with the early occurrences in the life of the apostle; and therefore his account of them could not be expected to be so precise.

In Jerusalem too Paul made the attempt to preach the Gospel (verse 28), but it was to be anticipated, that here his labours would be few. The Christians recognised him as the old enemy of their church, and might not be able to admit him so soon to their full confidence. The Jews viewed him as an apostate, and therefore shunned him. Besides, according to Acts xxii. 17, &c., the apostle was favoured with a vision of Christ in the Temple, although it was one purely spiritual (*ἐν ἐκστάσει*), by which he was directed to the Gentile world as the scene of his apostolic ministry. As soon, therefore, as some opposition to Paul appeared in Jerusalem on the part of the Hellenists,¹ the brethren there sent him away, after a stay of fourteen days (Gal. i. 18), by way of Cæsarea, to his native city Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia. It appears from Acts xv. 23—41 that churches existed in Cilicia, and there can be no doubt, therefore, that Paul employed his time in Tarsus in preaching the Gospel to his countrymen, for during his first missionary excursion he did not touch upon Cilicia at all.

According to Gal. i. 21, Paul's journey to Tarsus lay through Syria, and therefore Cæsarea must not be understood as meaning the well-known city upon the Mediterranean sea, but Cæsarea Philippi, on the borders of Syria. Proceeding by land from Jerusalem to Tarsus, Paul would not have chosen the longer way by

¹ There is no inconsistency between this and the statement of Acts xxii. 17, 18, that the vision of Christ caused him to depart, because they would not receive his testimony.

Cæsarea Stratonis. The phrase *κατήγαγον εἰς* is only to be understood as meaning "to bring on the way to Cæsarea," because that place is too far removed from Jerusalem to render it probable that an escort would go all the way.

§ 2. FIRST PREACHING TO THE GENTILES.

(Acts. ix. 31—x. 48.)

It has already been observed at the commencement of the second part of Acts, that the accounts which it embraces respecting Peter, were not communicated so much to set before us the ministry of Peter, as to shew in what manner the Gospel was first carried to the Gentiles. As Luke wrote mainly for Gentile readers, he would naturally feel very solicitous to make it plain to them, that this important event was brought about quite in accordance with God's purpose. It is true the accounts respecting Æneas and Tabitha have no necessary connexion with this object: they might have been omitted without causing any essential want. But the reason, probably, why Luke inserted them in his work was, that he found them in his Petrine documents connected with the history of Cornelius which follows, and supposed that, as they were striking proofs of the power of that Spirit who wrought in believers, he ought not to withhold them from his readers. To this add that these events exerted the most direct influence upon the spread of the Gospel in Palestine (ix. 35—42), and for that very reason could not but appear important to Luke. With respect to the *time* when these occurrences took place, it is only quite general intimations that are to be found in what follows, as in ix. 43, x. 48, and in xi. 2, according to the fuller reading. Without doubt, however, the statement of Paul's return to Jerusalem (ix. 26, &c.) is anticipated, and therefore these accounts of Peter are to be referred to the time of Paul's sojourn in Arabia. Were we with Meyer to refer them to the time of Paul's abode in Cilicia, then we should have too great an interval, respecting which no account was given. In chap. xi. 19, Luke glances back to the consequences of the sufferings inflicted upon Christians in the time of Stephen, but only as to something already past. (See the particulars at that passage.)

Vers. 31–35. The first verse embraces only a general description of the peaceful condition of the apostolic church in Canaan, (Respecting *οἰκοδομεῖν* see Comm. on 1 Cor. iii. 10, &c.—Respecting *φύσας τοῦ κυρίου*, consult Comm. on Luke i. 12.—*Ἰαζάκλῃσις* is considered at John xiv. 15.) The Apostle Peter appears, from verse 32, to have made a journey of visitation among the existing churches, and during this journey the cure of Æneas took place. (Lydda was a country town near to Joppa (verse 38), which Josephus also mentions in his Arch. xx. 6, 2.—*Σάρων* is a well-known fruitful region in the neighbourhood of these places. Consult Gesenius under word *יָרֵד*.)

Vers. 36–43. The account of the above cure is followed by a narrative of the raising of a certain woman Tabitha from the dead in Joppa, to which Peter was called from Lydda. There is nothing however peculiar in the occurrence, and therefore I simply refer the reader to the observations made at John xi. 1, respecting the general subject of raising from the dead. (The name *Ταβιθά*, which is only to be found here, is explained by Luke himself by the Greek word *δορκάς*, a gazelle, which, on account of the loveliness of the creature, was frequently employed as a proper name for women. The Hebrew name comes from *תָּבַב*, or *תָּבַבָּ*, a roe, a gazelle, of which the Syriac form is *ܬܒܝܬܐ*. See Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. p. 848.—Ver. 36, *πλήρης ἀγαθῶν ἔργων*. In a similar manner, James iii. 17 uses *μεστίς*. It is a Hebraism, because the adjective *שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר* is applied likewise to invisible good things. Further, verse 39 shews in what the good works of Tabitha consisted.—Respecting the idea to be attached to *ἔργα*, see at Rom. iii. 21.—In verse 36, *μαθητεία* is a peculiar form, which is only to be found here in the New Testament. Elsewhere it occurs in Diog. Laërt. iv. 2. The more common form is *μαθητεύς*. Consult Lobeck ad Phryn. p. 256.

Chap. x. 1. With these occurrences is connected the important narrative of the conversion of Cornelius, the first fruits of the whole Gentile world to the church of Christ. It appears surprising that the Apostle Peter, who laboured in the power of the Holy Ghost, and to whom the prophecies of the Old Testament respecting the calling of the Gentiles (see Comm. on Matt. viii. 10) could not be unknown, needed a special lesson on the point that the Gentiles were to be admitted into the church. But here it must not be overlooked that St Peter was by no means uncertain about

the entrance of the Gentiles into the church considered in itself, but only about the point whether they could be admitted without being circumcised, and taking upon themselves the obligation of the law.¹ The divine authority of the Old Testament being presupposed, it was by no means so easy to regard this as possible, and agreeable to the will of God. In the law of Moses, circumcision was instituted for all times, with the threatening that the uncircumcised should be cut off from the people of God (Gen. xvii. 10, 14); no prophet had expressly predicted that circumcision was ever to cease: the supposition therefore that would most readily suggest itself was, that the Gentiles must first go through the intermediate stage of Judaism, in order to reach the church of Christ. The proper idea of the position of the Gentiles in reference to the church was first given by the typical view of circumcision, which indeed is expressed with sufficient clearness in the Old Testament (Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; Jerem. iv. 4); but without an explicit exhibition of the relation between the circumcision of the Spirit, and that of the flesh. One might indeed suppose that the Spirit, who guides into all truth (John xvi. 13), would have immediately disclosed to the apostle this relation; and that he would have needed therefore no further instruction on the point. But let us only conceive the Spirit, not as a power suddenly replenishing the mind with truths of every kind, but as a higher principle which, penetrating the soul, leads it on gradually from step to step into the depths of divine knowledge; and then the event, which is here related to us respecting Peter, will stand in no way opposed to the statement, that he was filled with the Holy Ghost. Yet the reason why a peculiar arrangement of God took place, for the purpose of instructing Peter respecting this question, and through him guiding to certainty all who were in doubt, is to be found in the importance of the question. The reception of the Gentiles into the church, without laying upon them the obligation of circumcision and the law, was on the one hand, the public declaration of the universal

¹ This solves the doubts which De Wette expresses on Matt. xxviii. 19, how the apostles could have any scruple to baptize Gentiles, when the Lord had expressly commanded that all nations should be baptized. Peter had no scruple at all with respect to this point, but only how far he could baptize Gentiles, without at the same time binding them to the observance of the whole Old Testament law, and therefore also of circumcision.

character of the Gospel, the removal of the hedge which separated Jews and Gentiles (Ephes. ii. 14) ; but, on the other hand, this very reception was also the signal for an internal division of the church into Jewish and Gentile Christians. The Jews, belonging to the sect of the Pharisees, who had entered into the church, could not raise themselves to the purely spiritual and typical view of circumcision ; they held quite firmly by the necessity of entering through the old covenant in its outward form into the new, and according to the literal view of the Old Testament, as well as the words of Jesus in Matt. v. 17, they had so much in their favour, that it was difficult to refute them ; they were able therefore, even at a later period, to make a great impression upon Peter (Gal. ii.), and for this very reason this apostle needed that powerful support of his conviction, which the occurrences here narrated must have furnished him. The need of being confirmed in so extraordinary a manner, in the principle of the freedom of the Gentiles from the law, does not stand in any contradiction to the character of Peter, in which firmness and deepness were conspicuous, but arises quite necessarily out of it. His very depth was the reason why he found the question exceedingly difficult to answer ; his earnest faith in the word of God in the Old Testament, his reverence for every syllable of it, made him feel keenly the difficulties which the objections of the strict Jewish Christians started ; and in order that here, in a business of decisive moment, he might not be without certain warrant, nor follow any merely subjective opinion of his own, but act according to the will of God, he received this extraordinary assistance through means of a symbolical vision.

Vers. 1—8. First of all, Luke gives a description of the character and circumstances of Cornelius, and of the vision which was imparted to him. He dwelt in Cæsarea, the political capital of the country, and the seat of the highest Roman authorities ; he was a centurion in the Italian band or cohort, and without doubt therefore a Roman by birth, or at least from Italy.¹ And here it is surprising that Cornelius is described exactly as a proselyte, *εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεόν*, and the words of the 22nd verse too are particularly suitable to this character, *μαρτυρούμενός τε ὑπὸ ὅλου τοῦ*

¹ The legions that were stationed in the eastern provinces consisted for the most part of native soldiers. Particular cohorts however were formed of Italians, and these were called Italian cohorts.

ἑθνοῦς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. This circumstance appears in fact to destroy the importance of the whole narrative, for if Cornelius was already a Jewish proselyte, then his conversion cannot be regarded as the commencement of the entrance of Gentiles into the church : yet it is represented as such in what follows (x. 45, xi. 1), and Peter too names Cornelius (x. 28) ἀλλόφυλος (= חֵטְאִי Isaiah xi. 6), while he adds that it was not permitted to him as a Jew to hold intercourse with him. On account of this difficulty it has been proposed to take the expression φοβούμενος τὸν Θεόν in a more general signification, without reference to the condition of a proselyte : but first this phrase, like σέβουμενος τὸν Θεόν and προσήλυτος, is the usual description of Gentiles favourable to Judaism, and again the singular with the article τὸν Θεόν does not permit, that it be regarded as a description of heathen devoutness. The difficulty under consideration is best explained by considering minutely the condition of proselytes among the Jews. There were, it is known, two classes of proselytes, those of the gate (חֵטְאִי חֻמְאִי), and those of righteousness (חֵטְאִי צְדִיקָה). The latter received circumcision, and formally passed over into the Jewish church ; the former, on the other hand, bound themselves only to the observance of the so-called precepts of Noah (see Comm. on Acts xv. 20) ; these proselytes of the gate, therefore, as being uncircumcised, were always regarded as unclean, and at the best were viewed as a kind of middle class between Jews and Gentiles. It was probably supposed that all proselytes of the gate would gradually allow themselves to be circumcised ; and this intermediate stage was perhaps only appointed, not to frighten away by too rigid requirements at first those Gentiles who displayed a leaning to Judaism. Now if you only suppose that Cornelius was a proselyte of the gate, and consequently uncircumcised, which accords with the words in chap. xi. 1–3, in which Cornelius and his friends are styled ἀκροθυσσίαν ἔχοντες, then all the descriptions which occur in what follows are quite appropriate ; and the new feature of the case was this, that Cornelius, without becoming a proselyte of righteousness, was immediately baptized in the name of Jesus. Meyer's objection to this view, that it is improbable there were no proselytes before this who had entered the church, and that therefore, according to our supposition, the history of Cornelius would present nothing at all peculiar, is easily obviated by the supposition, which has a solid ground in the circumstances

of the case, that proselytes of righteousness, who were of course circumcised, had already been admitted into the Christian community, but no proselytes of the gate, that is, none who were uncircumcised: this first took place in the case of Cornelius, and herein lies the great importance of his admission. For on account of the high value which the Jews attached to circumcision, the grand question was, whether persons could become Christians without circumcision.

With respect to the vision of an angel next mentioned, with which Cornelius was favoured, nothing leads to the conclusion that it occurred otherwise than as purely internal phenomenon, *ἐν ἐκστάσει*, as in the 10th verse.¹ As it was late in the day, viz. three hours after noon, it is altogether probable that the fasting of Cornelius had augmented his susceptibility of spiritual impressions (for in fact we do not find that any one has had such appearances immediately after a full meal), but it does not follow from this, that the whole occurrence was the mere product of an excited imagination: at least that is certainly not the meaning of the narrator, which we must first of all ascertain by exegetical research. It is not improbable (see at chap. x. 37) that Cornelius had already heard of Christianity, and that the object of his prayers was to obtain light from above respecting this new religion.

In verse 4 the words *ἀνέβησαν αἱ προσευχαὶ σου εἰς μνημόσυον*, are a well-known form of expression adapted to human views and feelings. See Exod. ii. 23. Probably it takes its origin from a comparison of prayers with sacrifices, because the smoke rising up to heaven was viewed as an index of the acceptance of the sacrifice. In the 5th and 6th verses there is no particular stress to be laid upon the circumstance that the trade of a tanner, on account of his being occupied with the skins of slain beasts, was held in contempt among the Jews: were any thing of the kind designed, a clearer indication of it would have been given.

Vers. 9–16. In conjunction with the vision of Cornelius there

¹ The word *φανερῶς* seems inconsistent with the view advocated by Olshausen, and rather favours the idea that an angel actually appeared to Cornelius in his waking moments. The statements made too regarding the entrance and departure of the angel in verses 3–7, as well as the hour of the day when the occurrence took place, lead to the same conclusion. Olshausen appeals to the 10th verse, but it tells against himself, for it is there plainly said that an *ἐκστασις* fell upon Peter, while nothing of the kind is said regarding the angelic vision of Cornelius.—TR.

occurred by God's direction another, which was imparted to Peter about the same time. Of this vision it is expressly said in verse 10: ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις.¹ The word ἔκστασις denotes primarily the condition of being put out of one's self; and is therefore frequently applied to terror and astonishment, as in Mark v. 42; Luke v. 26; Acts iii. 10. By way of eminence, however, it is applied to a state of spiritual excitement, which is also indicated by the expressions εἶναι or γίνεσθαι ἐν πνεύματι, as in Rev. i. 10;² and φέρεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, in 2 Peter i. 21, denotes something similar. It is a remarkable description of the ἔκστασις, which Paul gives in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, when he declares that he knew not whether that which occurred to him occurred in the body or out of the body. And hence it plainly follows, that the depression or removal of the human consciousness, which, however, must be conceived as connected with an exaltation of the heavenly consciousness, constitutes the specific character of the ἔκστασις; during which, too, the Spirit exerted a mighty influence upon the soul. To this ἔκστασις the state of somnambulism bears some resemblance. States which at the least came very near to ἔκστασις, appear also to have prevailed among the prophets of the Old Tes-

¹ The word ἔκστασις is used by Philo (quis rer. div. haer. edit. Pfeiffer. vol. iv. p. 111, sqq.) in a fourfold sense. In the highest form it denotes the ἰδέσθαι κατοχυστική τι μανία, ἥ τὸ προφητικὸν γένος χρῆται. An example of this sort he finds (p. 114), in the history of Abraham, in Gen. xliii. 10, where it is said: περὶ δὲ ἡλίην θυμὸς ἔκστασις ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ. And this form of the ἔκστασις can only be imparted to the wise man, for to him alone does God draw near, that he may inspire him as his instrument and permeate his soul: μόνῳ δὲ σοφῷ ταυτ' ἱφαρμόττει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνος ὄργανον Θεοῦ ἴστιν ἡ χροῖν, κρούμενον, καὶ πληττόμενον ἀσάπτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. In the sequel of his representation (p. 119), Philo then describes more minutely the nature of such a genuine prophetic ecstasy, and gives an allegorical exposition of the passage respecting Abraham. As the day lasts so long as the sun shines, so the earthly lower consciousness endures while the understanding continues active. But when a higher divine power drives back the lower human power, then the earthly consciousness fades, but a higher and more comprehensive consciousness rises up in the man. The mortal, says Philo, cannot dwell along with the immortal, and therefore must the earthly light vanish at the entrance of the divine light, and it is only when the latter is withdrawn that the former comes again into view. This description is so lively and picturesque, that undoubtedly we must suppose Philo had not only observed such ecstasies in others, but had also been partaker of them himself.

² It is by no means meant, that wherever the words ἐν πνεύματι occur, a state of ecstasy is to be understood: on the contrary, it is only the two forms of expression specified that are so used. The Holy Ghost frequently, yea commonly, appears to operate in the state of consciousness, without producing a remarkable exaltation of the spiritual life.

tament. Sudden seizure by the power of the Spirit, expressed in the passage before us by the words ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, is indicated by the well known phrases, יָתַד יְהוָה עָלַי and יָד יְהוָה עָלַי ; and Ezekiel, in particular, shews how states of ecstasy were connected with this seizure. Now, although such occurrences are represented as operations of grace, yet Paul, who describes them most carefully in his Epistles to the Corinthians, intimates, that they by no means form the highest stage of development in the spiritual life ; it is better under the full influence of the Spirit, to be able to maintain¹ a state of clear consciousness. (For farther particulars on this subject, see Comm. on 1 Cor. xiv. 32.) Accordingly we do not find that the Redeemer himself ever appeared in states that even bordered upon the ἔκστασις : in him the highest influence of the Spirit was always connected with the clearest consciousness.

The sixth hour was one of the usual hours of prayer ; and the Jews frequently went to pray upon the flat roof, ἐπὶ τῷ δώματι, where they were alone under the open sky. — Πέσσευστος occurs nowhere else in the New Testament ; it signifies very hungry, for πῦρ frequently heightens the signification. In verse 11, the words σκεῦός τι ὡς ὀθόνην, denote something indefinite and general that belonged to the vision ; the appearance perhaps might be compared to a great sheet fastened by the corners to the sky. Ἀρχή stands here as in xi. 5, in the signification of “end, extremity,” in which signification it is also to be found among profane writers. The repetition mentioned in verse 16, denotes the certainty and solidity of the instruction imparted by the vision.

And here the question presents itself, in what relation the arrangements of this vision stood to the laws of food in the Old Testament. (Lev. x. 11.) If, indeed, you suppose that those laws of Moses were not at all designed to suggest higher instruction, and that the vision here described was a mere imagination of St Peter, then there is no difficulty in allowing one fancy to be abrogated by means of another.² But the dignity of the word of

¹ A mistake on this point was the peculiar error in the doctrine of the Montanists respecting the state of ecstasy ; they erroneously regarded this lower form of the revelation of the Spirit as the highest, and thus hindered the advancement of the church to a higher life.

² With much ingenuity Neander (Apost. Zeitalt. p. s. 92, &c.) handles this occurrence. He says : “ There came together two tendencies of his nature, the higher want of his Spirit, the power of the divine, which overcame his Spirit, and the power of the

God cannot consist with such suppositions. According to Matt. v. 17, nothing entitles us to choose out portions from the Old Testament, that we may deprive them of their divine character ; and as little does the New Testament permit the supposition, that events so important as the conversion of the Gentiles were brought about by the dreaming of an apostle. But according to this stricter view, the New Testament appears in this case to abrogate the Old ; although this idea stands opposed to the express declaration of Christ in Matt. v. 17. Now here we might just say, that in Christ all the types of the Old Testament attained their end, that the laws of food were part of these types, and that accordingly in their outward form they have ceased, because they have been spiritually fulfilled. But it is very difficult to make out a real typical character for the laws of food : for although here unclean beasts plainly denote the Gentiles (verse 28), yet they have this reference only because the Gentiles, on account of their eating unclean beasts, were themselves esteemed unclean. The supposition therefore forces itself upon us, that in the distinction between clean and unclean beasts, some other circumstances were looked to. It is difficult indeed in all cases to make this good, but the eating of serpents and other reptiles was probably forbidden on no other ground than this, that in fact something impure was seen in such disgusting beasts.¹ A clear intimation in favour of this idea is furnished in ver. 15, where it is said : ὁ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξαδάξισε, σὺ μὴ καί-

animal want over his lower nature. In this way it happened that the divine and the natural were mingled together, not so, that the divine was confused by the mixture, but so, that the divine employed the reflection of the natural as an image or vehicle for the truth to be revealed. The divine light, which, breaking through the atmosphere of traditional notions, was about to rise in his soul, displayed itself in the mirror of sensuous images that proceeded from the present want of his animal nature." This representation, however, might be readily misunderstood. In the first place, it might be imagined that Peter's view of the difference between clean and unclean beasts, as well as of the separation between Jews and Gentiles, was absolutely false, as belonging to the circle of traditional notions. But this, on the supposition of the divine authority of all the Old Testament institutions, cannot be allowed ; on the contrary, the ordinances respecting unclean beasts, and the separation of the Jews from the Gentiles, though only temporary appointments, were yet really valid until the coming of the Messiah, and therefore their abolition for the Messianic times required to be then expressly declared. Again, Neander's representation might be misunderstood in this way, as if it meant that the feeling of hunger was the real cause of the whole occurrence ; while according to his view it was only the subjective handle which divine grace laid hold of, for the purpose of making the apostle acquainted with a point which was peculiarly difficult to him.

¹ Respecting the degradation of the unconscious creature, see the remarks made at Romans viii. 18, &c.

100. Here the idea of the impurity of certain beasts is recognised, because καθαρίζειν can only be applied to that which is unclean. And it makes no difference whether you take the word in the sense of “making clean,” or “declaring clean,” for the latter necessarily presupposes the former. (Consult Comm. on Matt. viii. 3.) According to the connexion the aorist has reference to the vision, and the first announcement made in it, ὤσων καὶ φάγε (verse 13); but the reason why at this time, and under these circumstances, the declaration ensued, is to be sought in more general grounds, viz. in the completed redemption, which is regarded as a restitution of the whole creation. The laws of food accordingly, from their nature, retained their importance only until, by the redemption of Christ, that which occasioned them was overcome. We cannot therefore say that they are here abolished as something opposed to Christianity, but they only appear fulfilled, like all else, by the work of redemption.

Vers. 17–22. Peter, still uncertain about the purpose of this vision, received upon the spot an inward notice from the Spirit (ἔπειν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, see chap. viii. 29), that some strangers were waiting for him. (Verse 19. The common reading ἐνθυμουμένου has been rightly set down by Griesbach as inferior to the other reading διενθυμουμένου: this compound is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament, and as the more unusual form, it deserves the preference. — Verse 20. Respecting διακρίνεσθαι compare Matt. xxi. 21; Mark xi. 23. — Verse 22. Respecting ἡρημασίξειν, see Comm. on Matt. xi. 12.)

Vers. 23–29. The behaviour of Cornelius on the arrival of Peter at his house (ver. 25), shews plainly how undeveloped his religious views still were. To judge by the apostle's words, his adoration was no mere form of courtesy, but he regarded Peter as a being endowed with supernatural powers. Probably therefore he had not yet been able altogether to disengage himself from heathen ideas, and he might suppose Peter to be the son of some god or a hero. Now, as Cornelius notwithstanding this received the Holy Ghost, and that too before baptism (verse 44), we see here again how incomparably more important in the religious life are the desire and inward longing of the heart, than correctness of ideas; it was such feelings alone which made the Roman captain so acceptable to God.

In verse 25, the codices A.B.D.E. insert τοῦ before εἰσελθεῖν,

which, as the more difficult reading, ought to receive the preference. Yet this connexion of the genitive of the infinitive with ἐγένετο, is to be viewed as an extravagant use of this mode of constructing the infinitive, of which there is no example elsewhere to be found. (See Meyer on this passage.)—Verse 29, ἀνατιθέτως occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Hesychius explains it by ἀναμψιζήτως. The phrase, εἰν λόγῳ, occurs again in 1 Cor. xv. 2. It may be explained by ἐπι supplied; λόγῳ, like 𐤀𐤋𐤁, is used in the sense of חֶסֶד or פְּדֻמָּה.

Vers. 30—33. The minuteness with which Cornelius describes his vision, gives to the narrative an air of simplicity, which renders it probable, that the account as communicated to us by St Luke, has been drawn from a very excellent source, to be sought for perhaps among the friends of Cornelius himself.¹ (Verse 30.) Heinrichs, who is followed too by Meyer, errs, when he understands the words, ἀπὸ τετραστης ἡμέρας—ἡμην νηστεύων, to mean that Cornelius had been fasting four complete days, down to the time when Peter arrived, for in that case the present tense must have been used; the meaning rather is: “I was fasting at the time I received the vision, viz. four days ago, down to the same hour of the day at which we are now speaking.” Meyer, however, differs from Heinrichs in this, that the latter places the vision upon the fourth day of the fast, the former upon the first. Meyer’s view is plainly quite untenable, for the idea of the writer is that God, in consequence of the disposition first manifested by Cornelius,

¹ This remark of Olshausen seems to lead to the conclusion that he considered some portions of Scripture as more entitled to credit than others, on account of the sources from which they have been drawn. Such a notion is utterly inconsistent with sound views of inspiration, and would render valueless the whole word of God, for who is to decide what portions came from the best sources? Paul gives us the right view, when he says “that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.” Yet the remark of Olshausen embodies a certain amount of truth. The several portions of Scripture, though all equally inspired, yet differ from one another, and all exhibit the impress of the mental peculiarities of their respective penmen, who must have written therefore not as mere machines, but as intelligent beings exercising their different powers of mind. The peculiar air of simplicity therefore which pervades this passage, may have originated in the circumstance, that Luke, who was very diligent in the investigation of facts, had some document before him, which had been written upon the spot, and which therefore preserved the minutest details. But this could be no reason for our receiving the narrative with peculiar favour. The claim of the narrative to our implicit belief, rests altogether upon the fact, that Luke wrote by inspiration, though the peculiar hue it wears may have originated in the manner supposed by Olshausen.—TR.

favoured him with the vision ; but this disposition shewed itself by means of the long fasting, and consequently the vision must have taken place at the end of it.¹

Vers. 34—36. This statement of Cornelius awakened the astonishment of Peter at the proceedings of God's grace. (Respecting *πρὸς σωπὸλ' ἡπτης*, consult Comm. on Matt. xxii. 16.) He saw that the Gospel in its comprehensive agency was appointed to draw to itself all those who, whatever nation they might belong to, carried within themselves a holy longing and upward striving after God.² This passage is one of those which, through a complete mistake of the depth of Gospel principles, are misapplied to the purpose of proving from the Holy Scriptures themselves, the pretended superfluity of Christianity and the sufficiency of virtue. It has been supposed you may prove from it, that the apostles themselves taught, that the fear of God and (*εὐγύζουσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην*) virtuous conduct are perfectly sufficient to guide to blessedness, and that for gaining this end there is no need of faith in the specific doctrines of Christianity. But the shallowness of the religious indifference, displayed in these statements, appears plainly from the circumstance, that they ascribe to man, without any help beyond himself, the ability to fear God truly, and to practise righteousness in the full sense of the term. And again the connexion of the whole narrative clearly shews that the

¹ Meyer's view may be untenable for the reason stated by Olshausen, but the view of Heinrichs, on the principle which they both hold, is still more so ; for if the fasting continued for four days down to the time of Peter's arrival, then the vision could not take place on the last day of the fast, as no interval would thus be left for the journey of the messengers to Joppa. But they are plainly both wrong. If, as they both suppose, the fasting continued four days, then these days must not be understood as immediately preceding the arrival of Peter, but as passed even before the messengers were dispatched. For four days Cornelius fasted, then he received the vision, then he sent for Peter, who arrived at his house, it is not stated after what interval of time, but he arrived at the same hour of the day at which on some preceeding day the vision had taken place. Olshausen himself supposes the fast to have continued only for one day, and the vision to have taken place on that day, viz. four days previously to Peter's arrival, though at the same hour of the day. This is a consistent enough view of the subject. But the preposition *ἀπὸ* seems rather to indicate that the fast had continued from the fourth day counting backward, and that the vision appeared on the last day of the fast.—TR.

² The holy longing and striving after God here spoken of cannot be supposed to be the native growth of man's own corrupt heart. Doubtless the Spirit of God was at work in the breast of Cornelius, while he fasted and prayed, previously to the visit of Peter ; and the desires excited within him were gratified in the good providence of that God, who turns not away from those who seek him. The appetite, as well as the food, in spiritual matters, comes from God.—TR.

position hitherto occupied by Cornelius did not suffice for him, because he now received baptism ; not to mention that the right view of verse 36 requires, that the words *δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστὶ τὸν λόγον* be connected together. There is indeed a great difference between those Gentiles, who labour according to their knowledge to keep the law, and those who make no such effort (Rom. ii. 13, 14) ; but the operation of this difference is, that those who do by nature the works of the law, are in the way of being more easily led to the higher stage of spiritual life which the Gospel discloses. The general principle therefore, that out of Christ there is no salvation, is only confirmed by this passage, which makes the blessing of an earnest faithfulness to the law consist in this, that it leads to Christ. Hence the expressions *φοβεῖς θαι τὸν Θεόν* and *ἐξγάγῃσθαι δικαιοσύνην* denote, according to the connexion, devoutness of a legal kind, the *δικαιοσύνη κατὰ νόμον*. (On this point see the remarks at Luke i. 6, and Rom. iii. 21.)

With respect to the grammatical connexion of verses 35—37, more difficulty has been found in it, than need have been. As *ὅν* in verse 36 is wanting in some codices, *τὸν λόγον* has been understood by some in the sense of “this doctrine,” and the passage has been translated “this doctrine,” viz. that God accepts also pious Gentiles, God has sent or imparted to the Israelites. But first the omission of *ὅν* is not the reading established by criticism, and again the idea specified does not suit the connexion, for the calling of the Gentiles into the church of Christ had not hitherto been seen to be grounded in the principles of the Gospel. Neither can the conjectural reading of *ὡς* for *ὅν* at all make good its claim, as it is wholly destitute of critical authority. It would be better to decide in favour of the connexion, of *ὅν λόγον* with *ὑμεῖς εἰδότες* in the 37th verse, which has been defended, not only by Heumann and Bolten, but also by Heinrichs and Kuinoel.¹ With this view,

¹ Meyer too has decided in favour of this view : he will have the passage so understood that three accusations are dependent upon *εἰδότες* in verse 37, viz. *τὸν λόγον* in ver. 36, *ῥῆμα* in ver. 37, and *ἰησοῦν* in ver. 38 ; but the highly forced character of this connexion appears in the translation which he appends, not to mention that, according to this view, the clause *οὗτός ἐστι πάντων κύριος* must be taken as a parenthesis, although the connexion requires the main emphasis to fall upon it. It is upon the principle that Christ is Lord of all, that the warrant rests for the calling of all. My view of the passage has been completely misunderstood by Meyer. It does not make the accusative *τὸν λόγον* to be governed by *καταλαμβεῖν*, in verse 44, but to stand connected with *δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἐστὶ*, in this sense : “he is acceptable to him in reference to the word, which God sent to the Israelites, that is, so as to have part in this word.”

however, there are two important difficulties connected, viz. first the parenthesis οὗτός ἐστι πάντων κύριος, and secondly, the clause that follows, τὸ γινόμενον ἔφημα, which must be taken as in apposition with λόγος, so far removed from it. On the other hand, every thing is plain, when you understand ὃν λόγον as the accusative absolute, and connect it with δεκτός αὐτῷ ἐστι. The expression, ὃν ἀπέστειλε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, must then be understood in this manner: which word he sent first of all to the children of Israel, but as Christ is Lord of all, it appertains also to all men, πάντων being taken as masculine, and not as neuter, to denote the universe.¹

Vers. 37—43. Peter next brings forward an account of the leading occurrences in the life of Christ, and in conclusion presents him to the view of his heathen hearers, as the judge and Saviour even of the Gentile world. It is worthy of notice that Peter here, in the words ὑμεῖς οἴδατε, presupposes the history of Christ to be already known to Cornelius and his friends: ὑμεῖς refers to the πάντες ἡμεῖς of verse 33. It is not improbable therefore, as we have already intimated at verse 1, that Cornelius was in a state of inward conflict, uncertain whether he should regard Christianity as of divine origin or not. And from this uncertainty might proceed his earnest prayer, which God on account of his sincerity regarded, and in an extraordinary manner gave him full assurance respecting the way in which he should go.

The phrase καταδυναστευόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου in verse 38 occurs only here, being used as a description of demoniacs. The verb occurs also in James ii. 6. It may be remarked that Peter, without any special occasion, touches here upon the doctrine of the Devil, even before Gentiles who did not know it, which is not favourable to the theory of accommodation. Ver. 41. προχειροτονέω is to be found nowhere else in the New Testament. Respecting συμφαγεῖν and συμπίνειν, see Luke xiii. 26. It is a most important idea in these verses, that Christ is appointed κείτης ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. Of this *thought* itself mention has already been made at Matt.

¹ Winer in his Gram. p. 499, decides in favour of the supposition that the construction is left incomplete (anacoluthon), and remarks in opposition to my explanation, that it would deprive the words which follow of all proper grammatical connexion. I cannot see where the learned man misses the connexion in what follows: if you only understand the words, οὗτος ἐστι πάντων κύριος, as forming a sentence by themselves in the sense, he is Lord of all, and therefore also your Lord, the discourse moves on in the very best connexion.

xxv. 31; John v. 27; see also 2 Cor. v. 10; 2 Thess. i. 5, &c. And the *expression* here chosen occurs again in 2 Tim. iv. 1, and 1 Pet. iv. 5,¹ in which latter epistle the language manifestly is quite similar to that of Paul. The only question that still presents itself is this, what is meant by the distinction between the living and the dead? Is this what is declared: "Christ judges not only those who shall still be alive when he returns to this world, but also those already dead?" This will certainly appear very improbable, when it is considered that in this view all the pious of preceding times would be styled *dead*, while yet the Redeemer expressly says of them: "God is not the God of the dead," "but of the living;" they all live to him. Luke xx. 38. Comp. Comm. on Matt. xxii. 32. And besides, the division of mankind according to this view would be very unequal, because the number of those who have died in the course of thousands of years, does not form a proper comparison at all with those who shall be alive at the end of the world. Certainly therefore it is more correct to understand the *living* of those who enjoy spiritual life, and the *dead* of those who remain spiritually dead; which makes the distinction a more important one, and renders the phrase parallel to all those passages which treat of the judgment of the good and the bad.

Vers. 44—48. It is quite a peculiarity, in connexion with the account of the conversion of Cornelius, that the Holy Ghost, who manifested himself here also by the gift of tongues, *ἐκδόσεις ῥημάτων*, was imparted *before* baptism. A consideration of the meaning of baptism and its relation to the gift of the Spirit, makes this appear a remarkable occurrence; for it is first in baptism, and in regeneration which coincides with it, that the new man in whom the Holy Ghost dwells is fully born. We must suppose, in the case of Cornelius, that regeneration took place before baptism; as indeed the baptism of adults always presupposes faith, and therefore also the commencement of regeneration. The outward act of baptism, therefore, is not to be regarded as absolutely indispensable; and accordingly the church has always considered unbaptised persons, who suffered martyrdom for the faith, as having received in the baptism of blood the baptism of water and of the Spirit at the same time. Still however there is something

¹ In the passage in 1 Pet. iv. 5, the connexion points primarily to those who are *literally* dead, but to such as are at the same time *spiritually* dead.

singular in the case before us: there is nothing similar to it to be found: and probably therefore the correct view of the subject is, that this unusual proceeding took place for the sake of Peter. It appears from his subsequent conduct that the immediate reception of the Gentiles into the church of Christ had always appeared to him a matter of difficulty; and therefore in this first decisive case the divine compassion came to his help, and revealed to him in an undoubted manner that the Gentiles were not to be excluded from the noblest privilege of believers, the gift of the Holy Ghost. The importance of this circumstance Peter himself afterwards (chap. xi. 15) expressly sets forth. The view of Meyer that the communication of the Holy Ghost before baptism, has its ground "only in the elevation of the mind to the proper pitch for receiving the gift," is untenable; because this might be the case with many, to whom nevertheless the Spirit was not imparted before baptism. This takes place not at all by any internal necessity, but in consequence of a free action of God.¹

¹ Some further remarks will be made on the author's views of baptism and regeneration at chap. xvi. 15, where he more fully expresses them. He seems in general to regard regeneration as the consequence of baptism, and yet in this paragraph he allows that the inward change of regeneration should at least be begun before the outward rite of baptism takes place. It is plain too from his remarks on Lydia, xvi. 15, that he considers the very first inclination of the mind to God as the result of a divine influence. Faith and a change of heart, then, ought to go before baptism. They are the proper preparation for it; and if they are wanting, baptism will be found altogether unable to produce them. Baptism will never of itself regenerate a soul. The author seems to overlook the distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary influences of the Spirit. There were ordinary influences, such as Lydia experienced, which were absolutely necessary to the very first right feeling, and which of course must precede the faith and baptism of adults, not follow them. But there was also in primitive times an extraordinary influence of the Spirit, which displayed itself in a palpable manner, and which was often exhibited after baptism. This extraordinary influence, though following baptism, was not connected with it, our author allows, by any internal necessity, but depended altogether upon the will of God. And much less could the ordinary influence that produced faith, and that of course preceded baptism, be itself in any sense a consequence of baptism. The regeneration of faith should always go before baptism, and it is vain to look to baptism for it.—TR.

§ 3. FIRST PROCEEDINGS ON ACCOUNT OF THE GENTILE CHRISTIANS. PAUL'S STAY IN ANTIOCH AND JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

(Acts xi. 1—30.)

Vers. 1—18. In what a momentous aspect this event of the entrance of the Gentiles into the church of God was viewed, plainly appears from the account that follows. Not only all believers in Jerusalem, but even the apostles themselves, were unable rightly to explain the conduct of Peter, and therefore they called him to account. It is plain therefore that they occupied essentially the same position, and it would probably have been difficult for Peter to justify himself fully before them, if he had not been able to appeal to such extraordinary occurrences. The simple statement of them, however (xi. 4—17), sufficed to convince the whole body of believers, that it was the will of God the Gentiles should be received into the church without being placed under the Mosaic law. Yet it appears, from the continuance of proceedings respecting the Gentile Christians, that the doubts of the stricter Jewish party were not absolutely set at rest by Peter's statement. (See Comm. on chap. xv.) As the narrative of Peter agrees entirely with the account already given, it needs no special explanation.

In verse 3, *διαζητεῖν* denotes not simply "to be uncertain," as in verse 12, but also "to dispute." It is so used in the Septuagint in Ezek. xx. 35.—In verse 15 it is not necessary, because Peter had already spoken a long time, to understand *ἄρξασθαι* as a pleonasm, for the word only presupposes the intention of proceeding yet much farther.—In ver. 16 there is a reference to chap. i. 5.—Verse 18. Regarding *ἄρα γε*, see Matt. vii. 20, xvii. 26. It must be carefully distinguished from the word of interrogation *ἄρα γε* in Acts viii. 30.—On *δοῦναι μετάνοιαν*, see Acts v. 31.

Vers. 19—24. This first attempt to preach the Gospel to Gentiles was speedily followed by others; and it was in Antioch first, beyond the limits of Palestine, that Greeks were admitted into the church. Kuinoel supposes that this happened in consequence of the intelligence of the conversion of Cornelius, but there is not a word to indicate this. On the contrary, the mission of Barnabas to Antioch makes it more probable, that they had ventured there

on their own responsibility to baptize Gentiles. To prevent however the abuses which might possibly in this way creep in, the mother church sent down Barnabas on a visitation. This notice is very important, because it discloses the apostolic conception of the church. The apostles did not allow churches to spring up here and there in a state of isolation, but they connected them all with themselves, and with the living organization which they represented. The church as an organic whole, as the body of the Lord, needs a controlling power, an ecclesiastical government. With respect to the mention made of those who were scattered abroad by the persecution *after* the death of Stephen,¹ it is not Luke's object here to narrate this circumstance as for the first time; he simply looks back to it, as something that is past (see Comm. on Acts ix. 30), in order to shew that even in Antioch the Gospel was at first preached only to Jews: it was not till the arrival of some men of Cyprus and Cyrene that an alteration took place. Who these men were is not known; perhaps they might be the individuals named in chap. xiii. 1: at all events they were Jews or proselytes, but in their native country, holding intercourse with honourable Gentiles, they had adopted milder views of their position in reference to the divine economy of grace.

In verse 19, the phrase Διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ Ἑλίουω is best understood with Winer (Gram. p. 356) to mean, "on the occasion of the persecution."—Verse 20. The question here presents itself, whether the reading of the textus receptus ἑλληνοστός, or the reading ἑλληνας, deserves the preference. The greater number of manuscripts certainly support the former reading, but A.D., and several versions and fathers, present ἑλληνας. Besides, the connexion absolutely requires this reading. The preaching of the

¹ Winer, in his Grammar, p. 374, hesitates whether ἐπὶ with the dative Στεφάνῳ, in verse 19, should not rather be understood in the sense of *against*. It seems preferable, however, to give it the meaning of *after*. The reading Στεφάνου is a subsequent correction, and deserves no notice.

Olshausen gives no reason for preferring the translation of ἐπὶ which he proposes. Doubtless there are examples of this meaning, as in Xenoph. Cyr. ii. 3, 7, ἀνίστη ἐπ' αὐτῷ φερούμενος. But the more common meaning of the word is "upon, regarding, in reference to, on account of, against," and such a sense is more suitable to the scope of this passage, because the persecution did not arise *after* Stephen's death. It began while he was alive. It began with him, or on his account, and he was the first victim. It continued no doubt after his death, and multitudes were then scattered abroad. But still it is not quite correct to say that the persecution took place after his death.—The.

Gospels to Hellenists, that is, to Jews who spoke Greek, or to proselytes of the gate, could not at all be brought forward as a new thing, for it had already taken place at the first Pentecost. But the word *ἑλλημιστής* can by no means be employed to denote Gentile or heathen Greeks.—Verse 21. *χεῖρ νομίω* corresponds to *תָּרַח*. See Gesenius under the word *תָּרַח*.—Verse 22. On *εἰς* or *πρὸς τὸ οὗδ' ἀνοδεῖν*, see Comm. on Luke i. 44, xii. 3; Matt. x. 27. The words *οἰκδοτε ἑως* intimate that Barnabas, even on the way to Antioch, had churches to visit.—Verse 23. *πρόθεσις* must be understood in the sense of “a firm purpose, a resolution of the will,” as in 2 Tim. iii. 10.

Vers. 25, 26. Barnabas, who appears to have been the first to recognise the importance of Paul to the Christian cause, did not immediately return to Jerusalem, but probably sent a written statement in reference to the commission with which he had been entrusted. He rather set out for Tarsus, brought Paul thence, and remained with him a whole year in Antioch. Through their influence Christianity spread uncommonly, and it was here first that the name of “Christians,” which afterwards became the predominant one, originated. This name proceeded from the Gentiles, and, as the form of it shews, from the Romans, to whom the acknowledgment of Christ appeared to be the distinguishing feature of the new sect: they were called *Ναζωαῖοι* by the Jews, to indicate their despicable origin. (Acts xxiv. 5.) The name certainly did not take its rise among the Christians themselves, because it is not used in the New Testament in a good sense.¹ (See Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 14.) In reference to *χρηματίζειν* consult what is said in the Commentary at Matt. ii. 12. The meaning of the word here “to give a name,” which is very common among profane writers after Polybius and Diodorus, occurs in no other part of the New Testament but Rom. vii. 3. It is used especially where mention is made of giving names or titles of office, according to the radical meaning of the word, “to manage affairs of state.”

Vers. 27—30. There is only one circumstance connected with

¹ See Tacitus, Ann. xv. 44, auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. But at a later period the Christians took the name to themselves, and frequently, as is plain from the Fathers, made use of a play upon the word *χρηστοί*, which, pronounced according to the Itacism, sounds like *χριστιανοί*, to shew that indeed their name declared they were good people.

the time of Paul's sojourn in Antioch mentioned by Luke, viz. the arrival of a prophet named Agabus (according to Grotius from $\pi\pi$ to love), who foretold that a famine was at hand in Palestine. (See a particular consideration of the nature of the New Testament prophets in Comm. at 1 Cor. xiv.) Since we know that in the fourth year of Claudius Cæsar a famine did prevail in Palestine (three other such calamities befel Greece and Italy under the government of the same Cæsar), we thus obtain, as has already been remarked in the introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, an important chronological datum. According to the reckoning of Hug, which in the main we follow, the fourth year of Claudius coincides with the forty-fifth year after the birth of Christ.¹ The delegates from Antioch might perhaps reach Jerusalem about the time of Easter, to deliver their gifts of love. (Compare Hensen's *Apostle Paul*, p. 50. Note, in reference to Acts xii. 4 and 23.) From the fact that they delivered these to the presbyters, and not to the apostles, it cannot be concluded that the latter had left the city: the account that follows rather contradicts this conclusion. But we perceive from this circumstance, that the apostles had already completely relinquished the government of the church, and committed it to the hands of the elders. So soon as the apostles began to labour out of the city, although they returned to it again as their head-quarters, it became indispensable to establish a regular government for the church. Yet that the apostles always retained the supreme direction of the whole, is manifestly apparent from Acts xv. 2.

§ 4. PETER'S IMPRISONMENT AND DELIVERANCE. HEROD'S DEATH.

(Acts xii. 1—25.)

During the continuance of Paul and Barnabas in Jerusalem, respecting the length of which² nothing is stated (see chap. xii.

¹ According to the account of Josephus (*Archæo.* xx. 2, 6, and 5, 2), Queen Helena of Adiabene had corn brought from Egypt and distributed among the poor.

² Bengel (*ordo temporum*, p. 274) fixed it, without any ground, at three years, because he had dated the conversion of Paul so very early. If the interval had been so long, we should certainly have had more accounts of it. (Compare Hensen's *Apostle*

25), there occurred a new persecution of the Christians, in which one of the apostles themselves suffered martyrdom. This is the last narrative in Acts which has any reference to Peter, and perhaps Luke recorded it, only because Paul was present at the time, and might often therefore have made mention of it. Besides, the contrast between the deliverance of Peter and the terrible death of the persecutor of believers, contained something so striking, that for that reason too Luke might suppose he ought not to withhold this occurrence from his readers. Meyer's idea that the things mentioned respecting Peter in what follows, took place during Paul's journey to Jerusalem, and not while he was there, is improbable, because the distance to Antioch was not so considerable. The supposition that Paul may have first visited the other churches of Palestine, and therefore have been very late in reaching Jerusalem, is not favoured by what is said in chap. xi. 30, xii. 1—25.

Vers. 1, 2. The new persecution against the Christians proceeded from King Herod Agrippa. After Caligula's death he received from Claudius, who favoured him greatly, the sovereignty over Judea and Samaria (Joseph. Arch. xix. 4.) This circumstance enabled him to persecute the Christians in Jerusalem itself, and James the elder, the son of Zebedee, was put to death there. Of the ministry and adventures of this man nothing further is known: only Clement of Alexandria (in a fragment of his *ὑπερὶ τῆς σωτηρίας* preserved in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. ii. 9), states that the accuser of James, when he was led to death, agonized by the gnawings of conscience, professed faith himself in the crucified Redeemer, besought the forgiveness of James, received it, and then suffered martyrdom along with him.

Vers. 3—5. To gratify the people, whose first goodwill towards the Christians (Acts ii. 47) had speedily changed into hatred, Herod went farther, and about the time of the Paschal feast, threw Peter also into prison, probably with the view of exhibiting in his execution a very startling example to the numerous visitors on the occasion of the feast. Peter was guarded ac-

Paul, p. 51.) Besides, if we suppose, as we must, that the journey of Paul to Jerusalem mentioned in Galat. ii. 1, is not the one here recorded, then it becomes the more probable that the stay on this occasion was only short and unimportant, and therefore was not counted by the apostle in the enumeration of his journeys to Jerusalem. (See a more particular consideration of this point at Gal. ii. 1.)

according to the custom of the Romans: four times four soldiers had the charge of him, changing according to the night-watches. Two of these according to verse 6 kept watch in the prison itself, and two before the door of it. Meanwhile the church prayed fervently to God for the imprisoned apostle. Ἑστειλάς is often applied to prayer, as in Luke xxii. 44; Acts xxvi. 7. It expresses the spiritual effort put forth in earnest prayer.

Vers. 6—11. The account which follows of the deliverance of Peter from imprisonment, illustrates the shorter account of a similar occurrence which is communicated at chap. v. 17, &c.; and it also readily admits of being compared with the wonderful deliverance of Paul and Silas from imprisonment at Philippi, recorded in chap. xi. 26, &c. An impartial comparison of these narratives may perhaps leave it uncertain for a moment, whether real visible appearances of angels are meant in them; and this again accounts for the fact, that we find the more recent interpreters adopting very different views of these occurrences. According to Hazel, it was a thunder-storm combined with an earthquake which delivered Peter, and this natural phenomenon was described by him after the Jewish mode of speaking as an angel. According to Eichhorn,¹ who is followed by Heinrichs, Peter was delivered by Christian friends, or by the keeper of the prison himself, but he did not well know himself to whom he owed his deliverance, and therefore supposed he must ascribe it to a divine messenger. Kuinoel expresses himself undecidedly; while all the older interpreters understood the angelic appearance in the literal sense. Now with respect to the first view, it is undeniable that natural phenomena of a certain kind are styled angels (comp. Comm. on John v. 4); and there can be no doubt that in chap. xvi. 26, &c., it is an earthquake only that must be thought of, for even the text refers to nothing else; but the representation made in the passage before us does not permit this supposition, because the 7th and 8th verses describe the angel as acting quite like a person: the like description is never found where natural powers are styled angels. Far more plausible is the other view, which supposes Peter himself not to have known how his deliverance was effected. This idea appears to be favoured by the words in verse 9, οὐκ ᾔδει, ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου,

¹ Compare Eichhorn in the "Allgem. Biblioth. der bibl. Literatur. Bd. iii. p. 361," &c.

taken in connexion with verse 11, according to which latter passage Peter first comes to himself in the street, and appears now to conclude that an angel must have delivered him. But these words cannot establish that view, because in the *first* place, it was contrary to the principles of the Christians to deliver either themselves or others from such dangers by fraudulent artifices. But certainly on this view it must be supposed that either the jailor or the soldiers were bribed by Peter's deliverer; and should it be said that the jailor himself might be favourably disposed to the apostles, yet not the less would he have violated his duty, if he had let the prisoners escape. *Again*, this view gives no explanation of the unconscious condition of Peter: amid so many occurrences and incidents, he could not fail to overcome the oppression of sleep, and to recognise the friend that was helping him. *In fine*, the fact that the soldiers did not awake, as is plain from verse 18, till the morning, but little accords with this view. They must therefore have been thrown into so profound a slumber by a sleeping-draught, which would make the hypothesis rather complicated, for we are debarred from supposing that they were privy to the transaction by the 19th verse, which informs us that the king caused them to be punished.¹ The only matter therefore which can properly be made a question here, is whether we are to suppose a real appearance of an angel or only a vision. Now certainly the occurrence did bear some resemblance to an ecstatic vision, for Peter himself took this view of it for a time (verse 9); but the *reality* of the effects which were connected with it (which reality is denoted by the expression ἀληθὲς εἶναι in vers. 9 and 11) does not permit the supposition of a mere vision, ὄραμα, and it was on this very ground that Peter himself came to the conclusion that he had been favoured with an actual visit from an angel. A mere mental vision is never accompanied with physical effects. That he might be uncertain, however, for a moment, whether it was a vision he saw or a real angelic appearance, is to be explained from the fact, that every manifestation from the higher order of existences is attended with a powerful excitement in the soul,

¹ The force of this reason is not very fully brought out by the author. His meaning doubtless is, that the punishment which unfaithfulness was certain to incur, and which in this case it did incur, would either have prevented the soldiers from being accessory to the escape of Peter, or if they were privy to it, would have led them to consult their own safety by a timely flight.—Tn.

which produces a state of mind akin to ecstasy. And this may easily render it uncertain whether the whole be something purely internal, or whether there be also something outward: the grand criterion in favour of the latter is the appearance of real visible results.

Ver. 7. Some codices, instead of the stronger word *πατάξας*, have the milder *νύξας*. The stronger word, it is probable, appeared to many transcribers not quite suitable to an angel.—Ver. 11. *προσδοκία* stands for the thing expected, namely, the act of punishment.

Vers. 12–19. Peter repaired, after he had set himself right as to the neighbourhood where he was, to the residence of a certain woman Mary, where he knew that the disciples were in the habit of meeting. According to the concurrent view of all interpreters, this Mary was the mother of the Evangelist Mark, who is mentioned here by his full name John Mark. The great precision of the account given of the arrival of Peter furnishes a proof of its originality: perhaps it was obtained from Mark himself. Further, there is presented to us here at this early period, an example of assemblies of Christians held during the night: these were probably introduced at first only for the purpose of eluding observation when they met and separated, but afterwards in a securer state, they were retained for a length of time, on account of the greater solemnity of nocturnal meetings. Yet it was these meetings which not only gave occasion to the heathens to fabricate many wicked reports, but also in all probability made it easy for the immoral Gnostic parties to practise their excesses. The church therefore acted wisely in forbidding, at a later period, all assemblies during the night.¹

A difficulty is presented in verse 15, in which it is stated that the disciples who were assembled, on being assured by the maid Rhoda that Peter was at the door, exclaim: *ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν*. We have already, at Matt. xviii. 10, referred to this passage, and intimated that it expresses the idea of guardian angels, who are assigned to each individual person. It has indeed been tried to take the word *ἄγγελος* here in the sense of messenger, but it is obvious that the connexion is altogether opposed to this idea, because it could not be conceived that Peter should have sent a messenger out of the prison during night. It might be imagined how-

¹ Compare Bingham origg. vol. v. p. 329, sqq.

ever that ἀγγέλους here, like πνεῦμα in Luke xxiv. 39, bears the signification of "apparition, phantom;" and in this case the disciples might have supposed that the spirit of Peter appeared to them before his approaching death, as if bidding them farewell, or giving them a sure premonition of his decease. But, in the first place, there is no indication in the Bible that such appearances of the soul during the life-time of a man were considered possible: and again, it not only cannot be proved, but in the nature of the case it is improbable, that the word ἀγγέλους should be used to express this idea. The phrase ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ therefore cannot well be understood otherwise than as meaning "his guardian angel," so that here again we find the idea indicated in Matt. xviii. 10. In the exposition of our Lord's words occurring in that passage, we left it undetermined, whether these guardian angels were to be considered as assigned to each individual person, or as the representatives of certain larger bodies, whole nations for example, or quarters of the earth. The passage before us plainly favours the former idea, because the Apostle Peter has an angel attributed to himself alone. In this shape the idea was taken up by the church in the first century (compare the treatise of Schmidt referred to at Matt. xviii. 10'), for they assigned to every man not only a good, but also an evil angel. But how far these ideas can be reckoned as belonging to the specific circle of Christian doctrine, is certainly a matter of question, because the exclamation in the text proceeds from persons who cannot be regarded as authorities by us. They were indeed believers, and were under the influence of the Holy Ghost, but it is only to the apostles we are warranted to ascribe such an influence of the Spirit as excluded all admixture of uncertain and one-sided popular notions. Certainly the popular view of guardian angels here expressed is grounded upon a saying of Christ, but this, as we have seen, is presented in too general a shape for a firm doctrinal principle to be derived from it. I feel therefore most inclined, according to the intimation already made in the Comm. at Matt. xviii. 10, to suppose that there is here expressed the thought that there lives in the world of spirit a pre-existing ideal of every individual, to be realised in the course of his development, and that the higher consciousness, which dwells

* Schmidtii historia dogmatis de angelis tutelaribus, in Illgen's Denkschrift. Leipz. 1817.

in man here below, stands in vital connexion with the related phenomena in the spiritual world. In the case where a human conscience resigns itself to the influence of evil, its development in evil will likewise be completed in the kindred existences that correspond to it in the world of evil.¹

Verse. 12. The word *συνιδών* is not to be referred to the reviving consciousness of Peter, but to the consideration of what was around him, agreeably to the sense it bears in chap. xiv. 6. Otherwise there would be a manifest tautology between this and ver. 11, where mention has already been made of the return of perfect consciousness.

It is in this passage that James, the brother of the Lord, is first presented as an important personage in the church at Jerusalem.² He is expressly distinguished in verse 17 from all the other brethren, and to him first information of the occurrence which had taken place is sent. Undoubtedly therefore he already stood forth distinguished as a bishop among the presbyters, as leader of the whole body. The name *ἐπίσκοπος* indeed as indicative of the first among the presbyters, may have come into use at a

¹ This is a very strange idea. The author does not attempt to furnish any argument in its support, nor is it easy to see where such argument could be found. At the passage in Matthew to which reference is made, he throws out the same idea, though with more hesitation, and describes the angels mentioned as corresponding to Zoroaster's Fervers. These imaginary existences of the Median Reformer were the original archetypes of all rational beings, and particularly of men. They existed before men, but with a view to their existence, and every man has one of them mystically united to himself, his original spiritual double self. Among the Parsees every man sincerely adores his Ferver. The whole is a mere fancy, and Olshausen's idea is no better. It is a needless and groundless mystification. There may not, as he argues, be ground in the words of our Lord, Matt. xviii. 10, for the inference that each individual has a guardian angel; and if, for the reason stated by our author, we are not warranted to regard the words of those who were assembled in the house of Mary as more definitely settling the question, surely the natural inference is that, without assigning individual angels to individual men, we should rest satisfied with the general principle that the angels do take an interest in the affairs of this world? Because the Scriptures only teach the general doctrine of the guardianship of angels, and do not assign particular angels to particular men, are we therefore warranted to jump to the conclusion that every man has an "alter ego," another self, in the world of spirits, growing with his growth, and forming the same habits? The words of our Lord seem to refer to the same truth as the apostle does in Heb. i. 14, Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them, &c.—Tr.

² That no other James than the brother of the Lord is here referred to, is undoubted, because the elder James, the brother of John, was already killed (xii. 2); and the other apostle of this name, the son of Alphaeus, receives no further notice in history.

subsequent period, but certainly in all churches of any considerable magnitude the office very early existed, for their affairs must by all means have required a guiding head.¹ In ver. 19 the word ἀπαχθῆναι must be understood, like the Latin “ducere,” in the sense of being “led away to punishment.” By itself it might mean simply being led away to prison; but the preceding word ἀναγγέλλας manifestly shews that Herod had condemned the soldiers upon the spot.

Vers. 20—25. In contrast with the miraculous deliverance of Peter, the evangelist now exhibits the appalling fate of the persecutor of the children of God, for he proceeds at once shortly to narrate the circumstances in which the punishment of the Almighty overtook him, and then this account is concluded by a short general statement.²—St Luke first mentions (verse 20) a difference that took place between Herod and the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon; it was this probably, together with the games, which brought the king to Cæsarea (Stratonis.) The presence of

¹ Olshausen here allows that at first bishops and presbyters were the same. And in fact it admits of no doubt, that in the New Testament the two words are applied to the same individuals. See Acts xx. 17 and 28; 1 Tim. iii. 1; Phil. i. 1; Titus i. 5–7. The use of ἐπίσκοπος in the singular, to denote the first among the presbyters, arose after the days of the apostles; there is not an instance of it to be found in any apostolic writing. That the office of a bishop, as defined by our author, existed in the primitive church, cannot be proved; and certainly the argument suggested by him that it was indispensable, is devoid of all weight. The name πρεσβύτεροι was borrowed from the offices of the Jewish synagogue, and the name ἐπίσκοποι was taken from the common stock of the Greek language, in which it denoted individuals entrusted with the management of any business; and the difference between the two names did not lie in their being applied to different office-bearers, but in the fact that the former expressed the dignity of the office, and the latter the nature of its duties. The history of these two words furnishes a striking instance of the capricious changes which language often undergoes; for the word πρεσβύτεροι, the more dignified expression, analogous to senators and descriptive of the reverence due to the men, was degraded to denote a lower order of office-bearers, while the word ἐπίσκοποι, descriptive of the charge with which the presbyters were entrusted, was elevated to denote an order of men who had charge of the presbyters themselves. From denoting the oversight which the presbyters took of the church, the only idea suggested in the Scriptures, it was perverted to denote the oversight which a class unknown to the Scriptures took of the presbyters. The reference to James in the chapter before us, furnishes no ground for the conclusion Olshausen has drawn; for whatever may be the position which he occupied in the church at Jerusalem, it is to be remembered that he was an apostle, and the question of the authority vested in the apostles is a totally different one from the relations subsisting among the ordinary office-bearers of the church.—TR.

² Regarding the historical incidents here referred to, consult the excellent remarks of Tholuck in his Glaubw. der evang. Gesch. p. 165, &c.

Herod at Cæsarea, for the purpose of attending the sports there, is mentioned also by Josephus (Archæo. xix. 7, 2), although he says nothing of any quarrel with the Tyrians and Sidonians. It is probable matters had not proceeded to any open rupture between the parties, but had only gone the length of exasperation on the part of the king. Certainly the Romans would not have permitted a war in the immediate neighbourhood of their territories. But even the displeasure of the king was regarded by the inhabitants of the sea-port towns, as so little in accordance with their interest, that they sued for peace by sending deputies, who secured the good graces of Blastus the king's favourite.

In ver. 20, *θυμομαχεῖν* does not denote, as elsewhere it does, "to fight, to wage war with fury," but "to be exasperated in mind." The word has this sense in Polybius and Plutarch.—*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κασιπῶνος* is equivalent to *cubicularius*, comp. viii. 27.—The words *διὰ τὸ τρεῖσθαι κ. τ. λ.*, point out the ground on which the inhabitants of the maritime and trading towns dreaded the hostility of Herod; they were afraid that he might injure them in their commercial interests. With respect to the account which follows in verses 21–23, Josephus, in the passage above referred to, describes the occurrence in substantially the same manner. Upon the second day of the public games, the king appeared in splendid attire, and sat down upon his throne (*βῆμα*.) The acclamations which saluted him on the occasion were probably raised by the deputies of the Tyrians and Sidonians, together with their retinue; for the Jews abhorred such proceedings as idolatry. And while the king was witnessing the games, Josephus mentions further, that an owl perched itself over his head upon a rope, which was stretched for the purpose of drawing a screen over the stage as a protection from the sun; the king regarded it as an evil omen, fell sick, and died after five days of a disease of the bowels. The statement of Luke (*σκοληκηόξωτος γενόμενος*) may be regarded as describing more minutely what is mentioned by Josephus; but that no visible appearance of an angel is indicated by the words, *ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου*, nor sudden death thus produced, is sufficiently obvious from the connexion of these words with the other phrase, *γενόμενος σκοληκηόξωτος*. The angel denotes here just the invisible divine influence, which punished the pride of the king, who received with satisfaction the idolatrous reverence, and gave him over to those sufferings which fell upon him. In Acts

xiii. 1, the same idea is expressed by the phrase *καὶς συζήσω*, comp. Comm. on John i. 52, v. 4.—According to verses 24, 25, John Mark joined himself to the deputies of the church of Antioch, who were returning thither from Jerusalem, viz. Barnabas and Saul, and came with them.

§ 5. PAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

(Acts xiii. 1—xiv. 28.)

Although Christianity had already spread from Jerusalem through Palestine, and beyond the limits of Palestine, still the church continued a stranger to formal missionary effort. Casual occurrences had hitherto brought about the diffusion of the Gospel, particularly the persecutions of the faithful in Jerusalem. (Acts viii. 2.) It was from Antioch that teachers were first sent forth, with the definite purpose of spreading Christianity, and organizing churches with regular institutions. (Acts xiv. 23.) These commissioned instructors too maintained a connexion with the church, from which they had been deputed; they sent accounts to them of their success; they returned to them after the completion of their journey, and they also doubtless received from them assistance of different kinds.¹ As Jerusalem had been the central point of missionary effort to the Jewish Christians, so Antioch after this period assumed the like position in reference to the Gentile Christians; the two cities formed the main poles of life in the primitive apostolic church.²

¹ This circumstance is in the highest degree important; it lets us see that the apostles proceeded upon the principle laid down in Rom. x. 14: "how shall they preach except they be sent." The fact of being thus sent is not to be sought, merely in a subjective inclination, which is ascribed to a supposed movement of the Spirit, but in a regular commission received from the church. Here the church in Antioch sent forth the messengers in an orderly manner; and thus these messengers themselves acquired an objective support, and the new churches became connected with the church universal. Even Paul, although called immediately by the Lord, yet waited for an impulse or invitation from without, that he might enter properly upon his ministry among the Gentiles. From this procedure, important hints may be deduced with respect to missionary undertakings in the present day.

² The Gospel not only in primitive times, but also in the subsequent extension of the church, always fixed itself first in the great cities, and then spread gradually over the country. The greater variety of wants, and the high intellectual activity prevail-

The first missionary journey of Paul extended by way of Cyprus only to some of the south-eastern districts of Asia Minor. It was, as it were, the first timid trial that was hazarded, to carry the Gospel to a distance beyond the limits of the Holy Land. And we can easily imagine that some uncertainty was at first felt as to the success of such journeys. When one considers that a few unlearned and unknown individuals went forth into the wide, heathen world, without any outward help or support, preaching a crucified Saviour, the Son of God, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness ; then indeed nothing appears more natural, than that their labour should remain utterly fruitless, and nothing more wonderful and incredible than that it should produce an effect lasting through centuries. But although such thoughts might intimidate for a moment the Christians of Antioch, yet they soon felt assured that they were only the suggestions of the old man : in the Holy Ghost, who filled their hearts, they recognized without doubt a power that could conquer the world, and, moved by that power, they also accomplished the work.

The form which this narrative wears, renders it highly probable, that it is an extract from a larger account, which was sent perhaps directly to the mother church by the travelling preachers, and which Luke adopted into his narrative just as he had received it. This latter circumstance receives much countenance from the very commencement of the account ; for, after the journey of Barnabas and Paul to Antioch has been described, they are mentioned among the other teachers of the church there, as if no one knew of their presence. And the epitomized form of the narrative displays itself in the dissimilarity, which prevails in the statements given of the abode of Paul in different cities : where the original complete accounts did not furnish anything interesting, they were either entirely omitted, or abbreviated as much as possible. It needs not to be remarked what authority this supposition imparts even to the missionary speeches in the account before us : it is very possible that we have in them the very notations of Paul himself.

ing among the inhabitants of cities, occasioned Christianity to take root sooner in them. And then in the neighbourhood of great cities there were soon formed, by the influence proceeding from them, churches in the country, and in the smaller cities, which is shewn to have happened in the case of Rome, for example, by Acts xxviii. 13, &c.

Ver. 1. In the enumeration of distinguished persons collected together in Antioch, the first place is assigned to Barnabas, who enjoyed very great consideration in the old apostolic church, and indeed in the earliest times he is always named before Paul: it is only at a later period that he is overshadowed by the great apostle of the Gentiles, and then he disappears from the history. Of the second person, Simeon Niger, nothing more is known: Lucius of Cyrene, on the other hand, is mentioned again in Rom. xvi. 21. The supposition that he is the same person as Luke the Evangelist, has nothing whatever to support it. It is improbable that Luke should have mentioned himself amongst the most distinguished teachers of the church, and besides the name Lucas does not come from Lucius, but from Lucanus. (Comp. Comm. Introd. Sect. vi. Part i., page 19.) The fourth individual, Manaen, is another of whom nothing further is known: his name comes from מנחם equivalent to πασάλητος, for which, in 2 Kings xv. 14, the LXX. have Μανήμ, but in the verse before us the liquid letters are interchanged so as to make Μανᾱήν. To mark him out more particularly, it is further stated that he was the foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch. Σύντροφος, equivalent to ὀμογάλακτος, denotes one who receives along with another the milk of a mother or nurse, and there is naturally connected with this the idea of being brought up and trained together. The Herod here mentioned, it is obvious from chronological circumstances, is Herod Antipas. The last place is assigned to Saul, whose influence had not as yet spread itself very widely.

The word *τινές* is wanting in some codices. It was supposed unsuitable to the well-known individuals Barnabas and Paul, who are named along with the others. But for this very reason the reading must certainly be held as genuine. Our hypothesis, that this narrative is an extract from the original account of the mission, does not appear at first sight to be favoured by the word *τινές*; for a friend writing to persons who are aware of the circumstances, will not begin thus: *ἦσαν δὲ τινές κ. τ. λ.* But it is self-evident that verses 1–3 are to be viewed as introductory statements prefixed to the abbreviated account, and they are probably the words of Luke himself: it is in verse 4 that the account itself is first presented to us. On the difference between *προφοῖται* and *διδάσκαλοι*, consult Comm. on 1 Cor. xii. 28.

Vers. 2, 3. While these men were assembled together for prayer,

and perhaps for particular conference regarding the work of God entrusted to them, they were guided by a suggestion of the Holy Ghost to the idea of sending forth itinerating preachers, the *εὐαγγελισταὶ* mentioned in Ephes. iv. 11. They prepared themselves for this important work by prayer and fasting, and sent away the missionaries with a formal ordination. Kuinoel is wrong here in supposing that *λείπουσγέῃ* is equivalent to *κηρύττειν*, and refers to the public preaching of the Gospel: the fact that such an impulse of the Spirit came upon them, does not comport with this idea. This suggestion rather befits a quiet small circle, where the new and grand idea might be duly weighed. *λείπουσγέῃ* (see Comm. on Luke i. 23) denotes therefore here, like *προσκυνεῖν*, to be immersed in devout adoration of God. In ver. 2, *προσέκλημαι* bears a middle signification, as it does also in chap. xvi. 10, xxv. 12. (See Winer's Gram. p. 239). Here too, as in the whole ancient church,¹ we find fasting retained as a good practice: it was a help for gathering in the mind and drawing it away from earthly things. What was false in it, as it appeared in the views of the Montanists, was produced only by the gradual and stealthy introduction of a legal spirit, which converted it into an *opus operatum*.

Vers. 4–12. Barnabas and Paul, the chosen messengers of the church, took along with them John Mark,² as a help to them in their apostolic labours. In ver. 5, *ὑπηρέτης* denotes a less distinguished teacher, who stood to Paul and Barnabas in a relation of dependence, as is shewn too by the gloss *ὑπηρετάριτα αὐταῖς*. (See Comm. on Luke i. 2.). Such *ὑπηρέται* administered the baptisms (1 Cor. i. 14) and attended to outward concerns, so that the apostles and evangelists (Ephes. iv. 11) might be able to devote themselves entirely to teaching. From this it is plain that a gradation among the teachers of the church is not opposed to the spirit of the Gospel: every organised body, that seeks to develope itself in the visible order of things, must present itself with parts of regular connexion and subordination. And no evil

¹ Perhaps even at this period fasting was practised chiefly on Friday, the *feria sexta*, a custom which is very ancient.

² The words: *εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην*, stand so strangely inserted between what goes before and what follows, that they manifestly appear to be a supplementary remark. Luke probably introduced them into the account that lay before him, because what follows in the fifteenth and succeeding verses rendered it necessary that previous mention should be made of Mark.

could ever proceed from this arrangement, provided only, as was the case in the apostolic church, that in the higher orders the greater fulness of the Holy Ghost always prevailed.

Barnabas, a Cyprian by birth (chap. iv. 37), was probably the occasion of their going first by Seleucia¹ to Salamis, which lies on the east side of the island, and thence across the island to Paphos, which lies on the west side of it, where it is known the worship of Venus had a great central establishment. Proceeding upon the principle that the Gospel was designed first of all for the Jews, they always preached first in the synagogues, and only turned to the Gentiles when they found themselves rejected by the Jews. (Comp. ver. 46. In the chief city Paphos the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus had his seat, a judicious man (ver. 7), free from Roman superstition, but he had fallen into the toils of a Jewish conjurer, named Barjesus. In some manuscripts this sorcerer γήης is called also βασιλεὺς or βασιλεῦμα; the reason might be that many transcribers were unwilling to recognise the holy name of Jesus as given to this false prophet. Either this man was a Jew from Arabia, or he had picked up some crumbs of Oriental philosophy: this may be concluded from the circumstance, that he had taken the name of ἑρμῆς, which corresponds to the Arabic *ḥarīz*, that is, wise man. The same remarks which were made regarding Simon Magus, at chap. viii. 9, hold good with reference to the spiritual condition of this man. He used his arts for selfish ends, and sought therefore to obstruct the work of the Spirit in the soul of the proconsul, that he might hold him fast in his snares. The address of Paul to him is keen, but still the words ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν in verse 11, plainly discover the design of bringing him to the consciousness of his guilt and to true repentance. Such sorcerers were commonly clever notorious men, but the slaves of their own notions, and often guided in their undertakings by sordid desires: Paul therefore endeavours, by stern rebuke, to rescue the good germ that might be in his heart.

Ver. 10. *ἑκδιουζγία* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; it denotes properly "dexterity, quickness in action," then particularly, in a bad sense "daring cleverness in sin."—Ver. 11. *ἀχλύς* denotes primarily darkness, then a peculiar disease of the eyes

¹ Which also bears the name Pieria, and situated at the mouth of the Orontes, is the harbour of Antioch, that lies much farther up the river.

Here the connexion with *σκότος* shews that the latter signification is to be adopted, the obscuration of sight (*σκότος*) resulting from an affection of the eyes (*ἀχλὺς*.) It is worthy of notice that Paul succeeded in gaining over so distinguished an individual as the proconsul: it is not indeed said that Sergius formally attached himself to the church by baptism, but the word *ἐπίστευσε* points at least to an acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah. Now as Saul from this time (ver. 9) is always called Paul, the ancient supposition¹ that he received this name from his protector is probable in a high degree. If the apostle had borne two names from the first, and if it were only intimated here, as Heinrichs supposes, that he had one name in common with the proconsul, it would remain unexplained why, in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles, the name Saul from this time so completely disappears.

Vers. 13–15. From Cyprus they proceeded to Perga in Pamphylia. Here John Mark left the company, for reasons which cannot have been good, as subsequent events (see Comm. on chap. xv. 37, &c.) shew. From Perga, the metropolis of Pamphylia, they went far into the interior to Antioch in Pisidia, upon the borders of Phrygia. Here Paul and Barnabas on the Sabbath-day entered into the synagogue and sat down, and were invited, as was customary (see Comm. on Luke iv. 16), to deliver an address.

Vers. 16–22. The beginning of the discourse, which Paul in consequence of this invitation delivered, and in which he expressly (ver. 17) distinguishes between Israelites and proselytes, bears a resemblance to that of Stephen, which is contained in chap. vii.: it embraces a brief review of the history of the people, and of God's gracious dealings with them. The Jew listens (then as now) to nothing more readily than to the narrative of Jehovah's dealings with his people; such a historical recapitulation therefore formed a natural *captatio benevolentiae*.²

¹ See Hieronymus de viris illis. sub. voce. Paulus. The father says: apostolus a primo ecclesiae spolio Proconsule Sergio Paulo Victoriae suae trophaea retulit, erexitque vexillum, ut Paulus ex Saulo vocaretur. Augustine gives a singular view of the apostle's design in choosing the name Paul in the passage: de spir. et litt. c. 7. Paulus apostolus, cum Saulus prius vocaretur, non ob aliud, quantum mihi videtur, hoc nomen elegit, nisi ut se ostenderet parvum, tanquam minimum apostolorum. (1 Cor. xv. 9.)

² From the resemblance of this first speech of Paul to that of Stephen, one might perhaps conclude that there was an effect produced by Stephen upon the character of the apostle. According to chap. vi. 13, 14, we already see in Stephen a very expanded

Ver. 17. The connexion of ὑψοῦν with the παρρησία in Egypt (see chap. vii. 6) sets aside the idea of exaltation and elevation, for the people were oppressed; on the contrary, the signification to be adopted here is "increase of numbers," which embraces indirectly the idea of elevation. A decisive argument in favour of this meaning you find in Sirach xlv. 21, where ἀνυψῶσαι is used as synonymous with πλεθύναι: less suitable is the reference to Sirach l. 22, where ὑψοῦν ἡμέρας does not mean "to increase the number of days," but "to make respectable and important in life."—The expression μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ corresponds to the Hebrew עִזָּה עִזָּה in Exod. vi. 6, that is, with an arm raised up high and ready to help.—In verse 18 the reading ἐξοφοροῦσεν is to be preferred to the usual reading ἐξοποροῦσεν. This latter indeed gives also a sense not unsuitable, ἐξοποροῦσεν, denoting "to bear with the manners and ways of any one" (Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 29); but as Paul designs here to exhibit the gracious aspect of God's dealings, the mention of this idea does not suit the connexion. Again, too, ἐξοφοροῦσεν is the rarer word, and transcribers might readily substitute for it one better known. It denotes "to carry in the arms like a nurse" (ἐξοφος), and therefore "to cherish, to take care of." Thus the word is used in 2 Maccab. vii. 27, of a mother who is speaking to her son. In a wider sense, too, it is applied to men, as in the Septuagint, Deut. i. 31.—Ver. 19. Regarding the seven nations, see Deut. vii. 1.—Instead of κατεκληροδότησεν, which the textus receptus contains, and which is to be found in no other part of the New Testament, Griesbach has rightly preferred the reading κατεκληρονομήσεν. The use of this word with a Hiphil signification, "to cause to possess, to give into one's possession," as in Judges xi. 24, might have escaped many transcribers, and they might therefore suppose themselves obliged to prefer that other form.—Ver. 20. The number of 450 years down to Samuel appears to stand in contradiction to 1 Kings vi. 1, where 480 years are counted to the building of the Temple. Some interpreters have employed the most violent measures to remove the contradiction, either declaring the passage before us or the one in the Old Testament to be interpolated, or altering the

view of the Gospel and of the effects which it would produce, and it is in the highest degree probable that, much as Paul might at first struggle against his view, it yet afterwards exerted a very important influence upon him.

number, or supposing that the time is not counted when the Israelites were subject to foreign nations, in the days of the Judges. Others again have supposed that Paul follows a traditional chronology, which is also to be found in Josephus (Arch. viii. 3, 1, Bell. Jud. iv. 9, 7.) But this writer is not consistent with himself, and gives in other passages (Arch. xx. 10, cont. Apion. ii. 2) quite different chronologies. The difficulty cannot indeed be completely solved, and therefore the supposition, that either here or in 1 Kings vi. 1, there may be something wrong in the numbers, is not altogether without plausibility:¹ still however this is a violent remedy. The following may serve as a contribution towards a solution. It is not Paul's design here to make exact chronological statements, he gives them only by the way. They are therefore wanting in reference to the period from Abraham till the departure out of Egypt under the leadership of Joshua, and again from the reign of David. Besides, it is indicated by the word *ὥς*, that 450 is a round number. To this add, that while the accusative is employed in stating the other numbers mentioned in the passage, the dative is used for the number 450. Now, according to the more exact usage of the Greek tongue (see Bernhardt's Syntax, p. 116, Kühner's Gr. B. ii. p. 218, &c.), the dative denotes not the duration of time, but the time in which something has resulted or ensued; the words might therefore mean: after that God, in the space of 450 years, gave Judges till Samuel, and then (from Samuel, viz.) Saul, during forty years, and so on; so that these forty years, and what follows till the building of the Temple, were included in the 450 years. This latter view has been communicated to me by my worthy friend, Dr Hofmann, assistant teacher. By no means does it altogether satisfy me, because the expressions, *μετὰ ταῦτα* and *κακῶν*, appear to fix the boundary of the 450 years, a quo and ad quem; it is also a question whether the usage of the dative, in reference to the fixing of dates, be so constantly observed in the New Testament (comp. Winer's Gram., p. 194). This view however is worthy of consideration. (Consult the article, Köster on the Chronology of the Old Testament, in the first part of Pelt's Theol. Mitarbeiten.)—Ver. 21. Regarding the duration of Saul's reign, the Old Testament is silent; but Josephus sets it down also at forty years. (Arch. vi. 14, 9.)—Verse 22. The phrase,

¹ See Winer's Lex. under the word Zahlen.

μεταστροφῆς αὐτοῦ refers to Saul's death, but at the same time it indicates the fact, that this death was the consequence and expression of God's rejection of him. The quotation is taken partly from Ps. lxxxix. 20, and partly from 1 Sam. xiii. 14, and is given freely from memory.

Vers. 23—31. The speech of Paul next mentions the fulfilment of prophecies, in the sending of Christ and his forerunner John the Baptist. To Jews and proselytes (verse 26) Jesus is proclaimed as the promised Messiah.—In verse 23, the reading σωτηρίαν is certainly the more difficult, but Kuinoel is wrong in allowing himself to be led by this consideration to prefer it, for then the name is entirely wanting of him, who in the sequel is always treated as the Messiah, an omission which the context does not at all warrant. Mill's supposition, that the abbreviated mode of writing ΣΠΑΙΝ, for σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν, gave origin to the reading σωτηρίαν, is more than probable.—Verse 24. The words πρὸ πρὸςελθόντων do not refer to the person, according to the usage that predominates, but to a fact, viz. the advent of Christ; the original idea consequently expressed in the phrase has quite disappeared. Further, the mention of the Baptist's preaching leaves no doubt as to the fact, that γενέσθαι does not refer to the birth of the Redeemer, but to the commencement of his public ministry.—Verse 25. Kuinoel is right in stating that the words, ὡς ἐπλήρου τὸν ὄψον, do not refer to the completion or ending of John's ministry, but to the course or duration of it; were it otherwise, the aorist must have been employed. Regarding the words of the Baptist, see Comm. on Matt. iii. 11.—Verse 27. With reference to τοῦτοι ἀγνοήσαντες, see Comm. on Acts iii. 17. We need not, with Kuinoel and Heinrichs, supply αὐτοῖς to κήρυκες ἐπληρώσαν; the participle rather stands for ἐν τῇ κτίσει, "in their decision they fulfilled, without knowing it, the Scriptures."—Ver. 31. Regarding ἐπὶ with the accusative in statements about time, see Winer's Grammar, p. 385.

Vers. 32, 33. The exhibition of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, is now with the utmost propriety followed by proof adduced from passages of the Old Testament.—Ver. 33. ἐκπληρώω is only to be found here, but the substantive ἐκπληρώσεις occurs in Acts xxi. 16. The preposition augments the force of the simple word. The participle ἀναστρέψας is not to be referred to the resurrection of our Lord, because ἐκ νεκρῶν is wanting (compare verse

34), and the proof-passage for the resurrection is first brought forward in verse 34; but according to the analogy of the Hebrew word, וְשֵׁנִי or וְשֵׁנִי , it must be understood of the sending of Jesus generally. The quotation, it is manifest, is from Psalm ii. 7. It is remarkable, therefore, that the reading, which critical grounds require to be preferred, is ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ . This is to be accounted for on the principle, that the first psalm forms merely a general introduction to the whole collection, and that our second psalm is properly the first in order. Even in Hebrew codices you find our second psalm marked as the first. (See Rosenmülleri scholia in Psalm. edit. sec. Vol. i., p. 31, 32.) With reference to the psalm itself, see the particulars in Comm. on Acts iv. 25, 26; and with reference to the dogmatic meaning of the words here adduced from it, see Comm. on Acts ii. 29.

Vers. 34—36. That something new is now brought forward, and that therefore verses 32, 33 cannot have referred to the resurrection of Jesus, is plain from the words ὅτι οὕτως εἰρημνε . The point of advancement cannot be sought in the words μηκέτι μέλλοντα $\kappa.$ $\tau.$ $\lambda.$, for they only describe a subordinate thought, illustrative of the leading idea of the resurrection. In confirmation of the resurrection of Jesus, as a fact predicted by the prophets, the apostle refers first to the passage in Isaiah lv. 3, of which the leading words $\text{τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά}$ are taken from the Septuagint; the words ὅτι ὁῶσω ὑμῶν are only added by Paul to bring the passage into the connexion, because the words of the Septuagint $\text{διαθήσονται ὑμῶν διαθήκην αἰώνιον}$ represent the appearance of the Messiah as something future. The Messianic reference of the passage cited admits of no doubt, because the words $\text{וְיָשְׁבֵהוּ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל}$ can only denote the promises of the Messiah given to David, whose certain fulfilment is declared. But the question presents itself, how could Paul employ these words to prove the resurrection? Undoubtedly the words have no direct reference to this fact, but indirectly they presuppose it, for since an eternal kingdom was promised to David, the ruler of this kingdom could not remain under the power of death. To strengthen, however, the indefinite prediction by means of a more definite one, the apostle adduces another passage, Ps. xvi. 10, which has already been considered at chap. ii. 10, where Peter gives the very same explanation of it as Paul does here, for they both deny the possibility of its proper reference to David.

In ver. 34, there are verbal allusions to the second quotation in ver. 35, for *ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν* corresponds to *ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν*, and *ὅσῳ ὅσαι* to *ὡς ὅσαις ὅσων*.—By no means does *μηκέτι* require to be taken for *μή*: I understand the passage with Winer Gram., p. 498, thus: "he will no more be laid in the grave, and in this way be given over to corruption." The particle refers only to that portion of the meaning of the verb which had already actually been realized, viz. the being laid in the grave. The one phrase therefore, *ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν*, distinguishes itself from the other *ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν* in this manner, that the latter denotes corruption and the actual experience of it, the former the fact of being exposed to it. The one of these really happened to the Redeemer, the other not.—Ver. 36. *γενεά* is equivalent to "lifetime," and the whole phrase *ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ* represents David in his higher position as an instrument of divine grace for founding the kingdom of God.—The words *προσέτιθεσσις πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ* correspond to the well-known formula *פְּרָסְתָּ לְפָנָיו*, and denote the fact of being received into the happy portion of Hades.

Vers. 37—41. It appears remarkable to the Christian consciousness of the church in later times, that here the Apostle Paul, as Peter too had done in the speeches of the first half of Acts, lays stress upon the resurrection only, and not upon the death of our Lord. Yea here, as it seems, St Paul connects the *ἀφαιρέσις ἁμαρτιῶν* immediately with the resurrection, while yet in his letters he represents the death of Christ as the source of the forgiveness of sins. But the mode of instruction pursued by the apostles in this respect will be fully accounted for, when it is considered that in the missionary discourses by which men were first to be convinced of the Messiahship of Christ, they could not aim at a minute development of the principles of the Gospel: it was of more importance first to establish the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah. But the death of Christ was a point that gave offence, and required therefore to stand in the background; while, on the other hand, the resurrection contained the real power of proof, and to it therefore reference was mainly made. But Paul did not write his Epistles to unbelievers, for the purpose of guiding them to the truth, but to believers for the purpose of confirming them in the faith; and in them therefore the proper relation of the death of Christ to God's plan of salvation required to be definitely exhibited. The same object of confirming in the faith, Paul had

in view also in the discourse which he addressed to the Ephesian elders, who of course were already believers, and we notice accordingly that in it too (see chap. xx. 28) the importance of the death of Christ is clearly displayed.

Further, in verses 38 and 39 the grand idea characteristic of Paul, regarding the unfitness of the law to guide to true righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*), is set forth in such a manner, as to confirm most powerfully the genuineness of the speech. And now the joyous proclamation of grace is followed in the end of the discourse with an earnest warning, not to disregard through unbelief the invitation of God. The apostle utters this warning, in words which are cited by memory from Habak. i. 5.—In ver. 39 the connexion of *δικαιοθῆναι* with *ἀπὸ πάντων* sc. *ἁμαρτημάτων*, denotes the union of the negative and positive aspects in the work of redemption,¹ because not merely is the old removed, but something new is also created in the mind. (Comp. Rom. vi. 7.)—In ver. 40, the plural *ἐν ταῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς* indicates, as in Matt. ii. 23, that St Paul did not so much design to quote a particular passage, as to express in words of the Old Testament a thought of frequent recurrence in the prophets.—*Ἀσπάζεσθαι* combines, like *ἔξω*, the two significations of “destruction or removal out of the way,” and the “being thrown into astonishment or terror,” and the bond of union between the two significations is to be found in the physical effect of terror, by which the consciousness of the individual is for the moment as it were taken away.

Vers. 42–44. And now the power of the Spirit, who spoke through Paul, first laid hold of the minds of the hearers: and they besought him to speak again in the synagogue. In ver. 42 the codices vary so much in their readings, that one sees how Kuinoel was led to regard the whole verse as a gloss. This supposition, however, cannot well be maintained, because the request to speak next Sabbath-day stands in connexion with verse 44. I prefer therefore with

¹ Neander (ap. Zeitt. s. 136, Note) is right in observing that the expression *δικαιοθῆναι ἀπὸ πάντων* is not to be understood as if St Paul supposed two justifications, an imperfect one under the Old Dispensation, and a perfect one under the New. The expression is rather to be regarded simply as an explanation of the *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*. As under the Old Testament no true forgiveness had place, but only the hope of forgiveness was awakened by the view of a coming Saviour; so the law too could produce no true righteousness. But the real blessing was bestowed by the Gospel, and therefore men received in it everything, which the Old Testament could only offer prefiguratively. (Heb. ix. 1, &c.)

Griesbach the shortest reading, according to which "Jews" must be supplied as the subject or nominative to *παρεκαλεῖν*. They first became hostile, it is plain from the 45th verse, when they saw the throng of Gentiles. The circumstance that Paul and Barnabas appear to have departed before the meeting was ended, is easily explained by the consideration, that the words *ἐξήντων αὐτῶν* are not placed historically before the phrase *καταίσθη δὲ τῇ συνάγωγῇ*, but the fact is only anticipated because it was the occasion of the leading circumstance in the narrative, viz. the request that they would appear again.—*Μεταξὺ* occurs here, as elsewhere too in the later Greek (See Passow. in Lex.), in the sense of *μεταπίπτα*. (Comp. Plut. inst. lac. c. 42. Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 4. 2.). Here the word is sufficiently explained by the parallel phrase *ἐχόμενος* in verse 44. See on this word Comm. at Mark i. 38; Luke xiii. 33.

Vers. 45—49. The perception of the heart-felt interest taken by the Gentiles in the Gospel of Christ awakens the jealousy of the Jews, who in their narrowness wished to restrict to themselves the blessings of the Messiah. They begin therefore openly to contradict and revile Paul, which obliges him to withdraw himself entirely from them.—Ver. 45. In the best codices, particularly A.B.F., the participle *ἀντιλέγοντες* is omitted on account of the foregoing *ἀντίλεγον*. But unless you suppose this word to have originally belonged to the text, it is inexplicable how it should have been added: it is better therefore to view the phrase *ἀντιλέγοντες ἀντίλεγον* as used for the sake of emphasis: "they contradicted vehemently," as in 1 Sam. vi. 12.—Ver. 47. Paul shews, from Isaiah xlix. 6, that there was nothing arbitrary in the calling of the Gentiles, or at all opposed to the plans of God, but that it was an event already predicted by the prophets. The words are addressed to the "servant of God," the personage with whom the predictions of the second part of Isaiah are connected: regarding the reference of this designation to the Messiah, we have already spoken at chap. iii. 13. The quotation further is given in the words of the Septuagint, yet with an omission and slight change, for in the Septuagint the first words run thus: *ἰδοὺ δίδωμά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν*.—Ver. 48. In the words *ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰῶνος*, we must recognise the idea which pervades the whole Scriptures, of a *praedestinatio sanctorum*. The attempts which have been made to evade this idea are in the highest degree forced, for example the connecting of *ἐπίσταυσαν* with *εἰς ζωὴν αἰῶνος*. Regarding the relation of the *praedestinatio sanctorum* to the *gratia irresistibilis*, and to

the reprobation *impiorum*, compare what is said in *Comment.* at *Rom.* ix.—In ver. 49, the words *οἱ ὁληεσ τεῖς χωῖαις* probably indicate the diffusion of the Gospel in the villages and over the country, of which there are but few traces to be found in other parts of the New Testament.

Vers. 50–52. The envious Jews meanwhile rested not until, by their influence, they had driven away the heralds of peace. Their influence exerted itself particularly upon honourable women, who were attached to Judaism. We find that in the apostolic age the female sex were peculiarly disposed to receive the better elements of the Jewish system, partly without doubt on account of their more susceptible nature, and partly also because they could attach themselves entirely to the economy of the Old Testament without the troublesome rite of circumcision.

Vers. 51. Regarding the symbolic act of shaking off the dust, see *Comm.* at *Matt.* x. 14.—Iconium lay on the borders of Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Pisidia, and therefore it might be sometimes assigned to the one province and sometimes to the other, the more especially as the boundaries of particular districts in Asia Minor were very variable.—Ver. 52. Regarding the joy of the disciples, that is, of the new converts, notwithstanding the removal of their faithful teachers, which would in the first instance tend to excite their sorrow, see *Comm.* on *Acts* v. 41.

Chap. xiv. 1–7. After this detailed account of the labours of Paul at Antioch in Pisidia, Luke subjoins only brief notices of his further labours, partly because, from the nature of the case, his discourses must have embraced nearly the same topics, and partly because the consequences that resulted assumed quite a similar shape. In Iconium also the influence of the doctrine of the cross displayed itself as a powerful leaven; but here too the envious feeling of the Jews took offence at the calling of the Gentiles, and drove the apostles onwards to Lystra and Derbe. In ver. 1, the phrase *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* can be taken in no other than the usual meaning of “at the same time,” “together.”—Ver. 2. Regarding *καλίω*, see at chap. vii. 6. Here it is used in the sense of exacerbare, “to excite, to inflame.” It frequently bears the same signification in Josephus. (See *Arch.* xvi. 1, 2.)—In verse 3, the signs and wonders are represented as quite independent of the power of him, through whose instrumentality they are wrought: the glorified Redeemer is called their author.—Ver 6. The name Lystra is em-

ployed sometimes as a feminine noun, and sometimes as a neuter plural, as in verse 8.

Vers. 8-12. In Lystra, which lies on the borders of Lycaonia and Isauria, the cure of a lame man performed by Paul excited great attention, and gave rise to a singular scene which Luke minutely describes. The Gentiles recognised the presence of supernatural powers in the work of the strangers, who had come to their city; but swayed by their mythological notions, they regarded Paul and Barnabas as Mercury and Jupiter, come down again to visit men, as once they had visited Philemon and Baucis, who had lived in those very regions,¹ and they wished to offer sacrifice to them. This occurrence is interesting, particularly because it shews, that faith in the old doctrine of the gods was still more deeply rooted in the popular mind, than one would have been disposed to imagine. At the same time, it must not be overlooked that this occurrence took place in a remote town, to which the philosophical illumination of the age of Augustus had not yet penetrated. And here the question presents itself, whether the unsophisticated simple faith reposed by the inhabitants of Lystra in the old divinities, made them more disposed to receive the Gospel, than if they had broken loose from ancient notions? When this latter state was connected with an earnest longing after the true knowledge of God, then certainly it was more favourable to the reception of the Gospel, but it was generally accompanied with a complete doubting of all truth; and compared with this unhappy position, the state of the people of Lystra undoubtedly deserves the preference. The idea of the influence of a higher world of Spirit upon this lower world, was still current among them; and from this they might the more easily be guided to the one true God, the beams of whose glory they revered in their numerous divinities.

In ver. 11, mention is made of the speech of Lycaonia. Jablonski, in a treatise contained in the collection of his dissertations by te Water, has rendered it probable that this was only a corrupted dialect of the Greek tongue. Ver. 12 shews plainly that

¹ Philemon and Baucis were a married couple who belonged to Phrygia. Jupiter and Mercury on one occasion visited that district in human form, and were hospitably entertained by them, while the other inhabitants were all unwilling to receive them. For this impiety, an inundation was sent upon the country, but Philemon and Baucis were saved from it. They were made priests in the Temple of Jupiter. Afterwards it was their wish to die together, and they were ultimately changed into trees.—Tr.

Paul possessed the gift of oral address in a high degree : he always took the lead in speaking on missionary journeys. In ver. 13, the words, *Ζεὺς ὁ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὢν*, lead to the conclusion, that there was a temple of Jupiter also in the city. The peculiar form of expression here exhibited, is to be explained on the principle that according to the rude popular notion, the image was really taken for the God ; the supplement of *ἔξον* or *ναῖς* is quite inadmissible, for in that case the article must have been repeated. Among the ancients, the *πρόπολις*, or God dwelling in the suburbs, is often distinguished from the *πολιεύχος*, or God protecting the city itself. The covering of the gates with garlands has respect to the residence of the two apostles.

Vers. 13—20. Paul and Barnabas were naturally confounded at these tokens of reverence, and attempted to raise the heathens above the physical influences which they worshipped in their divinities, to the one Creator of nature and of all its powers. They succeeded in restraining the men from their purpose, but the malignant Jews of Antioch and Iconium wrought against the apostles, and contrived speedily to estrange the fickle multitude from them.—In ver. 14, the *textus receptus* reads *εὐαγγέλιον*, but Griesbach has adopted the more difficult and rare reading, *εὐαγγέλιον* : the view to be formed of the scene is this, that the multitude surround the dwelling of the apostles, and the apostles rush forth from it into the midst of them. In ver. 15, Paul places the *Θεὸς ζῶν* (ἢ ἔς), as the wonder-working Creator, in contrast with the impotent (*ματαιαίς*) idols ; and himself he places upon a level with all other men. *Ὁμοπαθεῖς* occurs also in James v. 17, in the same signification, “subject to like sufferings, to like infirmity.”

Vers. 16 and 17, embrace thoughts of great dogmatic importance, which however are to receive further consideration in Acts xvii. 27, 28, and especially in Rom. i. 19, 20, ii. 14, iii. 25. In the first place, Paul contrasts the present time, as the time of the Messiah, with former times, in which the heathen world, with no such light as the Jewish nation possessed, lived on in their own ways. In this thought is to be found the apology for the design of the people of Lystra, so blasphemous considered in itself. But again this situation of the Gentile world was not sufficient to free them altogether from guilt, for nature herself, with all the wonderful arrangements which she exhibits, furnished the means

of rising to the idea of the true God, who summoned the whole fabric into being. This declaration of the 17th verse is worthy of notice, not only because it embraces the elements of the argument upon which Natural Theology rests, but also particularly, because it suggests the idea, so important with reference to the biblical view of man, that fallen human nature is not absolutely dead to every higher feeling, a thought which stands in close connexion with the whole circle of Paul's ideas. It need scarcely however be mentioned, that those persons err egregiously, who employ this and the parallel passages cited above, for the purpose of proving the sufficiency of man's own powers. Here too truth lies in the middle. The words ἀνάνητοις and νεκροῖς are to be found in no other part of the New Testament.

Vers. 21—28. Without communicating any particulars regarding the stay of Paul in Derbe, Luke only informs us of the journey back, which lay through the same places which the apostle had formerly visited. His second appearance among the churches was employed in confirming the disciples in the faith, and he also ordained elders over them, and settled, as such ordination implied, their ecclesiastical arrangements. The expression in verse 23 is a peculiar one, *ἐκλεγάμεντες αὐτοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*. It does not permit us to suppose there was a free choice on the part of the church, but it rather seems as if the apostles themselves sought out the parties qualified for office. The general mind might not yet be so much developed, that the business of choosing could be committed to the young churches themselves. Often too the number of those, from amongst whom a choice could be made, might be so small, that the parties might almost obviously stand out, to whom alone offices in the church could be entrusted.

At last the travelling messengers of Christ returned by Attalea in Pamphylia to the mother church at Antioch, and presented a report of their proceedings. They regarded themselves therefore as dependent upon the church in Antioch, an important intimation, from which it may be concluded, that a loose and isolated itinerancy of detached individuals for the preaching of the Gospel is not proper. The individual messenger, extraordinary cases being left out of view, must always retain his connexion with the church universal, and therefore must belong to some particular Christian community. The time the apostles remained in Antioch, is only described in very general terms as not short, *ὥς ἄλγος*, ver. 28.

It is common to regard the afflictions (Θλίψεις, ver. 22), for which Paul prepares the brethren, as referring only to the persecutions with which the primitive church had to contend. But the words of the apostle hold good in reference to Christians of all times. (See Matt. v. 11.) For in the Gospel itself, and in the Spirit which it inspires, there is something opposed to the world, and tending to excite its opposition. The world feels that in this power lies its death, and therefore it makes resistance against it, and seeks to kill the life. It is only the forms of the Θλίψεις therefore that change, they themselves touch every believer more or less, but in the hand of God they form a process of training for eternal life. 2 Tim. iii. 12.—Ver. 27. Regarding θύσα τῆς πίστεως, see 1 Cor. xvi. 9 ; Colos. iv. 3.

§ 6. THE APOSTOLIC COUNCIL.

(Acts xv. 1—35.)

The transaction which follows is one of the most remarkable communications to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, although Luke by no means mentions every thing of importance that occurred during this visit of St Paul to Jerusalem: his account must be supplemented from what is stated in Gal. ii. 1—10. (See the Comment. on that passage.)

And in the first place, as respects the outward *form* of the transaction, this section exhibits the first example of a regular and public consultation regarding a subject that affected the whole church.¹ As the result too of the deliberations was communicated in a letter to all individual churches, the application to this assembly of the name of the *first council* is really not unsuitable. The practice of dealing with controverted subjects by means of synods, is deeply grounded in the nature of Christianity: there is displayed in it that spirit of fellowship (κοινωνία), which regards every thing single and individual as belonging to the whole body. This first council, however, does not appear to have been composed of deputies from all particular churches, but the mother church of Jerusalem still stands forth as predominant. Yet it is

¹ The transactions which are mentioned in chap. xi. 1, &c., have more the form of a private conference, than of an official public consultation.

not by any means to be regarded as an assembly of one church, but the presbyters of this church rather bear in the apostolic college, to which they are subordinate, a relation to the whole church. (Chap. xv. 2, 4, 6, 22.) Whether all the apostles who were yet alive, or only some of them, were collected together on this occasion, is not expressly mentioned ; but it is the more probable view, that they were all present.¹ For, as the messengers who were sent from the church at Antioch, returned from time to time to that church, so it is probable that the apostles, journeying from place to place, would occasionally visit the mother church at Jerusalem, partly to give an account of the success of their labours, and partly to receive spiritual refreshment from renewed intercourse with the brethren. If we take this view of the circumstances, then it becomes apparent that Jerusalem would be the heart, as it were, of the body of the church, from which all life streamed out, and to which it again flowed back. *James*, therefore, the bishop of Jerusalem, must necessarily have been of great importance in the church, because, altogether irrespectively of his spiritual worth, his position made him something like the immoveable central point of the church.

And as the form of the transactions here described is highly important, so also is their *substance*. They have respect to the point, which had already at an earlier period come under consideration, of the conditions under which the Gentiles should be received into the church. (See chap. x. xi. 1-18.) At that time all had been convinced of the propriety of Peter's conduct (chap. xi. 18) ; with many however there must have been doubts remaining, which gradually forced themselves again into notice, and even assumed the form of a fixed conviction of the opposite. We find this different view represented by certain presbyters of Jerusalem (chap. xv. 4, 5, 7), who had formerly belonged to the sect of the Pharisees. These men, on account of the importance which they attached to the legal forms, must have been very suspicious of a principle, whose prevalence, it might be foreseen, would one day bring the law into utter disuse ; they held themselves therefore obliged, only to permit such a reception of the Gentiles into

¹ From the circumstance that of the apostles only John and Peter are named in Gal. ii. 9, it cannot be concluded that Paul met only these two in Jerusalem : it is not his purpose in that passage to mention all who were present, but only the leading men in the apostolic college.

the church, as was consistent with maintaining the divinity and perpetual obligation of the Mosaic law even in its outward forms. It has already been remarked, that this opinion of the strict Jewish Christians is more plausible than in our times we are disposed to imagine, a circumstance which accounts for the numerous and obstinately conducted controversies that existed in the primitive church regarding this point. When the divinity of the Old Testament is more or less doubted, as it so commonly is in our day, so that even many believing men entertain very subordinate views of this portion of God's word, then it is very easy to dispose of the question regarding the position of the Gentiles in reference to the law : but when you proceed upon the divine original of the Old Testament, and consider the strong declarations which it makes regarding the perpetual obligation of its ordinances, and the curses which it pronounces upon those who disregard them, and when you take into consideration the declarations of Christ himself, for example in Matthew v. 11, apparently to the very same effect ; then you can readily comprehend, how persons of a somewhat anxious and timid disposition might not be able to soar up to the free spiritual view of the law, which Paul, with all the might of the Spirit vindicated, according to which perpetuity belongs not to the outward form of the ordinances of the law, but only to the ideas wrapt up in these coverings, which receive their absolute fulfilment in the Gospel, and are therefore not lost although the external forms perish.

This position of circumstances we see that the apostles with great wisdom consider. They are very far from dismissing, as obstinate opposers of the truth, the rigid Jewish Christians with their scruples ; they rather recognise these scruples up to a certain point ; but still they cannot deviate from the practice already introduced, of admitting the Gentiles into the church without circumcision and the burden of the law : they therefore strike out the middle way of satisfying the one party by some concessions, while yet they do not discourage the Gentiles by too burdensome requirements. But although up to this period the rigid Jewish Christians must appear to us less worthy of blame, yet their position became essentially changed after the decrees adopted by the apostles. Those who even after this still maintained, in opposition to the mind of the apostles and elders, their former view of the necessity of the Gentiles observing the whole law, betrayed a

wilfulness and a regard for their own opinion, which were manifestly sinful, and which became more and more censurable the longer they were clung to.

It was from this party, who occasioned so many conflicts to the Apostle Paul, that the sect of the Ebionites took its rise. The one error, by which they were separated from the living body of the church, speedily gave rise to another, viz. the vulgar Jewish view of the Messiah as merely a distinguished man, by the maintenance of which they removed themselves entirely from really Christian ground. Fortunately however during the lifetime of the apostles, this party had no defenders of any note. James indeed, the brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, together with the greater part of the apostles who remained in Palestine, observed for themselves, like the Nazarenes of a later period, the law according to the manner of their fathers, but without wishing to impose it upon the Gentiles. It has been falsely inferred from Gal. ii. 12, that James himself might be the head of this party of rigid Jewish Christians. The parties there mentioned, *τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, are not to be regarded as messengers and legates deputed by the bishop, but only as members of his church, who without and against his will had stirred up disturbance in Antioch; and accordingly the expression corresponds entirely to the words in the apostolic epistle (chap. xv. 24) *τινὲς ἃς ἡμεῖς*, certain that went out from us, who assuredly could have no commission, since the apostles altogether disavow them. Still, however, it remains a remarkable fact, that these crass Jewish Christians were able to exercise such an influence over Peter and Barnabas, as Paul mentions in Gal. ii. 11, &c., after the question had been so decidedly settled in their experience. It has been imagined that this strange circumstance might be explained, by supposing the Epistle to the Galatians to have been written before the Apostolic Council; but, in the first place, chronology is too decidedly opposed to this supposition, for Paul at the time of his first journey had not yet visited Galatia, and again, even if it could be made probable that the Epistle to the Galatians was written so early, it would be of no avail to the main point under consideration. For surely in the case of St Peter, what occurred with Cornelius, recorded in the tenth chapter, and undoubtedly prior to Paul's writing to the Galatians, was decisive; and the question accordingly presents itself, how it is conceivable that Peter, after such communications from on

high, could again waver? In the first place, it must here be remarked, that all parties in the church have always taught, in accordance with Scripture itself (see Acts xiv. 15), that the apostles did not cease, even after they received the Holy Ghost, to be sinful men: along with the new man, the old man too still lived in them: as sinful men therefore they remained subject to the possibility of error.¹ But, in the second place, if it should be said, "certainly the apostles were liable to error, but not in matters of faith, and the question here relates to a religious point;" then let it be considered that, even in the apostles, we must suppose moments when the power of the Spirit that wrought in them retired, and their own subjectivity prevailed. Now if we suppose that in the soul of Peter such a moment of predominating subjectivity occurred, when the Jewish Christians came from Jerusalem, and that they probably assailed him on his weak side and called him apostate, then the whole occurrence receives a very good psychological explanation. And the authority of Peter² could only have been injured by this, if he had obstinately persisted in his error; but, as he humbly acknowledged his mistake to Paul, his stumbling only became a triumph to the cause of the truth. The apostles, like all other believers, were distinguished from the world, not

¹ Excellently does Steudel shew (in his discussion on inspiration in *der Tubinger Theol. Zeitschrift* Jahrg. 1832, h. 3), that the truth of the doctrines preached by the apostles is quite independent of the degree of their personal holiness and advancement, and rather rests upon the purely objective communication of the truth to them from on high. The same holds good of the Old Testament prophets, some of whom, as the history of Jonas shews, were very deficient; and the principle too applies to the servants of the church in our own and in all times. The Christian minister does not fashion the truth, nor yet the divine effect springing from it, by his own personal qualities, but that effect rests upon the inward power residing in the divine word and in the preaching of Christ. Yet we mean not to deny, what is evident of itself, that a pastor of eminence and experience is able to labour more comprehensively and judiciously, than one who is deficient in these qualities; it is only meant to oppose what has become prevalent in our times and in the evangelical church, an undue estimate of the subjectivity, and to vindicate the importance of the objectivity of the Christian scheme of salvation.

² With regard to this subject the circumstance must not be overlooked, that Peter was particularly called, as also the rest of the Twelve, to labour among the Jews, while the Gentile world was expressly assigned to Paul. This was not an arbitrary arrangement, but was made with a due respect to their entire constitution and habits. Peter was really more at home in the Jewish element, and for that reason was the less able to sympathize with the wants of the Gentile Christians. (On this point see Comm. on Gal. ii. 7, 9, where the formal distribution of the labours of the apostles among the Jews and Gentiles is considered.)

by this, that they never went wrong, but by this, that, when they did go wrong, they were sufficiently humble to acknowledge their mistake, and immediately to correct it. Nor is the authority of Scripture in any degree affected by the facts before us : this would only be the case, if the error of Peter were inserted as a truth : then indeed the Scriptures could not have been composed by the sacred penmen under the full influence of spiritual illumination, and consequently they could furnish no rule of faith for all succeeding times. But since they represent the error of Peter as one removed and overcome by the power of the Spirit, they are on this very account shewn to be altogether pure and genuine, because they openly acknowledge what is apparently prejudicial to their authority. But finally, it is decisive of the whole question, that you cannot on close consideration say, the error of Peter and of the strict Jewish Christians was one properly of a dogmatic kind ; the blessings of the Gospel are certainly not neutralized by the observance of the law. Suppose therefore the ancient church had stood to the principle, that every Gentile who wished to join the church must keep the law ; then indeed the speedy diffusion of Christianity would have been greatly hindered, but its essential character would not have been destroyed. That observance of the law, of which Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Galatians (v. 4), "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law ; ye are fallen from grace," is plainly not to be confounded with the observance we have here supposed. Paul is speaking against the idea, that it is the observance of the law which makes men righteous before God, an idea which obviously destroys the nature of the Gospel ; but Peter might suppose that the reception of the law was a suitable method of introducing Gentiles into the church, without at all placing justification in any thing else than faith in Christ. It was this only that the strict Jewish Christians wished at first, otherwise the apostles would have sternly rebuked them, and made no approaches to them at all : it was afterwards, when polemical ardour sharpened the points of opposition, that the Judaizing party, out of a false zeal for the Old Testament and its forms, gradually went to the extent of damaging entirely the essential character of the New Testament.

And if the proceeding of Peter is excusable on the grounds stated, it may also readily be understood and explained how it occurred, if you consider that the question regarding the relation

of the Gentiles to the law by no means exhausts the whole subject. Paul laboured, although not positively, yet negatively, to free even the native Jews on their entrance into the church from the observance of the law. Now, that was a step farther, and it might be exceedingly difficult to make the lawfulness of it plain to one like Peter, who probably held that the native Israelites were bound perpetually to observe the law, and in this way his doubts would be revived in reference even to the relation of the Gentiles to the law.¹ This whole question, however, regarding the relinquishment of the law in the case of Jewish Christians, will receive a farther consideration at chap. xxi. 17, &c.

¹ To guard as much as possible the difficult question of the apostle's liability to error from all misunderstanding, I submit the following additional remarks. As the prophets of the Old Testament, according to the remark already made, were not perfect men, so also the apostles carried their heavenly treasure of the new birth and of the Holy Ghost in earthen vessels. They are not witnesses of the truth on account of their own subjective perfection, but only because God chose them according to his free grace to be instruments of his revelation. And in accordance with this destination, indications of their liability to error could only appear in those moments, when they spoke in the mere exercise of their own powers. (Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 3, 4.) But so soon again as they spoke with divine authority in the power of the Spirit, as heralds of the truth intrusted to them, they were infallibly directed by the Spirit who guides into all truth. In earthly matters therefore, so far as these were not connected with the faith, or they had received no particular instruction regarding them, the apostles might err. But with respect to their work as writers of the Scriptures, no fault or error can be supposed in their religious and moral ideas, because the work was performed in the most elevated moments of the inward life of faith, when their subjectivity was in the background. When therefore Scripture makes mention of the error of an apostle, the truth of the account lies in this, that it represents the error as an error. In this way you may recognise the Scriptures, as you must do, to be an infallible witness of the truth in religious and moral ideas, and a clear light shining upon the dark pathway of life; and yet you need not mistake the subjective imperfection of the apostles, as moulding the outward form of Scripture.

The concluding phrase of this note is not clear. The author seems to mean that the Scriptures are infallible only where moral and religious ideas are concerned, but as to their general form and contents, they share the imperfection of their penman. Accordingly a little farther on, at Acts xv. 13-18, he only thinks it to be extremely probable that we have a correct account of the course of proceedings in the Assembly at Jerusalem. Now this does not seem to be a good settlement of the difficult question regarding the apostles' liability to mistake. That they were infallible during every moment of their existence, and on every subject, no one ever maintained: undoubtedly there was a subjective imperfection in them: they were men. Now the question is, where was that imperfection or infallibility controlled? How far did it proceed? Olshausen says it touched not the moral and religious ideas of Scripture, but it might affect other things, such as historical details and the general dress of Scripture. But the correct view of the subject is, that it touched not the Scriptures at all. This was the sacred enclosure which the Spirit of God altogether prevented from being defiled with any stain

Vers. 1—5. The whole question regarding the relation of the Gentiles to the law, was brought under discussion by certain emissaries from Jerusalem. (The words *τινὲς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰερουσαλῆμ* are more closely defined by the words *τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν* in ver. 24.) These men demanded that the Gentiles should receive circumcision, which, as the most important and burdensome part, stands for the observance of the law in general. (Comp. ver. 5.) The expression however *οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι*, according to the remarks already made, is not to be understood as if the Jewish party, instead of connecting salvation (*σωτηρίαν*,) with Christ and his redemption, had connected it with circumcision—in that case Paul and the whole church must have altogether denied their claim to be Christians (see Comm. on Gal. v. 4)—but it must be understood only as intimating, that the Gentile could not come in a regular way to the salvation that is in Christ, excepting through circumcision and the observance of the law. To this the apostles might suppose it necessary to yield, conceding somewhat to the weakness of the advocates of this view.

Vers. 1. The additional clause, *τῶν πεπιστευόντων ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχθέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων*, although correct as to the substance of the statement, as is plain from ver. 5, is yet not a genuine reading here, but has been interpolated from the verse in question. Ver. 2. The *τινὲς ἄλλοι* are not more particularly defined, but from Gal. ii. 1, where the same journey of Paul to Jerusalem that is here mentioned¹ is spoken of, it may be concluded that Titus accompanied the apostle. This attendant Paul refused, notwithstanding the demands of the opposite party, to circumcise, that he might shew by facts the difference of his principles from theirs: it is known that he acted otherwise in the case of Timothy (chap. xvi. 3.)² In the connexion between verses 4 and 5 a difficulty has been supposed to exist:

from man's hand. Whatever imperfection might be in the apostles as men, touched not the sacred oracles. These oracles claim inspirations, but they nowhere say that some parts of them only are inspired and others not. They present the claim in general comprehensive language: they do not limit it to points of doctrine and except history: We have no right therefore to make any such exception.—Tr.

¹ See the particulars regarding the journey, both in the general introduction to the Epistles of Paul, and at the passage itself in Gal. ii. 1. Probably it took place in the year 52, after the birth of Christ (compare the second chronological table), although accounts fluctuate between the year 47 and 52 after Christ.

² Paul acted differently in the case of Timothy, but still in both cases he acted consistently with his principles. He refused to circumcise Titus, because those who

Paul and Barnabas were despatched for the express purpose of procuring for the Gentiles exemption from the observance of the law, and hence it has appeared remarkable that they say nothing of the occasion of their journey. It has therefore been proposed to supply λέγοντες before ἐξανέστησαν δέ τινες, so that the 5th verse might contain an account of the arrival of the persons mentioned in ver. 1, with whom the controversy had arisen. But this transition from the indirect form of speech to the direct is manifestly full of harshness, not to mention that the word λέγοντες occurs once more in the same verse. It is far more simple to say, that Luke presupposes the occasion of the address delivered by the deputies to have been already mentioned, and introduces them as giving an account of their labours with the view of refuting their opponents. But in Jerusalem too, the strict Jewish Christians rose up immediately against them, and demanded that the Gentiles should observe the law.

Vers. 6—12. For the settlement of this difficult question a formal assembly of the apostles and elders was appointed at Jerusalem.¹ In this meeting opinions were at first divided. It may therefore be concluded with certainty, that some even of the presbyters belonged to the strict Jewish Christians. So far as verse 5 is concerned, it might still remain uncertain, whether the elders formerly mentioned were not simply believers (ver. 4), invested with no ecclesiastical office, but here in the assembly there were only ministers of the church, and yet there arose a warm dispute (συζητήσεις) about the question. First of all Peter arose and detailed his own experience, which he had already, at an earlier period, laid before the church (chap. xi. 1, &c.), and by which at that time he had convinced them of the propriety of his conduct. It does not appear clear how Peter can call the attempt to impose upon the Gentiles the yoke of the law, a tempting of God (πειράζειν τὸν

asked him to do so attached undue importance to circumcision, and made it essential to salvation. They had fallen from grace, Gal. v. 4, and he could not countenance them. Besides Titus was a Greek, Gal. ii. 3. But Timothy was a Jew by the mother's side, Acts xvi. 3. And St Paul circumcised him that he might shew he did not maintain the unlawfulness of circumcision in the case of Jews, provided only they did not substitute it in the room of the redemption of Christ. As a Jewish custom it was not wrong, but made indispensable to salvation under the Gospel, it was derogatory to the Saviour.—Tr.

¹ Regarding the section that follows, see Stier in den reden der apostel, bd. ii. s. 29, &c., and Menkens blicke in das leben des apostels Paulus, p. 14, &c.

Θεόν.) But the choice of this expression probably takes its rise from ver. 8, where Peter mentions the giving of the Holy Ghost to Cornelius and his friends. This gift furnished an exhibition that could not at all be mistaken of the divine will: every deviation from it therefore was a wilful tempting of God, because he could not possibly give more convincing proofs of his will.

Ver. 7. The phrase ἀφ' ἡμετέων ἀρχαίων is formed after the Hebrew עֵלֶיךָ עֵלֶיךָ, Ps. xlv. 2. It points to a considerable time, which must have elapsed since the conversion of Cornelius. It is fitted to make the impression that the question, as to its essential features, has been settled long ago. With regard to ἐν ἡμῶν it must by no means be said, that it is equivalent to ἡμῶν: that idea is negatived by the μω which follows: rather must ἐνί be supplied, and the passage rendered thus: "God made choice among us of me, to preach first to the Gentiles."—Ver. 9. The expression τῇ πίστει καθαρῆς τὰς καρδίας is a peculiar one. The purifying, sanctifying principle is properly the πνεῦμα, but this is received in connexion with faith, and therefore the same effect may be ascribed to the one, which belongs to the other.—Ver. 10. It is a remarkable acknowledgment of Peter, that neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear the law. That the apostle could make this declaration before the venerable assembly without being contradicted, shews that all were penetrated with the truth of the statement. The sentiment illustrates the important passages of Paul's writings contained in Rom. iii. 20 and Gal. iii. 10.—Ver. 11. Between the law (νόμος) and the grace which has been revealed in Christ (χάρις), there is a complete contrast according to the usage observed both by Paul and John. (See Comm. at John. i. 17; Rom. iii. 21.) Moreover, we must not refer the words καὶ ὅν τετόπον κἀνέσθαι to the patriarchs, as the older interpreters do, but to the Gentiles, as Kuinoel has already rightly remarked.

Vers. 13—18. After the deputies of Antioch had availed themselves of the impression made by the speech of Peter, to get their own similar experience made known, James at length arose, and by means of a healing measure endeavoured to soothe the opposite party, and to bring about an unanimous decision of the assembly. First of all the bishop mentions the predictions of the Old Testament regarding the calling of the Gentiles, citing Amos ix. 11, 12. But here one sees not, how the quotation bears

upon the point under review: the opposite party did not object to the reception of the Gentiles considered in itself: the only question raised was about the conditions of the reception, but the passage says not in express terms, that the Gentiles were to be received without the observance of the law and circumcision. Probably however James drew his conclusion from the silence of the passage quoted, which does not at all declare that the Gentiles were first to become Jews in order to gain admission into the kingdom of the Messiah, but rather describes them as seeking the Lord in the character of Gentiles.¹

Regarding ἐπισυνέπτεσθαι, see Comm. on Luke i. 68. The words ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, are after the Hebrew fashion loosely appended, corresponding to יְהוָה בְּשֵׁם. They are to be viewed as in apposition with λαός, and denote the near relation of the people of Israel, that is, the true spiritual inward Israel, to God, Rom. ii. 28, 29.—In the quotation, vers. 16—18, the first verse, upon which little stress is laid, deviates very far from the LXX., but the last two agree almost exactly. In most manuscripts of the LXX., the words τὸν νόμον are wanting, but the Alexandrian codex has them. In the concluding words, further, the phrase γνωστοὶ ἀπ' αἰῶνος is wanting. But the last verses deviate entirely from the Hebrew, which runs thus: לְמַעַן יִרְשְׁוּ יְהוָה יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, that is, “to the end that they may possess the remnant of Edom.” In this form the passage could not at all appear suitable to the purpose of James; and therefore, if we can suppose, as is extremely probable, that we possess an accurate account of these important transactions,² then it may be concluded, that in the bosom of the Assembly at this time Greek must have been spoken, because the passage adduced can only have been cited from the LXX.³

The expression, σκηὴ Δαβὶδ, כְּנֵסֵי דָוִד, is a figurative name

¹ On this point, see Hengstenberg's remarks (Christology. B. iii. p. 233, &c.) according to which the quotation acquires significancy, only when connected with the declaration of God, made not verbally but virtually in the communication of the Holy Ghost to the Gentiles.

² See note, page 524.

³ See the note on this subject in the Comm., Part i., at Luke iv. 18, 19. Hengstenberg in the work above referred to, page 235, &c. will not allow there is any difference. Yet he himself confesses, that the Alexandrian translators have substituted a general idea in the room of the particular, which is marked out by Amos as part of the general. Now my words mean nothing more than this: I readily acknowledge that the particular, viz. Edom, is quite suitably extended to the general, viz. the Gentiles (ἔθνη.)

for his house and family, but David's family stands for the entire nation, of which it forms the central point.—Ver. 17. ἐφ' οὗς, with the following ἐπ' αὐτούς, corresponds to the Hebrew, עַל-כֵּן-עַל-אֵלֶיךָ. Moreover the phrase, ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα μου, divides the Gentile world into two parts, viz. those upon whom the name of the Lord is named, and others upon whom it is not named. The former mean those ordained to eternal life.

Vers. 19–21. Instead of laying upon the Gentiles the burden of the whole law, and consequently of circumcision, James recommends to enforce upon them only the reception of certain individual precepts of easy observance. The object of this enforcement was plainly nothing but this, to meet in some measure the difficulties of the Jewish Christians, and to lead the Gentile Christians to shun whatever might prove offensive to their Jewish brethren. In all this, then, it was clearly indicated that the prohibitions had no absolute value; once let the Jewish Christians be more thoroughly freed from Old Testament forms, and the end for which those ordinances were made would no longer exist. Now the ground on which these particular points were brought into view, is explained by the circumstance, that they were wont to be laid upon the proselytes of the gate in the so-called seven precepts of Noah. (Compare Buxtorf. lex. rabb. sub voce עֲרֵב, pag. 407, seqq., and Winer's bibl. Reallex. under the word proselytes.) This, therefore, is the import of the arrangement, that the Gentile Christians should not be obliged to become proselytes of righteousness by circumcision, but only to live as proselytes of the gate. Those of the seven precepts of Noah, which are here omitted, viz. the ones regarding blasphemy, murder, robbery, sedition, were of such a kind that it was self-evident to Christians the like should have no place among them: in the present instance it was not so much precepts of a purely moral character, which required to be brought forward, as precepts which referred merely to the outward life. That the ἀλισθήματα τῶν εἰδώλων are to be understood of an outward act, viz. the eating of the flesh of sacrifices, is quite clear from the analogous expression εἰδωλόθυτα which occurs in the 29th verse. The more particular distinction made by Paul in 1 Cor. x., between such flesh of sacrifices as was bought directly from another in the shambles, and such as was eaten in the temple at an idol-festival, is not entered upon by the assembly: they forbid in the widest sense all eating of sacrifices, because the Jews

took offence at it. The same holds good of the eating of blood, and, which is the same thing, of that which was strangled, in which the blood remained congealed.¹ The Jews had the utmost abhorrence of the eating of blood, which was grounded particularly upon the strong declarations of the Old Testament contained in Lev. xvii. 10, 11. In this passage it is not merely said that Jehovah would set his face against him who eats blood, but the blood is also represented as the support of the soul, that is, of the physical life, and it is placed in connexion with the propitiation, which can only be made by the shedding of blood. (Heb. ix. 22.) This law appears to have been strictly observed by the primitive church (see Euseb. H. E. v. 1), and even in the middle ages the injunction was frequently given by the spiritual authorities to avoid the eating of blood.²

The mention of *πορνεία* appears to be quite foreign to the nature of the other injunctions, and opposed to our view of the object of these apostolic ordinances. It mixes something of a purely moral character with ordinances that refer only to matters of outward observance. As the Codices present no various readings, conjecture has been called in to give her assistance, and, instead of *πορνείας*, it has been proposed to read *πορνεύας* or *χορνεύας*. The sense brought out in this manner would indeed be very suitable, but besides the total want of critical authorities to support it, this reading is decidedly opposed by the circumstance, that among the precepts of Noah there is no mention made of abstinence from swine's flesh, while *πορνεία* is expressly introduced among them. If the reading then be retained, which is supported too by the parallel passage in chapter xxi. 25, the difficulty can only be removed by some mode of explanation. Most of the explanations, however, which have been proposed, are little worthy of being received. It has been proposed to understand the word figura-

¹ The omission of the words *καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ* in several critical authorities probably arose from this, that the two injunctions to abstain from blood and from things strangled were regarded as identical. The prohibition of blood, moreover, and which is the same thing, of strangled animals, had also an internal ground, like all laws regarding food, for physical and psychical elements that cause derangement ought to be shunned. When the mighty power of the Gospel was introduced, most of these might have been abrogated, but it was still found necessary to forbid the eating of blood, until the power of the new Spirit should have entirely developed itself.

² Yet this applies particularly to the Greek church: see the acts of the second Trullan Council of the year 692 in Canon 67. In the Latin church Augustine (cont. Faustum xxxii. 13) already took the right view.

tively of idolatry, but it is not possible that among Christians gross idolatry could require to be thus spoken of; and if you refer the word to participation in sacrificial feasts and the eating of sacrifices, then it coincides with the first injunction. Quite a failure must the experiment made by Heinsius be pronounced, of taking πορνεία for θυσία πορνική, by which phrase you must understand a sacrifice purchased with the hire of a harlot. To overlook every other objection, this view refers to a state of matters so grossly sinful as could not be thought of among Christians. Undoubtedly the only proper course is to bring into view the greater freedom of intercourse between the sexes, which prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, which was an abomination to the more serious Jews, and appeared to them in fact a refined species of whoredom. By the word in question, therefore, which comprehends not only gross violations of the seventh commandment, but also more polished sins of this kind, the assembled brethren enjoin upon the heathen Christians greater care and circumspection in their intercourse with the female sex, that they might give no offence to the Jewish Christians.

The 21st verse plainly assigns, though very shortly, the ground for the injunctions laid down. The connexion of thought is made somewhat obscure by the brevity. Some have therefore been led to very unsuitable connexions. Some interpreters, as for example Grotius, have thought of the reading of the Old Testament in Christian assemblies, and have therefore fancied the idea which connects the 21st verse with the foregoing, to be this, that the complaint of the Jewish Christians regarding the Gentile Christians was unreasonable, since they too read the Holy Scriptures in their meetings. And even Bengel's view is to be rejected, which makes the 21st verse give a reason, why James does not adduce, besides the passage from the prophets, one too from the writings of Moses, viz. because they were sufficiently known. This view is plainly quite untenable, because the 21st verse is not connected with the quotation, for the 19th and 20th verses lie between them. The γὰρ only permits the concluding verse to be connected with ἀπέχεσθαι, so that the following sense comes out: it is proper to enjoin upon the Gentile Christians the observance of the ordinances in question, because, wherever the Jews reside the law of Moses is read, and thus those ordinances are so deeply impressed

upon the people's mind, that they cannot tolerate the neglect of them by the Gentile Christians.

Ver. 19. *παρειοχλῆν* is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament.—Ver. 20. As to *ἐπιστέλλειν* the meaning of “enjoin by letter” must be retained, for there were no Gentile Christians in Jerusalem. This is plain also from Acts xxi. 25.—The word *ἀλισγήματα* from *ἀλισγέω*, which Hesychius explains by *μολύνω*, is only to be found in the Hellenistic dialect. The LXX. use the verb for the Hebrew *בָּשָׁף*, see Mal. i. 7. The substantive *ἀλισγημα* is not to be found at all in the Greek translations of the Old Testament.

Vers. 22–29. After the adoption of the proposals of James, two deputies were sent back to the churches, where the matter had first been brought into controversy. Along with the decrees they took an official letter of the council, which has been preserved to us in the original by the care of Luke. The brevity indeed and artlessness of the letter might make us doubt for a moment whether it be the original of the synod's letter which we have, but a closer consideration renders this in the highest degree probable. Even when the letter might be copied, it would be rendered quite complete and formal, by an account of the occasion of the controversy and information regarding the proceedings; and as to the precise circumstances for which it was intended, the very brevity of it made it exactly suitable to them. It could be supplemented and explained by the oral accounts of the deputies, and everywhere delivered in the churches of the Gentiles as a public letter: for such an object the form adopted was the only one suitable.

In ver. 22 there is a difficulty connected with the construction of *ἐκτεξεσμένους*. The passive use of the middle form is unusual (see Winer's Gr. p. 233); and if you make it refer actively to the apostles, the accusative seems surprising, as does also the nominative *γράψαντες* in the 23d verse. The position of *ἐκτεξεσμένους*, however, makes the connexion of it with *τοῖς ἀποστόλοις* decidedly more probable, and then the accusative with *πέμψαι* must be regarded as the accusative before the infinitive. And the participle following, viz. *γράψαντες*, must be viewed as an instance of incomplete construction.—Of Judas Barsabas, who must not be confounded with Joseph Barsabas mentioned in chap. i. 23, no further mention is made in history. Silas, or in the longer form Silvanus, is the well-known travelling companion of Paul. The shorter

form of the name is peculiar to the Acts of the Apostles, the longer is to be found in the letters of Paul.—Ver. 23. At first the letter appears to have been directed only to the inhabitants of certain provinces, who were particularly interested in the controversy; but that it was designed for general use is plain from chap. xxi. 25, where we learn that Paul delivered the decrees wherever the course of his journeys brought him.—Ver. 24. ἀσσεύαζω, means primarily vasa colligere, “to gather articles together on the occasion of departing,” and hence to “journey:” next “to destroy, to entangle, to perplex.” So it means in Thucyd. iv. 116. It occurs no more in the New Testament.—Ver. 25. The apostles expressly enjoin St Paul to declare openly that they do not concur with the charges of the Jewish Christians against him. Τάδε αὖτε ψυχὴν equivalent to ψεῦδος.—Ver. 28. Here we find the formula, which has become so famous, in consequence of the general use of it afterwards by councils: τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἡμεῖς.¹ Unfortunately, it cannot be denied that this expression has often been employed, in cases where the Holy Ghost only appeared and acted in specie bubonis: but such abuse cannot at all prejudice the proper use of the formula, and if its propriety be allowed anywhere, here undoubtedly it must be supposed. In the primitive church, the operation of the Holy Ghost in the apostles was so decidedly recognised, that their δόγματα, as such, had binding power. (See chap. xvi. 4.) Those therefore who opposed the decrees of the apostles, separated themselves by that very act from the communion of the church; and their parties assumed a sectarian form, which led to gradual decay and final ruin. Connexion with the apostles could alone maintain connexion with the fountain of life, bestowed by the Spirit of God upon the church.

Vers. 30—35. After the fulfilment of their commission, the deputies of the church at Jerusalem devoted themselves to the preaching of the Gospel, and Joseph Barsabas returned, after the lapse of some time; but Silas remained in Antioch, and attached himself wholly to the Apostle Paul.—Ver 32. The clause καὶ αὐτοὶ προφῆται ὄντες is not to be understood primarily, as in chap.

¹ It is self-evident, however, that the words καὶ ἡμεῖς do not represent the apostles as considered separately from the Holy Ghost: they are rather to be understood as if it were written πνεύματι ἐν ἡμῖν. See the discussion by Nitzsch regarding Acts xv. 29, in Velthusen syll. vol. vi. page 385, sqq.

xi. 27, of the gift of predicting future events, which is not here the subject under consideration. The connexion of these words with the work of teaching leads to the conclusion, that the gift of prophecy, *προφητεία*, must be here understood, agreeably to the description of it given by Paul in 1 Cor. xiv., where see the subject more particularly considered. But, of course, the foresight of future events is not in this way excluded: it is only meant that this is not the necessary form in which the *προφητεία* displays itself.—Ver. 34 is remarkable on account of the plural *ἀπελθόντων* which precedes it: the verse is wanting therefore in several manuscripts, and others add the clause: *μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη*. Light, however, is thrown upon the arrangement of the clauses, when it is supposed that Silas wished at first to go back with Judas, but afterwards bethought himself and remained.—The word *αὐτοῦ* in verse 34 is an abbreviated expression for *ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τέπου*.

§ 7. SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF PAUL.

(Acts xv. 36—xviii. 22.)

The account of the second missionary journey of Paul is connected, quite indefinitely as to time, with the preceding section. Luke neither states how long Barnabas had been in Antioch before his return to Jerusalem, nor how long Paul remained after his departure. It remains therefore quite uncertain, to what the words *μετὰ τινὰς ἡμέρας*, in ver. 26, are properly to be referred. They might be supposed to look back to the return of Paul from Jerusalem, but this does not accord with the words *ποιήσαντες χρόνον* in ver. 33, on which account it is best to regard the departure of Judas Barsabas, by which the decision of Silas to remain was fixed, as the period to which the formula refers. Accordingly, you can only determine the time of this journey from its connexion with the earlier and later points of Paul's life: the most probable supposition is, that the commencement of it falls in the year 53. This second missionary tour appears to have proceeded at first, solely from the desire of visiting the churches already planted. In the end, however, it took a much wider sweep, for it brought the apostle to Europe. On this

account it had quite a peculiar interest for Luke ; for it must have been of consequence to him, considering the character of his first readers, to exhibit the introduction of the Gospel into Europe. Besides, it was shortly before the departure of Paul from Troas that Luke himself first joined his company, chap. xvi. 10. He hurries therefore rapidly over the events in Asia, and dwells with peculiar interest on Philippi, the first place in Europe where Paul succeeded in forming a church. Afterwards too Luke gives particular information regarding the stay of Paul in Corinth and Athens.

Vers. 36-39. But before the time of departure arrived, a contest arose between Barnabas and Paul, who were purposing to visit together the churches which they had planted in common, regarding John Mark, who, as we find from chap. xiii. 13, had left them on the first journey. The manner in which Paul mentions this desertion plainly shews that he blamed it and ascribed it to impure motives on the part of Mark. It is altogether most probable that the hardships and dangers of the journey had alarmed the inexperienced youth. Now the conduct of Paul and Barnabas in reference to this event is striking in more than one respect. Not to mention the sharp contention¹ which burned between them,² Paul appears, although indeed this cannot be imagined, to have permanently violated the principle of love, for on account of a single fault he entirely threw off Mark ; and of Barnabas it might be feared that love for his relative (for according to Col. iv. 10, Mark was related to Barnabas), more than a conviction of his fitness, was the motive for taking him as a companion on his missionary journey. But on closer consideration these surmises are seen to be perfectly groundless. Mark appears in fact to have deserved a severe

¹ The attempt of many to justify both completely, or at least Paul, I cannot approve. If both had been perfect men, no contention would have arisen, no exasperation of mind ; for there must always be two to a quarrel. Yea, there would have been no contention, if even only one of them had been perfect. Our Lord could never have quarrelled with any individual ! In the case before us, both were indeed right, but they defended their views in a one-sided manner, and with the heat of self-will.

² Agreeably to the remarks made at chap. xv. 1, a contention might arise even between apostolic men, just as between regenerate men in general, but only for a short time, and doubtless the two apostles soon bethought themselves, and even rebuked their own hearts. The word *παρεξουμής* denotes any violent excitement of mind. It is to be found in a good sense in Heb. x. 24.

castigation, and therefore Paul felt constrained to administer it, although with no view of casting him off entirely; and perhaps the severity of Paul's rebuke might be the means, in the hands of God, of moulding him to be a proper instrument for the kingdom of Christ; but if Barnabas had opposed him in the same manner, all hope might have been at once torn from him, of doing anything for the church. The mildness of Barnabas towards Mark, we may therefore ascribe to the conviction that, notwithstanding the momentary transgression of his relative, there were noble parts in him, which ought not to be neglected. The concurrence therefore of two such different influences, in the treatment of his case, may have been just the fitting means for training him aright; and there may be no reproach due to Barnabas or Paul on account of their conduct; both erred only through the heat of self-will, from which the contention arose.

Vers. 40, 41. After this Paul chose Silas for his companion, and went on this occasion by land, through Syria and Cilicia, into the interior of Asia Minor, to the churches at Derbe and Lystra. Barnabas, on the other hand, sailed first back to Cyprus, but there are no accounts of the further course of his journey. The one stream of missionary labour thus became divided into two parts, and the more regions were in consequence supplied with the water of life.—Ver 40. The phrase, *παρεδωκεν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἀποστόλους*, refers to the official sending forth of the messengers of Christ by the church.

Chap. xvi. 1–5.¹ Of the apostolic labours of Paul, Luke only mentions in general, that he delivered (ver. 4) the apostolic decrees (chap. xv. 29) everywhere, and confirmed the churches in the faith. He makes mention of only one particular occurrence, viz. the calling of Timothy, because this man plays so important a part in the subsequent history of Paul. According to the account of Luke, it is doubtful where Timothy really came from. *Ἐξ ἐκ*, in ver. 1 appears to refer mainly to Lystra, which is named again in ver. 2. If the passage in Acts xx. 4, means that Timothy was from Derbe, then the mention of Lystra and Iconium in ver. 2 must be explained on this principle, that Paul adduces in behalf of Timothy not only the favourable testi-

¹ On chaps. xvi.–xviii., see the excellent remarks of Tholuck in his *Credibility*, p. 381 &c.

mony, as we must suppose, of his native city, but also that of neighbouring cities. (See the exposition of chap. xx 4.) The notice in verse 3 is a most important one, that Paul for the sake of the Jews circumcised Timothy, whose father was a Greek: the father, it appears, if he was not already dead, had not joined himself to the church; for it is only the Jewish mother of Timothy who is called a believer. In this the apostle appears to have been untrue to his principles, not only in the general, but also as exhibited in the special fact that he refused to let Titus be circumcised.—Gal. ii. 3. But in the narrative about Titus, it is compulsory circumcision of which mention is made, which Paul could not submit to without coming into direct collision with his principles (*οὐδὲ Τίτος ἡμετέρῳσιν περιτεμεῖσθαι*), while Timothy willingly submitted to the rite. Where this voluntary reception of the ceremony took place, nothing could hinder him from permitting it; yea, his great principle of becoming a Jew to the Jews (1 Cor. ix. 20), would rather lead him to desire, that the heralds of the Gospel should be circumcised, in order that they might give no offence to the weak Jews. The procedure of Paul shews accordingly his entire freedom from self-willed dogmatism, and his disinterested devotedness to the work of extending the kingdom of God. There can be no doubt that Paul immediately took Timothy along with him. That his adhesion to Paul is first mentioned in chap. xvii. 15, may be easily explained from the consideration, that Timothy would require to be first initiated in the work, and therefore in the beginning could do but little. Yet it is plain from 1 Thess. iii. 1, that Paul, when he was in Thessalonica, had already employed Timothy on missions.

Vers. 6–10. It is remarkable that Luke mentions so shortly the journey of Paul through Galatia and Phrygia: he is impatient, as we have already remarked, to see the apostle arrive in Europe. From this brevity the disadvantage has arisen to us, that the formation of the important churches of Galatia, as well as the places where they stood, have remained quite unknown to us. (See further particulars in the introduction to the Epistle to the Galatians.) It is a remarkable statement too which Luke here makes, that the messengers of Christ could not preach in Asia (meaning Asia proconsularis with its metropolis Ephesus, corresponding to the ancient Ionia), and Mysia and Bithynia, because the Holy Ghost hindered them. The manner in which

Luke describes this hindrance, is well adapted to exhibit the operation of the higher *πνεῦμα* in the souls of the apostles. The *ψυχή* of the individual who had received the Holy Ghost, was by no means so identified with the Spirit, that he was not conscious of the difference ; but he could distinguish the movements of his *ψυχή* very plainly from the operations of the *πνεῦμα*. His own impulses led often, if not to the sinful, (although even this cannot be altogether excluded) yet certainly to the false, and to what was unsuitable to the circumstances. The operations of the Holy Ghost in such a case restrained the soul in its activity, and guided it aright. The influence of the Spirit, however, did not work as a power that violently compelled, but only as one that gently guided the will : a sinful opposition to the impulses of the Spirit always remained, objectively considered, a possible thing, only of course in the apostles as regenerate men the will was inclined to follow every intimation of the Spirit. In the passage before us therefore *ἐπεισάγων* denotes the natural movement of the *ψυχή*, which regards every place and every time as equally suitable for preaching : *ὅν εἶασεν αὐτοὺς*, on the other hand, denotes the restraining influence of the Spirit, who took a wider view, and considered the minds of men in those lands as not yet sufficiently prepared for receiving the Gospel. It is not improbable too that outward circumstances were adverse to their ministry in the provinces mentioned ; but Luke cannot refer primarily to these, for then he would have said *ὁ Θεός*, or at least *ὁ κύριος ὃν εἶασεν αὐτοὺς*. The word *πνεῦμα* always refers mainly to the inward influence which the apostles experienced in their hearts.

Ver. 7. *πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ* is a peculiar form of expression, which is to be found in no other part of the New Testament. It is wanting therefore in several Codices, and even in the Textus Receptus. The best critics however have adopted it, on account of the difficulty of the reading, following the authority of the manuscripts A. C. D. F., and several others. The difficulty of the expression *πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ* lies in this, that it seems to give countenance to the idea of the Monophysites, of a mixture of the natures of Christ. The Holy Ghost, of whom the Lord says in John xvi. 15, "he will take of mine," may well indeed be styled *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*, and often is so styled ; but not, as it seems, *πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ*, because the latter word refers only to the human nature, while the former describes the divine nature of the Son. The employment however

of such forms is very instructive, inasmuch as it shews that the apostles, although they avoid grossly Monophysital intermixtures of the qualities of the two natures, are yet far removed from the Nestorian disjunction of them. The Redeemer is always with them the one glorious divine human person, in whom neither the divine annihilates or absorbs the human, nor the human the divine. And the church would have done well, if with respect to the important doctrine of the person of Christ, it had not gone beyond the forms of expression sanctioned in the Holy Scriptures; all the sacred penmen discover in the choice of their dogmatic formulæ a moderation, which keeps them far from every false extreme.

A vision by night now summoned Paul to Macedonia, and immediately he hastened away. This vision is commonly supposed to have been a dream, but the text does not necessarily lead to this conclusion, for *ὁὐκ ἦν ὄνειρος* does not exclude the idea of being awake. Paul may have seen the vision while praying by night, as it appears from Acts xvi. 25, he was wont to do. Besides, my fundamental principle as to the gradation of the modes of divine revelation prevents me from admitting the idea of a dream here. (See Comm. on Matt. i. 18). Communication by dreams is the lowest form of revelation, and we do not meet with it elsewhere in the case of the apostles, who were endowed with the Holy Ghost. Their visions of ecstasy they always received in a waking condition. (See Acts x.)

In ver. 10. Luke begins his narrative in the first person, whence it is plain that he must now have joined the apostle's company. His modesty however does not permit him to enter farther on his own personal circumstances. (Regarding *συμμετέσχον* compare chap. ix. 22.)

Vers. 11—13. Here the narrative at once assumes a different character, the information imparted by Luke becoming quite minute. The most direct course was taken by the island of Samothrace, from which they came on the following day to the harbour of Neapolis, in the neighbourhood of which Philippi lay. This city, rendered so famous by the battle fought near it, in which the freedom of Rome perished, was originally called *Καρπίδις*, but it was enlarged and fortified by Philip of Macedonia, and named after him. Under the dominion of the Romans Augustus formed a colony in it, in consequence of which it received the *jus Italicum*.

It is not clear, why Luke calls it πόλις τῆς μερῆδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πρῶτη. Macedonia was divided by Aemilius Paulus into four parts (Liv. xlv. 29), and each of these had a πρῶτη πόλις; but the chief city of the part where Philippi lay was Amphipolis. Meyer supposes he removes the difficulty by connecting the words πρῶτη πόλις καὶ κολώνια, "it was the first Roman colonial city established in Macedonia," but πόλις and κολώνια are never combined so as to express one idea. As the article is wanting before πρῶτη, we might understand the passage, as Kuinoel does, thus, "one of the first or principal cities of this part of Macedonia," τῆς being viewed as equivalent to ταύτης. However Bengel's view, in which Heinrichs also concurs, ought to be preferred, according to which πρῶτη is understood not of the importance of the city, but of its situation. Philippi was the first city of this part of Macedonia, which Paul reached by the course he was pursuing, for Neapolis was only the port of Philippi.

On the very first Sabbath they visited the assembly of the Jews in Philippi, and entered into discourse with the female proselytes, whom they found collected there. The Jews commonly had their places of meeting beside rivers, because they found them requisite for their washings. The circumstance that they were often without the city, might be occasioned, as much by the hostility of the Gentiles, as by the desire of the Jews that their usages should attract the less notice.

The original signification of the word ἐνομίζετο, derived from νόμις, "to prevail as a custom, statute, regulation," must be held fast, and therefore no pleonasm is to be thought of here.—Regarding προσευχή, see Comm. on Matt. iv. 23. It is the abbreviated expression for ἡ ἐν τῇ πόλει προσευχή, Matt. xxi. 13.

It is here we first find the narrative conducted in the first person, and this leads us to consider more narrowly the view already touched upon in the introduction, and defended particularly by Bleek and Ulrich, that this form does not spring from the fact of Luke's having been an eye-witness, but is to be traced up to the author of the documents which Luke employed, whom the learned men in question suppose to have been Timothy. But the reasons given do not appear to me sufficient to establish this assertion. In the first place, an appeal is made to the fact, that Luke does not appear, at least at that time, to have been so intimately connected with Paul as this inclusive form of nar-

rative would indicate: it is in his latest letters that Paul first names Luke, as in Col. iv. 14; Philem. v. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11. But the form of narrative in question proceeds from Luke, not from Paul: in the mouth of the latter it would be an expression of great familiarity, but every servant may describe the journeys of his master in the first person: how much more then the assistant of an apostle, although occupying a subordinate position? Again, it is asserted that the cessation of the inclusive form of narrative, as well as the recurrence of it, coincides with occasions, as to which we know from other sources that Timothy had either left the apostle, or had returned to him. That certainly would be a consideration of no small importance. No doubt Luke might have been absent at the same time with Timothy, or have returned along with him; but still undeniably such a fact would support the hypothesis, that Timothy was the author of the inclusive form of narrative. But the supposition does not appear to me sufficiently established. In the very passage before us, the narrative proceeds as far as chap. xvi. 17 in the first person with *ἡμεῖς*; and, from the 19th verse onwards, there is mention made only of Paul and Silas as imprisoned. But this does not prove that Timothy had gone to a distance: he was only not present at the moment of the capture, and the same may be supposed with regard to Luke. These and others might be included among the brethren mentioned in ver. 40, to whom the released prisoners returned. It is true indeed at chap. xvii. 1, the inclusive mode of narration ceases; but it cannot be proved that Timothy alone was left behind just at this point. The supposition that Luke, if the first person was designed to include himself in the narrative, would have stated when and why he was anywhere left behind, is plainly of a very precarious nature. On the other hand chap. xix. 22 speaks decidedly against the supposition that *ἡμεῖς* in the narrative proceeds from Timothy; for there we find him sent by the apostle with Erastus to Macedonia. Timothy had therefore been with Paul, and yet the preceding narrative is not conducted in the first person, as must have been the case on the supposition we are combatting. But chap. xx. 4 is peculiarly decisive, for there it is said that Timotheus, along with others, went before the apostle to Troas, and then ver. 5 proceeds thus: *οὗτοι προσελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι*. The word *ἡμᾶς* could not be written by Timothy, for he was among those who waited for

Paul: it still remains, therefore, the most natural supposition, that the form of the narrative in the first person proceeded from the penman of the Acts himself.

Vers. 14, 15. Among the women mentioned was Lydia, a native of Thyatira, a seller of purple, who first believed and immediately received baptism.¹ It is a significant expression that is here used regarding her, ἥς ὁ κύριος διήνοιξε τὴν καρδίαν, and shews that the inclination of the heart towards the truth originates not in the will of man. The first disposition to turn to the Gospel is a work of grace. Yet this idea does not imply that grace is compulsory, for it remained possible that either the fear of men or their favour might have impelled Lydia to quench the workings of it in her heart. There is no trace to be found here of instruction before baptism: without doubt the rite took place merely on a profession of faith in Jesus as the Messiah. But for that very reason it is highly improbable that the phrase αἶνος αὐτῆς should be understood as including infant children: relatives, servants, grown children might be baptized along with her, for they would be at once carried away by the youthful power of her new life of faith. There is altogether wanting any conclusive proof—passage for the baptism of children in the age of the apostles,² nor can the necessity of it be deduced from the nature of baptism. To allege that the influences of the Spirit might be at work in the unconscious child in the very womb is not sufficient, for regeneration, of which baptism, according to the complete idea of it, stands forth as the means, is more than a mere reception of higher powers:³ it is

¹ On the whole following sections see Menken's Life of Paul, p. 133, &c.

² In the words describing the institution of baptism, in Matt. xxviii. 19, the connexion of μαθητεύειν with βαπτίζειν and διδάσκειν appears quite positively to oppose the idea, that the baptism of children entered at first into the view of Christ. In the Western church the feeling that infant baptism was not itself the baptism of regeneration, appeared plainly in the fact that from the earliest times baptized children were first admitted to the sacrament of the Supper after their *χρίσμα*. If the child had really been born again in baptism, then the participation of the sacrament of the Supper ought to have been immediately allowed. According to the Lutheran views of doctrine, moreover, baptism removes merely the guilt of original sin, but not its dominion, which is first overthrown in regeneration. (See Hutter. rediv. p. 206, not. 10, edit. tert.) Accordingly the whole question, whether infant baptism be regeneration itself, appears to depend upon the definition you give of regeneration. We view it as the communication of the higher life of Christ, and consequently as involving the abolition of the dominion of original sin. See the remarks on Rom. vii. 24.

³ There is a similar distinction in the life of the apostles, between having the Spirit breathed upon them (John xx. 22), and receiving him when he was poured out on the day of Pentecost.

a reception of them into the deepest foundations of the life, and consequently implies a change of the whole course of life, which cannot be conceived to exist without consciousness and a profession of surrender to the holy and exalted possessor of these powers. Still however the propriety of infant baptism is undoubted, and the condition of the church after the close of the third century imperatively required its introduction. But in this way Christian baptism sank down to the position, as it were, of John's baptism, and it acquired its full significance only when it was connected with confirmation. And as baptism, so also the whole church, had fallen back to a position of legality, of which the clear consciousness first appeared at the Reformation, and then also the effort was made to return to the primitive Christian model. (See the Comm. at Matt. iii. 1, and John iv. 1.) The commencement of the separation between baptism and regeneration by the gift of the Holy Ghost, we discover so early as the instructive narrative of the conversion of the Samaritans. It was a long time after the administration of baptism by Philip, that the apostle Peter communicated the Holy Ghost to the baptized. The practice too of baptism by the disciples of Jesus, before the institution of the sacrament and the outpouring of the Spirit, presupposes that these points might exist separately. It is best therefore to express one's self thus, that the elements of repentance and regeneration, united in the sacrament of baptism, and prefigured by immersion and emersion (see Comm. at Rom. vi. 3, &c.), were separated from one another in the later practice of the church, when infant baptism came into use. Only the one half is to be seen in infant baptism itself, the other half appears in confirmation. See also Comm. on Acts viii. 16-24, &c. and John iv. 2.¹

¹ The statements here made regarding baptism seem very unsatisfactory. If baptism and regeneration were originally joined together by Christ in the manner supposed by Olshausen, then it could not be right in the church afterwards to separate them. But the concession made by the author, that the commencement of the separation between them appears even in the Scriptures in the case of the Samaritans, might well have suggested the doubt whether he had not misunderstood the original connexion between them. The case of the Samaritans occurring so early, should in all fairness be regarded, not as a deviation from the law of Christ, but as a practical illustration of it. The view here given of baptism, that it is the means or instrument of effecting regeneration, is very open to objection. There is no warrant from Scripture for supposing that the mere ordinance of baptism ever produced, or was intended to produce, such effects. It is not the efficient cause of an inward change, but simply the outward sign; and in the case of adults, the inward change ought to have taken place before the out-

Vers. 16—24. An event worthy of particular notice, which occurred during the stay of Paul in Philippi, is related by Luke, viz. the incident of the soothsaying female slave, who lost her power in consequence of the apostle's threatening expostulation. Her owners, who had employed her as a means of gain, brought about on this account the apprehension of Paul. After all that has been said at Matt. viii. 28 regarding demoniacs, the occurrence before us can be attended with no particular difficulty. Paul treats the slave altogether as one possessed, and commands the evil spirit to come out of her. That this individual recognized the spiritual qualities of the apostles, is to be regarded as another instance of a kind of clairvoyance, of which numerous examples

ward sign is used. This is plain from the fact, that adults, before being baptised, were required to make a profession of faith, and on the ground of this profession supposed to be true and faithful, the ordinance was administered. Genuine faith therefore, which even our author allows at chap. x. 44, could not exist apart from regeneration, was viewed as necessary to the baptism of adults. The inward change was required to precede the outward sign, and was that indeed which alone made it proper to adhibit the outward sign. Would no blessing then, it may be asked, follow the use of the sign? Would the baptism be a mere fruitless ceremony? Far otherwise. It would be attended with very important consequences. But these consequences would ensue as the effect of a moral and spiritual influence. It would not be the outward rite that would produce them, by some mysterious power operating like a charm. The very act of making a profession of faith, supposing it to be genuine, and the public relinquishment of the world for God, would be attended with such exercises of mind, and such prayer to God for his help, as would, with the blessing of heaven, give a new impulse to the life of faith in the soul. But suppose no inward change to have taken place—suppose the profession of faith to be hollow and heartless, and then the mere administration of baptism, though performed by the hands of the holiest and most legitimately ordained bishop that ever lived, would have no other than a hardening influence upon the soul. Alas for the man who, still unregenerate, trusts to the *opus operatum* of baptism for an inward change of heart. He is seeking for grapes upon thorns, and for figs upon thistles.

The author's exclusion of young children from *ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν*, on the ground of the connexion between baptism and faith, should have appeared to him at least of doubtful propriety, when he says that elements, supposed to be at first inseparable, began to be separated so early as the conversion of the Samaritans. The defence of infant baptism must be rested upon a different ground from the one taken up by Olshausen. A solid basis exists for it in the nature of the Abrahamic covenant. And though it is quite true that in the case of adults faith is a necessary pre-requisite to baptism, yet this does not disprove the propriety of administering it to children. The repeated references made in the New Testament to the baptism of households, naturally implies that children were baptised along with their parents. The baptism of households is spoken of as a customary occurrence, and the baptism of the family is spoken of in connexion with the faith of its head. Lydia's heart was opened, and then she and her family were baptised. The jailor of Philippi was brought to penitence, and then he and all his house were baptised straightway.—*Tr.*

are to be found in the Gospel narratives of the cure of demoniacs. (See on this subject the Comm. on the passages referred to.) The expression *πνεῦμα πύθωνος*, however, or as A. C. D. read *πύθωνα*, is peculiar to the passage before us. In later times the word *πύθων* was employed to denote a ventriloquist (*ἐγγαστριμύδοι, ἐγγαστριμάνταις, ἐντερομάνταις*, in Hebrew *חִיָּס*), in which signification Plutarch in particular uses the word. It has therefore been proposed to explain the occurrence before us, in what is styled a natural manner, that the slave possessed the gift of ventriloquism, but lost it through alarm at the sudden address of Paul. But, in the first place, the choice of the word *πύθων* shews that the ancients regarded the gift of the ventriloquist, not as something acquired by exercise, but as something bestowed by Apollo, the possessor and distributor of all soothsaying power. The *πύθων* was always a *μάντις* too, or *πυθόληπτος*, that is, one filled and inspired by Pythian Apollo. That Luke, as the narrator of the occurrence, had this view of the matter, is plain from the expression *πνεῦμα πύθωνος*; and the address of Paul too, *παράγγελλω σοι ἐξελθεῖν* in verse 18, can only be explained on this supposition. On this view, then, the question arises here, whether Paul really believed that the spirit of Apollo was in the slave, and was driven out by him. In answering this question, such passages as 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, x. 20, present themselves for consideration. In the first, Paul denies that the heathen gods were any thing; yet in the second he affirms that one might, by sharing the offerings of idols, place himself in fellowship with demons. Did Paul then imagine that the Greek divinities were demons, as Justin Martyr, for example, did (Apol. i. c. 8, 9)? But on this supposition, 1 Cor. viii. 4 would be inexplicable. The following view explains the difficulty in a simple manner. The individualized divinities, Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Paul regarded as mere phantoms of the imagination, and therefore he might say with propriety, they are nothing. But that stage of development, at which the Greek poets had delineated those imaginary beings, was the stage of mere natural life, in which man found himself entirely exposed to demoniac influences. Paul therefore again was quite right in representing a descent to this stage of life, as a placing of one's self in fellowship with demons. It is true, he did not believe regarding this slave, that Apollo's spirit wrought in her, for he did not recognise the existence of any Apollo; but he had the well-grounded con-

viction, that her soul was accessible to demoniac powers, who abused their hold of her. Like the Redeemer, therefore, Paul would not be praised by demons, and therefore he drove them out by his threatening word.

Ver. 16. *ἐργασία*, "gain, profit." See Acts xix. 24, 25. The verb is to be found in the same sense in John vi. 27. — Ver. 17. The reading *ὑμῶν*, which is that of the *textus receptus*, is probably only the fault of a transcriber, for the second person does not at all suit the connexion. — Ver. 19. The *ἄρχοντες*, who are called *στρατηγοί* in verse 20, are the so-called *decuriones*, who held the office of magistrates in the colonies. — Ver. 21 refers to the Roman law, which forbade the introduction of *religiones peregrinae*, and on which all persecutions of the Christians were grounded in a legal manner. (See on this point Neander's *kirch. Gesch.* Bd. 1, s. 122, &c.) — Ver. 24. *ξύλον*, *nervus*, was an instrument not simply of detention, but also of punishment; a wooden block furnished with holes, into which the feet were put, and according to the severity of the torture, stretched far from one another. Origen in his extreme old age was obliged to bear this torture; and for several days to lie in such an instrument, with limbs far spread out from one another.

Vers. 25–34. Although removed by their imprisonment from the great scene of labour, the messengers of Christ found even in the prison a field for their preaching, more confined indeed, but not less fruitful; for not only were the prisoners attentive to them, but the keeper of the prison himself with his house believed in consequence of what he saw, and by him the abode of crime was changed for many into a temple of grace. (Regarding the singing of the apostles by night, see *Comm.* at chap. ii. 42. It must be understood of the musical utterance of a psalm in prayer.) With regard to the deliverance of Paul and the other prisoners, it has already been remarked at chap. xii. 3, that it is quite obviously an earthquake which is here spoken of. But if you compare chap. iv. 31, it will not be doubtful that the earthquake occurring at this precise moment, stood connected in the narrator's view with the prayer of the apostles. It was something like the seal of God for them, and for all who were present.

In the conduct of the keeper of the prison, the unbelieving despair that well nigh led to suicide, forms a mighty contrast with the faith that was rapidly developed in him. The person of Jesus,

whose history in its great leading features was stated by the apostle, is the object of his faith: Paul requires no works along with this faith, and mentions no conditions of salvation but it: in it every thing else lies enclosed; good works are the necessary fruits of it. If we contemplate this statement of Paul to the jailor of Philippi, regarding Jesus who was crucified twenty years before in Jerusalem, merely in its historical aspects, then we can see no reason why it should have exerted such an influence upon the man; for in this view there is nothing but gratitude to Paul to form the bridge, by which the jailor may enter into his ideas, but then it must be confessed that the apostle might as well have told some legend, which would have produced for the moment apparently the same effect. But if we view the preaching of the exalted and glorified Redeemer, in connexion with the living power of the Spirit which proceeded from him, then we may conceive its influence upon the hearts of men. The remark in ver. 32, that Paul preached not only to the jailor, but also to all *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, is plainly not favourable to the view, that infant children are included under this expression, for Paul could deliver no discourse to them.—Ver. 33. *ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ κ. τ. λ.* is a Tmesis for *ἀπέλουσεν*.—Ver. 34. *παισιζί* same as *παισιζει*, that is, *ὡς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ ἔθνους*, occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

Vers. 35—40. In the morning the magistrates sent messengers with the command to dismiss Paul from prison. Perhaps the earthquake had terrified them, or, as is more probable, they had become convinced of Paul's innocence. Here too we find that Paul does not understand the command of the Lord in Matt. v. 39, as if a Christian should let the wicked do to him whatever they think proper to do, but, on the contrary, he defends himself most courageously, and demands, on account of his Roman citizenship, satisfaction for the outrage done to him. He deals with those that are without, quite according to the *jus talionis*, whose force only they are in a condition to estimate. By the *lex Porcia* moreover it was decreed, that corporal punishment could not be inflicted upon *cives Romani*; ¹ and therefore the possession of the right of citizenship was an important means of defence to the

¹ See Cicero pro Rabirio c. 4. *Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit*. How frequently use was made of this privilege, is plain from Cic. in Verr. v. c. 57, *illa vox et imploratio: civis Romanus sum! saepe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit*.

apostle against the daring assaults of the opposers of his work. How Paul acquired this right is unknown. His native city Tarsus did not possess it, it was an *urbs libera*, that is, it had obtained from Cæsar Augustus the liberty of governing itself entirely according to its own laws. Now as Paul, according to chap. xxii. 28, was born a Roman citizen, nothing remains but to suppose, that his father or one of his ancestors had acquired the right. It is plain from Josephus, B. J. ii. 14, that even Jews frequently purchased it. (Ver. 35. The *ἡγεμόνιστοι* were the lieutors of magistrates in the colonies.—Ver. 40. *εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν*, for which Griesbach has adopted the better supported *πρὸς*, stands for *εἰς τὴν Λυδίας ὁδόν*. See Winer's Gram. p. 338.)

Chap. xvii. 1—4. From Philippi Paul went by Amphipolis and Apollonia, which was also called *Ἀπολλωνία Μεγδονίας* to distinguish it from several cities of the same name, to Thessalonica, the chief city of the second part of Macedonia. Although Paul only taught three Sabbaths in this city, yet he succeeded in planting a flourishing church in it; a circumstance which shews more than any thing else, what an amount of spiritual power must have proceeded from the apostle.

Ver. 1. The article in *ἡ συναγωγή* probably refers to the relation in which the synagogue of Thessalonica stood to the other synagogues of that region; they were all probably dependent upon it, so that in Thessalonica there was something like a chief or head Rabbinate.—In ver. 3, there is a sudden transition from the indirect to the direct style, similar to what occurs in chap. i. 4.—Ver. 4. *προσηλυτισμῷ* equivalent to *ῥῥ*, which only occurs in this passage of the New Testament, is not at all uncommon in the language of Philo. See Loesneri observ. Philon. p. 209, sq.

Vers. 5-9. But in Thessalonica too hostility against the Gospel was speedily manifested, and Jason, in whose house Paul resided, was dragged before the authorities. Here the Christians were accused of political offences (verse 7): for it was affirmed that they regarded Jesus as the true king. This accusation gives us a glimpse of the Chiliastic tendency of the Christians at Thessalonica, of which, according to Paul's letters to them, there was a one-sided development in their views. Why this tendency was displayed particularly in Thessalonica, we are unfortunately unable to shew from want of precise information regarding the state of matters there.

Ver. 5. The word ἀγροῦνοι denotes men moving about idly in the market-place.—Ver. 6. πωλιτάρχης is equivalent to στρατηγός in chap. xvi. 20. The word is to be found in no other part of the New Testament.—Ver. 7. ἀνυστατός is to be found also in Acts xxi. 38, and Galat. v. 12. It belongs to the later Greek, and is formed from the adjective ἀνάστατος, which comes from ἀνάστημι. It denotes primarily “to stir up from one’s seat,” then generally, “to excite tumult, disturbance.”—Ver. 9. ἱκανὸν λαμβάνειν and also ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν, are juridical expressions for receiving and giving caution. See Passow’s Lex. under this word.

Vers. 10-15. Meanwhile, to secure the apostle by all means from further persecutions, the disciples conducted him to Beroea, which lay due west from Thessalonica, where Paul found among the Jews and proselytes a peculiar readiness to attach themselves to the Gospel. But the enemies of the truth in Thessalonica excited the multitude in Beroea likewise against him. In consequence of the disturbance thus raised Paul went to Athens; but left Silas and Timotheus behind him in Macedonia, without doubt to confirm the young churches there planted in the faith. See 1 Tim. iii. 1.—Ver. 11. The word εὐχέεστεροι does not refer to noble descent, but to the disposition of the inhabitants of Beroea, which is particularly described in the following words of the verse, their very zealous study of the Scriptures being praised, for they searched out the oracles of the prophets that were appealed to by the apostle, and fulfilled in the life of Jesus.—Ver. 14. There is nothing in the words ὡς ἐπὶ requiring to be changed, but they are not to be translated as Kuinoel supposes usque ad: on the contrary, ὡς with a preposition of motion denotes, either the definite purpose, or the pretext of designing to pursue a certain course. Here undoubtedly the latter is the meaning. See Winer’s Gram. p. 559. These words therefore do not indicate, as Hensen (p. 137) supposes, that Paul proceeded to Athens by sea. The fact that nothing is mentioned of the intervening places, does not at all argue in favour of this supposition, for how often are whole regions left unnoticed, through which Paul passed, and where certainly he laboured, as for example Galatia? And the phrase ἡγαγόν αὐτὸν in ver. 15, which indicates an escort going forward, speaks more in favour of a journey by land.—Ver. 15. καθίσταται, meaning “to accompany, to convoy,” is only to be found in this part of the New Testament so used. This application springs from the significa-

tion "to transport something to a place, to deliver." See Passow's Lex, under the word.

Vers. 16-21. In Athens Paul now trod the leading seat of Grecian science and art. Neither he himself, nor the philosophers who thronged upon him here, anticipated at the time that from the new doctrine which he brought, a new science and art far transcending antiquity would be developed. But if the great apostle of the Gentiles might not clearly apprehend with what power and freshness the Gospel would operate even in the direction of science; yet he carried within him the lively consciousness, that he brought to the central point of Grecian society, an element of life which as infinitely transcended its highest imaginations, as the eternal went beyond the loveliest scenes of a perishable world, and in this consciousness he moved as a spiritual potentate, as a mature man among a crowd of children, to whom he undertook to explain their presentiments and to express them in words. The numerous temples and altars, which Paul found in Athens, led him to perceive clearly the spiritual wants of the inhabitants; and contrary to his usual custom therefore, he spoke here in public places to those whom he met (ver. 17), while elsewhere he was wont to teach only in synagogues and private houses. The people too, that they might acquire a connected view of his doctrine, invited him to speak upon the hill of Mars; for the well-known fickle curiosity of the Athenians was eager to learn, what new thing he was proposing.¹

Ver. 16. The phrase *παροξύνετο τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ* does not so much express wrath or bitterness, as the vehement emotion of sorrow which Paul experienced, when he found the Athenians so far led astray in what belonged to religion. *Κατείδωλος* occurs in no other part of the New Testament. It denotes, agreeably to the frequent signification of *κατά* in composition, "containing an abundance of idol images," "full of idols." Compare in ver. 22 the word *δαισιδαίμονες* *εστῆσαν*.—Ver. 18. Of the philosophers it is only the Epicureans and Stoics that are mentioned, probably because the adherents of these schools mingled most in public life, and went abroad into the great world. The word *σπερμιολόγος* is to be

¹ Regarding this loquacious curiosity of the Athenians, Seneca says very well: Alexander, qui quod cuique optimum est, eripuit, Lacedaemona servire jubet, Athenas tacere (Epist. 94.)

found nowhere else in the New Testament.¹ It denotes primarily, a little bird that picks up seeds, then also a poor man, who gathers up grains of corn for his support. Figuratively it is applied to an ignorant babbler, who attempts to make use of scraps of knowledge picked up here and there, which he does not sufficiently understand. Hesych. explains *σπερμολόγος* by *φλύδαρος*. Philostratus (vit. Apoll. v. 20) uses also the verb *σπερμολογῆναι*.—*Δαιμόνιον* is used in ver. 18 in a good sense, as is frequently the case in classic Greek.—Ver. 19. "*Ἀρεῖος πάγος*, Campus Martius, is the well-known name of a hill in the city of Athens, with an open space, where the celebrated tribunal of the Areopagus had its place of meeting.—Ver. 21. *ἐνκαίριον* corresponds entirely to the Latin *vacare*, "to be at leisure," with the accessory idea of devoting this leisure to some particular object.

Vers. 22–25. Standing in the midst of Mars' hill, Paul now addressed the Athenians, and with great wisdom he laid hold of a fact, which had struck him in the city, that he might conduct his hearers to a deeper knowledge of God, and thus convince them of their need of redemption.² He availed himself of the inscription upon an altar, *ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*, to preach to them the one true God, and altogether departing from the strain of his discourses in the synagogues, he imparted to them formal instructions regarding the unity and spirituality of God. Now, with regard to the circumstance that Paul applied to his purpose the altar with the inscription mentioned, there are several difficult questions which require to be considered.

In the first place, it might be apprehended that the apostle had here been guilty of a kind of pious fraud (*pia fraus*). For according to Polytheistic principles the inscription, *Θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ*, cannot be otherwise understood, than as meaning "to an unknown God," for the article is wanting, and in the room of this one among many gods, Paul seems to have substituted the one and only God. This suspicion is still farther heightened by the circumstance, that we have no information at all regarding any altar

¹ Appropriately does Köster (in Pelt's Theol. Mitarb. II. 2, s. 133) draw attention to the fact, that in the very place in Athens where Paul spoke, Demosthenes too called his opponent Aeschines a *σπερμολόγος*. (Pro corona. p. 269, edit. Reiske.) And the very same accusation, of introducing strange gods (Xenoph. apol. Socr. § 10), was brought against Socrates, which is here brought against Paul.

² See Stier's excellent exposition of this speech in his work in den reden der apostel, part ii. p. 121, &c., and Menken's "Leben Pauli," p. 240, &c.

in Athens with such an inscription. In Lucian's dialogue of Philopater, which however is not genuine, there is indeed mention made of this altar, but it is only in mockery of Paul's speech. On the contrary, Jerome (on Titus i. 12) distinctly affirms, that Paul substituted the singular in the room of the plural: that the inscription ran thus, *Diis Asiae et Europae et Africae, Diis ignotis et peregrinis*; but as in this form the apostle could not have used it, in his speech he put the singular for the plural. In fact too Pausanias (descrip. Graec. i. 1) states that in Athens there were altars of unknown gods to be found, and this we can readily imagine from the principles of Polytheism, which would not be unfriendly to the gods of any people, and therefore it included them all under the comprehensive name of "unknown gods." In this case, however, Paul appears to be guilty of a second error, in having given to the inscription an application, which was altogether foreign to the meaning of its authors. Eichhorn has indeed made the supposition (Allg. Bibl. der bibl. lit. Bd. iii.), that there might be single altars with the inscription ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, for altars might continue standing from remote ages without any inscription; and as pious feeling would prevent their removal, it would be supposed necessary to furnish them with such an inscription, because it was not known to what god they had originally been dedicated. But impartiality obliges us to confess that this is a mere supposition, which cannot be confirmed by any positive proof; and therefore it ought not to be taken into account in the discussion at all.

But though this notion be altogether kept out of view, still I believe that the conduct of the Apostle Paul is entirely unimpeachable, and that without committing any pious fraud he might act as he did. First of all, whether it was really the plural that stood inscribed upon the altar or not, is a matter of perfect indifference, for let it be considered that, if *many* unknown gods were mentioned, then it is self-evident that *one* too might be spoken of. The force of the argument would not have been in the slightest degree altered although Paul had said, that he wished to make known to them *one of the many unknown gods*. The only circumstance then that is really strange is this, that Paul attaches to an expression which could only denote one of the many gods of Polytheism, the idea of the one true God; and affirms that they already worshipped, without being aware of it, the God whom he

was preaching ; an affirmation which appears to be manifestly wrong, and to contradict other passages, in which it is said that the Gentiles are without God. With reference to this point however it must not be overlooked, that the apostle by no means excludes the heathen world from all knowledge of God (Rom i. 20) : errors of the head regarding the nature of God might very well be coupled in a Gentile with an inward longing of the heart after the divine Being. Now of this longing, as the proper fountain of religious life, Paul in his wisdom lays hold ; and seeks to guide it, by the weak threads which connect it with the higher world, to a profounder knowledge. With perfect truth therefore he might say, that they, in the inward yearning of their soul, worshipping this one unknown God as all others, had always really meant the true living God, although their understanding had remained far from him.¹

Ver. 22. *θεισιδαίμων* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament : but the substantive is to be found in Acts xxv. 19. The word is used by the best Greek authors in a good sense also, as synonymous with *εὐσεβής*. The comparative, which Paul here employs, mingles, in a manner very suitable to the circumstances, praise with delicate censure.²—Ver. 23. *σεῖράσματα* denotes sacred objects in the widest sense of the word ; proper temples, and also single altars, or sacred enclosed places. The 24th and 25th verses set out with the most general manifestations of the divine being, his creative power and all-sufficiency. In the close of the verse many

¹ The longing after God which is here attributed by the author to the Gentiles, must not be confounded with that longing after God, which dwells in the bosom of a Christian, and which David so affectingly describes in Ps. xlii. It is a totally different feeling. It is simply that feature of man's constitution by which he is fitted for becoming a religious being, and by which he is distinguished from the beasts of the field, which are wholly unsusceptible of religious emotions. By his very constitution, man feels that he must look up to some higher being : he is a worshipping creature : and it is in consequence of this that all tribes and kindreds have set up for themselves gods of some kind or other. And these gods are not supposed to be false gods : it is a true God that man desires ; but though he feels his need of a higher power to direct him, still his mind, darkened by reason of sin, remains an utter stranger to the character of the God who made heaven and earth. He remains far from God. Still, as our author remarks, the apostle recognises the groping of the Gentiles in the dark after something to lay hold of, as a search directed towards the great God who made heaven and earth. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.—Tr.

² Regarding the multitude of sacred objects in Athens, Pausanias among others says in Attic. c. 24 : ' *Ἀθηναίοις περισσώτερον τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς.*

of the younger Codices read *κατὰ πάντα* for *καὶ τὰ πάντα*. This reading with the meaning "ubique" undoubtedly gives a suitable sense, but still the critical authorities oblige us to decide in favour of the common reading. And in this case the article before *πάντα* must be referred to all that is necessary to creatures.

Vers. 26, 27. From the doctrine regarding God, as the almighty and self-sufficient Being, the discourse of the apostle makes a transition to the most important member of the creation, viz. man. First of all, the apostle confirms the doctrine of the Old Testament, which, even according to the most recent physiological and geological researches, still presents itself as the most probable, that all men have sprung from one pair. (*ἝΑίμα* equivalent to *σπέρμα*, see at John i. 13.) Only one question here presents itself, for what reason does Paul bring this point into view? Some say for the purpose of combatting the error of the Athenians, that they were sprung from the soil (autochthones.) But the question still presents itself, on what ground could it appear important to the apostle, to draw the attention of the meeting to that point? Paul undoubtedly designed in this way to represent the contempt in which the Jews were held among the Greeks as absurd, and to humble their conceit of their own superior culture, in room of which the Jews had a far deeper moral and religious tendency. For this reason, he made it appear that all tribes were brethren, and that a higher destiny assigned to the nations their dwelling-places and epochs of development. By this last thought, the apostle indicates that the calamities of nations exhibit no unregulated fluctuation, but a course of things determined by laws from above.

Ver. 26. *περίσωπον τῆς γῆς* equivalent to *פְּרִיטוֹן אֶרֶץ*—*ὁμοεισία* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. Of habitation there is mention here made, because geographical circumstances and diversities of climate exert a most important influence upon the formation of national character.

It is here represented as the moral duty of man to seek after God. This *ζητεῖν* indicates of itself a previous apostacy of man from God, for before that apostacy he lived in immediate communion of soul with the Source of his being, and of course needed not to seek after Him whom he already possessed. And the seeking (*ζητεῖν*) is very significantly resolved into the two points of feeling after (*ψηλαφᾶν*) and finding (*εὐρεῖσθαι*). The former expresses the immediateness of the emotion in which the Eternal is

first made known, and the latter the higher stage of consciousness in which man plainly recognises the peculiarity of that emotion. And the possibility of finding God, even when man is far from him, lies in this, that God remains perpetually near to man. (See Comm. at chap. xiv. 16, 17.)

Vers. 28, 29. This nearness of God, even to the creature that is estranged from him, the apostle describes in a very impressive manner. The divine Being is plainly with him the immanent ground of all creatures, in some measure the sea of life, in which they all move. Fear of a pantheistic view of the world has led men, though without any reason, to refine upon the expression, *ἐν αὐτῷ*, and to understand it in the sense of "by him." The whole of the sacred Scriptures exhibits, as Paul does here, one God who is inwardly near to man; yea, whose eternal word speaks in the bottom of his heart. (Rom. x. 8.) The teaching of Scripture sufficiently guards against the abyss of Pantheism,¹ first, by its doctrine of the reality of evil, which no Pantheistic system can acknowledge; and, secondly, by the doctrine of the glorification of the body and of matter in general. Where these two bulwarks are held fast, we may quietly commit ourselves to God, in whom we live, and who is in us, without falling into the mouth of the all-devouring, all producing monster of Pantheism.

The question, however, still presents itself, how the three points of living (*ζῆν*), moving (*κινεῖσθαι*), and being (*εἶναι*), are related to one another. Storr would regard them as forming an anticlimax, understanding *ζῆν* in the pregnant sense of blessed life, and *εἶναι* as a mere description of physical existence. It is better however to view *εἶναι*, as Kuinoel has already done, as the highest point,

¹ It were to be desired, that instead of the word Pantheism, so liable to be misunderstood, and so often wrongly understood, another word were chosen to describe the error which has usually been denoted by this name. The Bible itself sanctions the expression, "God is all in all," which lies at the foundation of the word Pantheism. The only question is, how this expression is to be understood. In the East, and also in the Pantheism of Spinoza, the unity of God and of the universe is so grossly conceived, that all individuals are regarded as only passing modifications of the one original substance. (See the passages cited at John x. 14, page 246.) Although the Scriptures also say, *πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ* and *εἰς τὸν Θεόν*, yet they take their stand upon a rigorous distinction between the eternal and the created, and the distinctive properties of the created are the possibility of evil and matter. The possibility of evil has reference to this earthly life alone, but materiality forms even for saints after the resurrection the boundary of individuality. Without a glorified body, the assurance of individual existence after death would be nothing but an empty assurance.

understanding by it real existence, the life of the soul ; then ζῆν denotes the physical existence of the body, σῶμα ; while κινεῖσθαι refers to the free activity of the spirit, ψυχῇ. Such a lively view of God was entertained even by individuals among the heathen writers, and Paul adduces a passage in which it is expressed. It is to be found in Aratus (Phænomena. v. 5), and also in Cleanthes (Hymn. in Jov. v. 5), although in the latter writer the words run somewhat differently, viz. thus : ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἔσμεν. The probability is, that Paul was thinking of the former writer, who was his countryman : at all events Aratus was a native of Cilicia, although not perhaps of Tarsus itself. There is evidence of Grecian culture in this and other quotations of the Greek poets, (see 1 Cor. xv. 33 ; Tit. i. 12) ; but whether Paul, as has been supposed, attended in his native city, which was famed for schools of rhetoric, a formal course of education in the various branches of knowledge cannot be inferred from these quotations. As he was destined for Rabbinical culture, it seems more probable to me, that it was rather by private reading and by intercourse with Greeks, that the apostle acquired his knowledge of the Greek classics. Further, from the passage quoted, nothing precise can be deduced in reference to the doctrine of the divine image, because we cannot ascertain how Paul understood the phrase θεῶν γένος. He uses it, only for the purpose of shewing from the mind of man who springs from God, that the Godhead ought not to be brought down to a level with objects of sense.

Ver. 29. χάραγμα from χαράσσω, “to engrave, to cut out,” stands very frequently in the Apocalypse for “image, representation,” Rev. xiv. 9, 11, xv. 12, xvi. 2, &c.

Vers. 30—34. After this introduction, the apostle proceeds in his discourse to invite his hearers to repentance (μετάνοια), which he enforces first by the patience of God, who had graciously overlooked the earlier times of their heathen ignorance, and would not reject them, and secondly by a reference to the future judgment, which is to come upon the whole world, at the appearance of him who rose from the dead. (Regarding ὑπερβόη, see the particulars at Rom. iii. 35, which, though not verbally, is yet really parallel). But the mention of a resurrection from the dead prevented the unbelieving Athenians from lending ear any further to the witness of the truth : only a few, who were ordained to eternal life, attached themselves to Paul. Among these are mentioned a

woman named Damaris, and Dionysius, a member of the Areopagus,¹ which latter individual acquired great importance during the centuries, when the mystical writings forged under his name were regarded as genuine.

Chap. xviii. 1—3. From Athens Paul betook himself to Corinth, where he made the acquaintance of a Jew, settled in Rome, but born in Pontus, named Aquila, who with his wife Priscilla had recently come from Italy. *Προσφύτης* signifies primarily, "recently killed or slain," from *πέφω* and *σφάζω*, then in general "recent." (See Lobeck and Phrynich. p. 374.) Luke remarks also, that the occasion of their journey had been the command of Claudius Cæsar, that all Jews should depart from Rome. Now as nothing is stated regarding the conversion of this family by Paul, and as they appear very active in favour of Christianity, the probability is that they had brought their knowledge of the Gospel from Rome. But the first little church there might be annihilated by this command of Claudius, and the Jews, from whom the Christians were not distinguished, might only gather again in Rome very gradually: and this supposition throws light upon some points, which would otherwise appear very dark. (See Comm. on Acts xxviii. 21.) With respect to the expulsion of the Jews by Claudius, it is of importance in this respect that it furnishes, as was already remarked in the introduction, a point of contact with profane history, which is of use in settling the chronology. Suetonius (Claud. c. xxv.), and Dio Cassius, (lx. 6) mention the occurrence. According to the most probable supposition it falls in the year 54 after the birth of Christ, or in the thirteenth year of the reign of Claudius.

The intimate connexion between the apostle and Aquila was brought about, not simply by the union of their hearts in the faith, but also by the outward circumstance that they practised the same handicraft. According to the Jewish custom, which required even the Rabbins to learn a trade, Paul followed the occupation of a *σκηνοποιός*. The fathers, as for example Chrysostom, understood this word to mean a worker in leather, *συντοσίμους*, be-

¹ According to the Constit. Apost. vii. 46, Dionysius was appointed by Paul superintendent of the young church in Athens, an assertion which is only indeed a conjecture, but still not an improbable one. Certainly the number of converts in Athens, and of men fit for office in the church, was not so great that there could be much room for selection.

cause tents were often made of skins ; but it is more suitable to understand it of the trade of a tentmaker, which was very much practised in Cilicia. The hair of a species of very shaggy goat was there wrought into a thick stuff like felt, which was very much employed in covering tents. (See Plin. hist. nat. vi. 28. Veget. de re milit. iv. 8.) The principal reason why the apostle always practised his trade during his apostolic ministry was this, that, on account of the numerous opponents who were watching all his movements, he believed it was necessary (xx. 33) to shun every appearance of outward advantage, which he might derive from his office. The passage however in 1 Cor. ix. 14, shews that Paul was not unaware of the duty of those who received heavenly blessings in the preaching of the Gospel, to bestow upon the messengers who brought them, a portion of their earthly treasures. Paul was therefore far removed from the pride which is ashamed to take : in suitable circumstances he willingly received gifts of love, as we find from Phil. iv. 14, &c.

It is wrong certainly to regard the Jewish custom of learning a trade, in conjunction with the study of the law, simply as a means of securing worldly advancement : the true reason of this practice rather was, that by bodily exercise they might guard against the temptations to which idleness might lead. Monks and mystics have often felt the want of such a defence.¹

Ver. 4—11. In Corinth Paul now began to preach among the Jews and Proselytes, and he taught with great zeal, particularly after the arrival of his assistants whom he had left behind him in Macedonia. But the stubbornness of the Jews obliged him once more to renounce their society, and to turn to the Gentiles.² There is a difficulty in the expression συνέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς in ver. 5. The common text reads τῷ συνέσπονδι. This reading probably arose from the most familiar signification of συνέχεσθαι, which would be supposed the one here employed. It denotes in the first place "to be held together, to be pressed," and then "to be distressed,

¹ Regarding the procedure of the apostle, in supporting himself entirely by the labour of his own hands, see also the remarks at 1 Cor. ix. 7.

² Baur, in his effort to combat the historical character of the Acts of the Apostles, goes so far here as to affirm, that Paul himself may have excited this opposition of the Jews to the Gospel, in order to obtain a good apology for labouring among the Gentiles. It is a proper remark which Kling (Studien 1837, II. 2, s. 307) makes on this notion : "one must be astonished at the critical acumen, which could lead astray to an idea so destitute of all propriety."

to be filled with anxiety." (See Luke viii. 41, ix. 43; Matt. iv. 24; Luke xii. 50.) This signification suits best with *τῷ πρῶματι*; and therefore *λίγῃ*, which was certainly the original reading, was banished from the text. But the same fundamental meaning of the word, "to be pressed together," leads quite naturally to another use of it, viz. *incitari*, "to be stirred up," for pressure as in the bending of a bow produces an augmentation of power. In this sense Paul plainly uses the word in 2 Cor. v. 14, *ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς*, "the love of Christ constrains, impels us." This is the signification which we must employ in the passage before us, and the words accordingly must be translated: "Paul laboured most zealously in preaching."—Ver. 6. Regarding the expression *ἄμα ἐπὶ τὴν κεραιὴν ὁμῶν*, see Comm. on Matt. xxvii. 25.

Paul laboured for a year and a half in Corinth (ver. 11); and in this very city, the most luxurious and degraded of Greece, the Gospel celebrated her noblest triumphs; as if for the purpose of presenting us with a vivid proof of the great apostle's fundamental principle, that, where sin abounds, grace abounds much more. In the house of a certain man Justus, beside the synagogue, Paul held his meetings; and Crispus, the superintendent of the Jews, became himself a believer, together with many Corinthians. In his room, it is probable, Sosthenes, who is mentioned in ver. 17, was chosen; but he appears also, according to 1 Cor. i. 1, to have joined himself to the church of God. It was probably the accession of so distinguished a man as Crispus to the church of Christ, that induced the apostle to depart from his usual custom of leaving his assistants to baptize, and to perform the rite himself. (1 Cor. i. 14.) The resolution of the apostle, to exercise his ministry for so long a time in the one city of Corinth, was confirmed, according to vers. 9, 10, by the peculiar circumstance that he had there a vision of Christ by night, who revealed to him that many chosen persons lived in Corinth. In 2 Cor. xii. 1, &c., Paul gives a detailed description of an ecstatic vision of this kind. Ver. 7. *συναρπάξω* occurs in no other part of the New Testament; it comes from *ἁρπάσσειν*, which appears to be compounded of *ἁρπάσσειν* and *ἵσσειν*.—Ver. 10. *ἐπιτιθέναι τὰς* denotes primarily "to lay something upon one:" in the middle it is used for laying hands on one, seizing, assaulting, as it were, "to throw one's self upon a person, to fall upon him."

Vers. 12–17. The extraordinary success attending the preaching

of Paul might excite the hatred of the Jews particularly against him. With their new president at their head (ver. 17), they accused him before the proconsul Gallio,¹ and dragged him even before his tribunal. This excellent man was a brother of the philosopher Lucius Annæus Seneca;² he was called originally Novatus, but assumed the other name from one Junius Gallio. (See Grotius on this passage. Tacitus Ann. vi. 3, xv. 73, makes mention of him.) This relationship of Gallio was probably what occasioned the fabrication of the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and Seneca. (See J. A. Fabricii. cod. apocr. N.T., vol. i.) It has been supposed that Gallio was converted by Paul,³ and that he then brought about an acquaintance between Paul and his brother, who was also won over to the Gospel. Gallio was quite averse to enter upon the consideration of controverted points in the Jewish law, and required that the Jews should accuse Paul of some moral offence, which however they could not do,

¹ Regarding Gallio consult the excellent notices of Tholuck (Glaubw. s. 173), which bring into view how minutely Luke shews himself to have been acquainted with all circumstances. Luke styles Gallio proconsul: now these officers were only in the provinciis senatoriis; but Achaia was changed by Tiberius into a provincia imperatoria, and provinces of this kind were only governed by procurators. (Tacit. annal. i. 76.) But Claudius had given back Achaia to the Senate. (Suet. Claud. c. 25.) Luke's narrative is therefore quite accurate. With propriety does Tholuck draw attention to the circumstance, that it might have been supposed Luke had here committed a mistake, if this one passage of Suetonius had been wanting. How much, therefore, that is apparently wrong would appear quite right, if all sources lay completely before us.

² Gallio is here spoken of very favourably. And certainly there is but small ground furnished in the text for that obloquy which has been thrown upon this Roman governor. He acted rightly when he refused to be a judge in the case of a religious dispute between the Jews and one of their countrymen. He was ready to listen to any accusation that might refer to criminal conduct, and to sift the evidence that might be adduced; but he would not constitute himself a judge of Jewish controversy. In this certainly he acted a wise and noble part; and it was his conduct that secured for Paul a peaceful opportunity of prosecuting his ministry in Corinth. Why then has Gallio been so unsparingly condemned? The reason lies in a misapprehension of one clause in the 17th verse, where it is said Gallio cared for none of these things, which has been understood to mean, that he was wholly indifferent to religious matters, and was an infidel. But this is not the sense of the words. They mean that he would not interfere at all in the way of constituting himself a judge of the disputed points, that he even allowed the parties to come to blows without interposing his authority. Now Gallio was perfectly right in wholly refraining from giving a judgment on the disputed points; but he was wrong in not employing his authority to prevent all violence. He should have kept the peace between the contending parties.—Tr.

³ This according to Eusebius (Chron. a. 66) is improbable, as Gallio put a period to his own existence.

and this was a testimony in favour of the apostle.—Ver. 12. Achaia denotes not simply the district of this name in the Peloponnesus; but it was also employed by the Romans to designate the whole of Greece and the Peloponnesus, which formed one province.—Ver. 14. ἐφιδουζγημα equivalent to ἐφιδουζγία in xiii. 10. The first of these words, however, like ἀμαρτημα as compared with ἀμαρτία, only denotes the single act, or wickedness viewed as an isolated deed.—κατὰ λόγον is here to be understood as meaning “rightly, conformably to reason.”—Ver. 15. The word ἄνθρωπος refers to the name Messiah, of which the Jews affirmed, that it could not be given to Jesus.

Ver. 18–22. This conduct of the proconsul made it practicable for Paul to remain a long time in Corinth¹ (see verse 11), and at last he left the city of his own accord, without being further molested by his adversaries. The friendly family of Aquila accompanied him to Ephesus, where they remained behind (ver. 26). Paul took shipping in Cenchrea, the harbour of Corinth situated on the Asiatic side, seventy stadia from the city; the other harbour, that looked in the direction of Italy, being called Lechæus. In Cenchrea, Paul had his hair shorn in fulfilment of a vow. It has been supposed by many, that the words κειράμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ refer to Aquila; but the connexion is decidedly opposed to this idea. It is only quite incidentally that mention is made of Aquila and Priscilla; Paul is the subject of the whole sentence, and also of the one that follows. No reason can be perceived, why so unimportant a circumstance should have been stated regarding Aquila. It is true those learned men, who deny the reference of the words to Paul, suppose that the statement cannot be applied to him, because it would have been inconsistent with his principles regarding the abrogation of the ceremonial law of Moses, to have taken upon him a vow. But that supposition is grounded upon a total misconception of Paul's view of the law. Although the apostle contended with all his might that the native Gentiles, to whom the law was a foreign institution, should not be compelled to observe it; yet he was very

¹ The stay of the apostle Paul in Corinth is worthy of attention, on this ground, that it was during it he began his labours in writing. The Epistles to the Thessalonians, the oldest among those preserved to us, Paul wrote from Corinth. The particulars regarding the time and the occasion of composing this, and all the other letters of Paul, will be brought forward in the introductions to them.

far from forbidding the native Jews to keep it, or from disregarding it altogether himself. It is quite probable that Paul, when he was living among Gentiles, conducted himself very freely with reference to the legal observances of Moses, which was the ground of the charge he was afterwards called upon by the apostles in Jerusalem to confute practically ;¹ but that he should have altogether abandoned, while residing in heathen lands, the observance of the law in reference to his own person, is in the highest degree improbable, because he would thus have violated his own principle of respecting the scruples of weak brethren ; for there were Jews everywhere, to whom his conduct must have given great offence. This passage therefore is important, because it shews, and perhaps for this very reason it was introduced by Luke, that Paul had not altogether given up the personal observance of the law, but retained it as a religious usage. With respect to the subsequent accusation therefore mentioned in chap. xxi. 17, &c., he is seen by the readers of the Acts of the Apostles to be justified beforehand. The entire loosening of the whole church, and even of Jewish Christians, from the outward forms of the Old Testament, Paul would not on any account bring about with revolutionary precipitation ; but he left it to be effected gradually by the evolution of events ; and it was at last accomplished in this way for the mother church of the Jewish Christians, by the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and by the fact that the Jews were forbidden to dwell in Aelia Capitolina, the city which was built in its room.

As to the occasion of the vow itself (εὐχή) which Paul had made, it is not known to us. Many have imagined that it was the Nazaritic vow which he had taken on him, but this certainly is not to be thought of. The probability is, that, according to the custom of the Jews, it was in some danger or difficulty he had made the vow in question ; and now therefore, in prosecution of this vow, he cuts his hair, and hastens to Jerusalem that he may there offer the requisite sacrifice within the prescribed term² of

¹ See Acts xxi. 17, &c. and the Commentary on this passage regarding the freedom of the Jewish Christians from the law.

² See on this point Josephus (B. J. ii. 15, 1) who makes mention of a vow of Berenice, and then adds: τοὺς γὰρ ἢ νόσῳ καταπονουμένους, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις, ἔθος εὐχεσθαι πρὸς τεράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἧς ἀποδώσειν μίλλοιεν θυσίας, οἷον τι ἀφ' ἑξασθαι καὶ ξυρῆσθαι τὰς κόμας.

thirty days. In this manner we find an explanation of the haste with which he leaves Ephesus (ver. 21), and at the same time of the subsequent repetition of a similar vow, chap. xxi. 17, &c. which best enabled him to confute all accusations of the Jews, just as he confuted them at this time.

In Ephesus Paul, according to his custom, appeared again in the synagogue. The Jews were quite friendly, particularly as they found him occupied with the performance of a vow, and they requested him to remain. But as he needed to present the offering in Jerusalem itself, he hastened speedily away, promising however to come back. He went by Cæsarea to Jerusalem; but of his stay there Luke mentions no particulars; only the participle ἀνάλας in verse 22 points to it, for ἀναλαίειν, equivalent to ἄγειν, is specially applied to the journey to Jerusalem. From Jerusalem he went down to Antioch, for he always regarded the church there as the one which had sent him forth to the heathen.

There is a chronological question which presents itself here regarding not only the year, but also the season of the year, for Paul names a feast (ver. 21) which he purposed to observe in Jerusalem, as it coincided with the time when his offering was to be presented, and he would probably at the same time obey the Mosaic injunction, which required that the great festivals should be attended by all the male members of the Israelitish nation. Now most chronologers (see the second chronological table) regard Pentecost as the feast referred to by Paul, and probably Pentecost of the year 55 after the birth of Christ; but still this is only a supposition, for there are no decisive arguments to prove it, and the date of the other events in the life of Paul is not so accurately fixed, that from the earlier or the later you can reckon back to this feast, and determine which of the great festivals Paul here means.

In the Codices A.E. 13, 14, 15, 36, and others, this clause of ver. 21 is wanting: *δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἐξέτην τὴν ἐξγομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα πάλιν*. On the authority of these manuscripts many distinguished critics regard the words in question as a gloss, and even Heinrichs and Kuinoel follow them. They proceed on this principle that the omission of them would be inexplicable, but the insertion of them easily accounted for, transcribers supposing that the fulfilment of the vow required the journey to Jeru-

salem. But the omission may be very easily explained from a confounding of the similar words $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ and $\delta\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ at the beginning and end of the clause ; and the statement itself is of a kind which could not well be made by a transcriber desirous of inserting a mere notice : in no case certainly would a transcriber have made mention of a feast, to which there was nothing in the connexion to lead. Any person, designing to supplement the verse merely from the connexion, would have stated something regarding the offering. Now if the words be genuine, they determine more particularly the reference of $\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$ in verse 22, which many interpreters do not regard as pointing to Jerusalem, but to Cæsarea. But as $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ occurs before, and $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta \epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{'Αντιόχειαν}$ follows, it is plain that $\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\iota\nu$ cannot be used with respect to Paul's entrance into Cæsarea, supposing even that it lay upon a high shore. It still remains therefore the most probable idea, that Paul journeyed to Antioch by way of Jerusalem, where he saluted the mother church and the apostles.

III.

PART THIRD.

FROM PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY, TILL THE FIRST
CAPTIVITY AT ROME.

(Acts xviii. 23—xxviii. 31.)

§ 1. PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY EXCURSION. ABODE IN EPHESUS.

(Acts xviii. 23—xix. 41.)

Ver. 23. It is only very general information which Luke gives us regarding Paul's journey through Asia Minor during which he visited individually the churches of Galatia, and also regarding the time of his stay in Antioch. It is probable that the ardent apostle broke away very speedily again from Antioch, that he might confirm his numerous churches in Asia. This might appear to him the more necessary, if, as is probable, the differences with Peter, of which we have already spoken at chap. xv. 1, arose during his present visit to the mother church of the Gentiles. Perhaps in Antioch Paul found himself, along with a number of preachers of the Gospel, engaged in something like a general consultation regarding the principles of their apostolic ministry; and as on this occasion what was new in the Gospel presented itself most strongly in conflict with the whole ancient forms of religious life, Peter might be led to waver for a moment, particularly as some of the strict Jewish Christians pressed hard upon him. (See farther particulars in the exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, which was written shortly after this journey.)

Vers. 24—28. Before Luke however describes the labours of Paul in Ephesus, he mentions the accession to the church of Christ of a man of great influence, viz. Apollos of Alexandria,

who was at that time sojourning in Ephesus. The statements made regarding this learned and distinguished individual, taken in connexion with the notices that immediately follow in chap. xix. 1–7, are among the most interesting parts of the Acts of the Apostles. They give us an insight into the excited state of religious life at that time, such as few other sections of this book afford. But this passage has its own peculiar difficulties. Apollos himself, like those twelve men mentioned in chap. xix. 7, whom one at first is tempted to distinguish from him, was a disciple of John the Baptist: he had been directed by this faithful witness of the truth to Jesus as the true and long expected Messiah, or, if he had not known John himself, he had been guided by disciples of his school to the Saviour. Neither he himself however nor his instructors among the disciples of John, had learned anything regarding the glorification and exaltation of Christ in his resurrection and ascension, nor regarding the gift of the Holy Ghost as the consequence of his elevation. That Apollos was instructed not only regarding John the Baptist, but also regarding Jesus, is plain not only from ver. 25, where the expressions *κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου* and *διδάσκειν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου*, but also particularly from chap. xix. 2, where the name *μαθηταί* is applied to disciples of John, who occupied a quite similar position with Apollos. Here then we find Christians who lived, as it were, beside the great spiritual fellowship of the Gospel, like an offshoot from the tree of the kingdom of God, without knowing anything of the church.¹

Two considerations are pressed upon our notice by this fact. On *the one hand*, we perceive from it with what power the appearance of Christ in the world operated at that time: even in remote districts he was acknowledged, and the fact of his advent (vers. 25, 26), was spread abroad with zeal and courage, while as yet the full splendour of his light was not beheld. From the school of John there proceeded men like the apostles, who joined themselves wholly to the church, and also men who openly opposed Christianity, and, like the later Zabeans, made the Baptist, contrary to his own will and public declarations, their Messiah, but besides these, there was also an intermediate party, who had been directed by the Bap-

¹ See Neander's Church History, part ii. p. 646, &c. also Gesenius im probeft der Encyclop. von Gruber und Ersch Art. Zabier.

tist to Jesus as the Messiah, and been illuminated with some beams of his light, but had acquired no farther knowledge of him, probably because their connexion with Palestine was early broken off, perhaps by journeys which they made into the heathen world before the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. *And, on the other hand*, the fact before us shews how expansive was the brotherly love that was cherished by the apostolic church. Notwithstanding the very weak apprehension which these disciples of John certainly had of the new dispensation of divine mercy, the apostles recognised them as μαθηται, on the principle that no one can call Jesus Lord but by the operation known or unknown of the Spirit, and only endeavoured to promote their knowledge of divine things. It is true, if the disciples of John had withstood the offered means of advancement, they would have exposed themselves to censure, and would have gone over into the field of heresy, like the Zabeans; but so long as they were merely ignorant of the principle of life procured by Christ, the apostles treated them only as immature disciples, who were in a state of transition from the Old Covenant to the New, acquainted indeed with the high priest of the latter by name, but without having felt the power of the blood of sprinkling.

Now if Apollos, according to the view we have given, occupied precisely the same position in respect of religion with the disciples of John mentioned after him, then there starts up a difficulty in the account before us, inasmuch as the treatment of Apollos and of the twelve disciples of John appears to be different. They are baptised (chap. xix. 5), but he only receives more minute instruction regarding the Gospel (chap. xviii. 26.) We cannot believe that it was the greater learning of Apollos and his talents which occasioned this difference of treatment, because it is self-evident, that such endowments belonging to the natural man could never render the higher principle of the Holy Ghost unnecessary. And just as little is it probable that the apostles would pursue a vacillating course in their treatment of the disciples of John: we must rather suppose that they were guided as to this point by some fixed principle. Now as Apollos received his first clear views of the nature of the Gospel only from Aquila, who, as not being an apostle, could not impart to him the Holy Ghost, the most suitable supposition we can make is, that Apollos was really baptised in the name of Christ in Ephesus by Aquila, but

first received the Holy Ghost through means of Paul in Corinth. In this view the occurrence forms no contradiction at all with chap. viii. : there the apostles do not repeat the act of baptism, just because Philip had administered Christian baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : but here the baptism of the Spirit is connected with Christian water baptism, because the disciples had only received John's baptism of repentance.¹

Ver. 24. The form of the name Apollos, Ἀπολλῶς, is abbreviated from Ἀπολλωνίος.—The description ἀνὴρ λόγιος may refer either to eloquence or to learning ; but as the Jewish form of learning is plainly described in the words ὁνατὶς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, the idea of eloquence is rather to be preferred in this case. Apollos then possessed a distinguished gift of speaking, and was at the same time very accurately acquainted with the Scriptures, without doubt according to the mode of interpretation prevalent among the Gnostics of Alexandria. If Apollos, as has been supposed, or at least some man very similarly trained, was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, then we see in this remarkable composition, how the Spirit of Christ consecrated that form of culture, and purified it from false intermixtures.—Ver. 25. The phrase ζῆεν πνεύματι is to be found also in Rom. xii. 11. Apollos, and probably many other elevated men of that stamp, were already animated to enthusiasm by the idea, that the ancient promise of the Messiah had received its fulfilment in the advent of Christ, and yet they knew not the plenitude of spiritual gifts, which were bestowed through him upon the human race.—Ver. 27. συμπόσιον εἶναι is to be understood in the signification of “conferre,” “to be profitable,” “to give

¹ If the general practice in the apostolic church was that the apostles alone imparted the gift of the Holy Ghost, the question may be asked, what was the case after their death ? The imposition of hands continued, it is known, in the church, and every bishop or presbyter communicated the gift of the Spirit according to the measure in which he had received him ; but no one possessed the Spirit in the same rich manner and with such original power as the apostles ; and therefore if χαρίσματα (gifts) were to be found here and there after the apostles' death, the probability is that their manifestations were far weaker than in the time of the apostles. Paul only had not received the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the hands of another apostle (Galat. i. 12), but immediately from the Lord. When and how this communication of the Spirit was made to the Apostle Paul we know not : as was remarked at the passage in Acts ix. 17, it almost appears that the Holy Ghost was communicated to him, as to Cornelius, before baptism. At all events, however, the Spirit came to him, without the intervention of an apostle, as is clearly apparent from Galat. i. 12.

support and help." And *χάρις*, equivalent to *χάρισμα*, is to be understood of the peculiar gift of teaching and preaching, of which Apollos was possessed.—Ver. 28. *Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ* has already occurred in Luke xxiii. 10.—The form *διακονεῖν ἐγγχεσθαι*, in which the signification of the simple verb appears with augmented force, is to be found in no other part of the New Testament.

Chap. xix. 1–7. The commencement of this chapter looks back, it is obvious, to the account of Paul's journey interrupted at chap. xviii. 23, and mentions his arrival in Ephesus. The *μέξῃ* (*Ἀσίας*) *ἀνωτεροῦ* denote the provinces that lay more in the interior of Asia Minor, as opposed to Ephesus, which lay upon the sea-shore. Here the apostle found twelve disciples of John (ver. 7), who, like Apollos, were only acquainted with John's baptism of repentance (ver. 3); they had been directed by the Baptist to look to Jesus as the Messiah (ver. 2), but they knew nothing of the Holy Ghost, the higher principle of heavenly life procured by Christ for his disciples (John vii. 39.) The only difficulty connected with this account springs from the remark in ver. 2: *ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐκ τούτων ᾔδειν ἔστιν ἡ ἐκκλῆση*. It certainly appears astonishing that these men should know nothing of the Holy Ghost; while yet the Old Testament frequently speaks of an outpouring of the Spirit. The participle *οὐδεὶς* has therefore been supplied to *ἔστιν*, and some Codices too instead of *ἔστιν* read *λαμβάνουσι τινες*. In this view the disciples of John, when they used these words, only declared that they had not heard whether any outpouring of the Spirit had actually taken place. But if we compare the passage in John vii. 39 (see the remarks there offered), it will appear that this view merely throws back the difficulty, but does not solve it. The meaning of the words undoubtedly is, that those men knew nothing even of the existence of the Holy Ghost. It is true the doctrine was clearly unfolded in the Old Testament that God is a *Spirit*, and that he is *holy*; but that in the Divine Being there exists that peculiar power which the church names the third person in the Godhead, they did not know; and they could not discover it in the Old Testament, because it is only the clearness of the New Testament which enables one looking backward to find it in the Old. It is probable even that they did not regard the Messiah as the only begotten Son of God, but merely as *ἀδελφὸς κατ' ἐξλογίην*. The meaning of their words therefore is, that God still appeared to them as a simple, self-contained, indivisible unity,

and that they knew nothing of those distinctions of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, necessarily grounded in the nature of God's spiritual essence, without which we cannot conceive God communicating and revealing himself as the Living one. Now, on account of this imperfect knowledge of God, they needed still to be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. What we have supposed therefore in the case of Apollos, is here plainly declared, viz. that those who had received the baptism of John were baptized the second time.

It was a very obvious course for all the advocates of rebaptizing, from Cyprian down to the Anabaptists and Menmonites, to adduce this passage in their defence; and the views of it which were adopted by the orthodox, in order to deprive them of the argument based upon it, were certainly more forced than even their interpretation of it in favour of their darling idea. It was said, for example, that ver. 5 still refers to the baptism of John, and is so connected with the words of Paul in ver. 4, that the meaning is, "when they heard him, viz. the Baptist, they were baptized by him in the name of the Lord Jesus." But it is manifest that the baptism of John could not possibly be styled baptism in the name of Jesus: the Baptist only directed those already baptized to Jesus, after he was convinced of his Messiahship by the descent of the Spirit upon him. Yet men like Beza, Calixtus, Buddens, could allow themselves to be so misled as to adopt this untenable supposition, that they might wrench from the Anabaptists their proof-passage. The best expedient was the one devised by Ziegler. (Theol. Abh. Th. ii.) He supposed that these disciples of John had been infected with the error of those who declared the Baptist himself to be the Messiah, and who were also baptized in the name of the Baptist. They had not, therefore, received the right Johannic baptism, and of course they needed to be baptized again, which would not have been the case, if they had been properly baptized by John in the name of the approaching Messiah. According to this idea, certainly, we can carry through the principle that the disciples of John here mentioned were not baptized, as there are no certain traces of it elsewhere to be found. But even this explanation cannot be maintained, for there is one consideration which is perfectly sufficient to refute it, viz. that in this case the disciples of John would certainly not have been styled *μαθηταί*, as they are in chap. xix. 1.

But even when you take the sense of the words simply as it presents itself, it does not follow from them that the Anabaptists are right, when they adduce this passage in their defence. They only assert, in *the first place*, that no child should be baptized, because in their view the inward baptism, which presupposes consciousness, should always coincide with the outward ; and, in *the second place*, that those who have been baptized simply as unconscious children have not received the true baptism at all, and therefore ought to be baptized when they came to maturity. An actual repetition of baptism, therefore, is not taught by the Anabaptists : they merely assail the propriety of infant baptism, of which there is nothing said in the passage before us, and therefore it is clear, on a closer view of the point in debate, that this passage ought never to have been applied to the question at all.

If then the apostles baptized anew, on their entrance into the Christian church, those who had been baptized by John the Baptist or by his adherents, the question arises, whether those who were baptized by the disciples of Jesus before the institution of the sacrament of baptism (see John iii. 26, iv. 2) would also require to submit to baptism again ? There is nothing certainly in the nature of this baptism, to shew that this might not be the case, for as the power of the Holy Ghost was not yet imparted, it could not be the laver of regeneration : moreover, it is probable that the disciples had baptized but a few, and that only immediately after they were disengaged from the Baptist and connected with Jesus, and while they were still entirely under the influence of the ideas of John. And this explains why it is only at this early period in the passages cited above, that we find any notice of the subject, and nowhere else observe any further traces of it. But these few individuals may have attached themselves quite closely to the company of Christ, and thus along with the apostles, who were not afterwards baptized by the Lord, they may have immediately received on the day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost, whose communication would render quite unnecessary the administration of the outward ordinance.

Vers. 8–12. The following verses give a short account of the ministry of Paul in Ephesus. For three months he preached to the Jews : afterwards he turned to the Gentiles, and laboured for two years among them, teaching in the school-room of one Tyran-

nus.¹ Many cures too were performed by Paul in this place. Regarding *σκληρύνεσθαι* in vers 9, see Comm. on Rom. ix. 18. Here the hardening is ascribed to the unfaithfulness of the Jews themselves, but there it is attributed to God. The milder form of expression which is here chosen, “the hardening of one’s self,” is the more usual one in Scripture—Ver. 9. *ἀφώγει* refers merely to the separation of their places of meeting. The word *σχολή* means a school or lecture room; and it is probable that Tyrannus kept a school of rhetoric.—Ver. 12. Regarding *συνάξεις* comp. Comm. on John xi. 44. The word *σινιτίδιον*, from “semi” and “cingere,” denotes an apron, and it occurs not again in the New Testament. It is such articles of dress plainly, as could be easily laid aside and used elsewhere, that are named. Regarding cures effected by such objects, see the remarks in Comm. on Acts v. 15. Here, however, the conduct of the multitude exhibits more decided marks of superstition than the case mentioned in chap. v. 15. The person of Peter was always present along with his shadow, but here articles of clothing only make their appearance, and they are regarded as impregnated with the apostle’s power. When these have a healing efficacy ascribed to them, which is traced back to God, this can only be regarded as a condescension of the divine mercy to individuals who, though erring, are yet well-intentioned. The apostles themselves certainly have not given countenance to such ideas, for there is no trace of them any where to be found.

Vers. 13–17. With this account of the miracles performed by Paul, Luke connects the description of an occurrence altogether singular. Jewish exorcists who witnessed the mighty works of the apostle, supposed that his power lay in the use of the name Jesus; and therefore they expected that the mere employment of it would enable them to exhibit similar results. See the remarks at Matt. xviii. 5 on a like occurrence. However strange this notion may appear to us, still it is quite conformable to the ideas of antiquity, and particularly to those of wonder-workers among the Jews, who imagined that the utterance of certain words or forms had a mighty power connected with it. And therefore the Rabbins afterwards explained the miracles of Jesus himself by the supposition that he was acquainted with the holy name of Jehovah. (שֵׁם שַׁמַּיִם = שֵׁם.)

¹ It was during the period of this residence of Paul in Ephesus that the Epistle to the Galatians, and the two to the Corinthians, were composed. The second of the two latter however was probably written after the apostle was driven away by the proceedings of Demetrius the goldsmith, and most likely in Macedonia. (Acts xx. 1, 2)

(See Eisenmenger's *Entdeck. Judenth.* Part I. p. 154.) The employment of the name of Jesus by the exorcists had no effect upon the demoniacs, yea, they even manifested hostility to them, but this receives an easy explanation from the power of forecasting or conjecturing, which is to be met with highly developed among such unfortunates: by this they at once recognized the inefficacy of the words uttered. (That the Jews too attempted to exorcise evil spirits,¹ and that often with success, has already appeared from Matt. xii. 27.)—In ver. 12, the words ἐξελίξω ἐμὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν are followed by ὁ ὁ Πνεῦμα καλεῖσθαι; and doubtless the reason of this is, that the name of Jesus was so common, that there was need of a more particular description to point out the person indicated. Now as these Jews could not of course recognize Jesus as the Messiah, no other method was left but to mark him out by the individual, who was preaching him with such zeal in Ephesus. Regarding the construction of ἐξελίξω with the accusative, which requires ὁ to be supplied, see Mark v. 7, and 1 Thess. v. 27.—The persons who made this attempt in Ephesus were seven sons of Sceva, a priest of distinction (ἀρχιερεὺς), who probably was at the head of the Ephesian Jews.—Regarding the use of τις in connexion with numbers, see Winer's *Gram.* p. 158. It is to be found again in Acts xxiii. 23. However, it might be better to suppose that τις does not here refer to the number, but that Luke states the number by way of addition.—Ver. 15. The phrase πνεῦμα πονηρὸν is used by Luke with peculiar frequency: instead of it the other two synoptical Evangelists commonly employ the words πνεῦμα ἀνάστατον.—In ver. 16, the reading ἀμφοτέρων has probably arisen from this, that it was regarded as impossible that one should be able to contend against seven. In demoniacs, however, as in people afflicted with madness, the power of the muscles is often found augmented to an incredible extent. See the *Comm.* on Matt. viii. 28.

Vers. 18–20. What occurred with the sons of Sceva only augmented the more, as was to be expected, the consequence of Paul. Almost the entire mass of the people began to repent, and many, beholding the real wonders of the living God, destroyed the idolatrous charms by which the priests attempted to counterfeit miracles. In ver. 18, the words ἐξουλοῦσθαι and ἀναγγέλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ cannot, as Kuinoel supposes, apply to the general confession

¹ Josephus too (*Antiq.* viii. 2, 5) makes mention of magical charms, which were ascribed to Solomon, and by which the Jewish conjurers attempted to perform cures.

of their sins: in this view it would be impossible to keep the two sufficiently distinct from one another in sense. The *πῦξις* rather denote, as is plain from the connexion, magical arts, and *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* means to have made confession of these before the apostle or individual believers; *ἀναγίγνωσκον*, on the other hand, refers to the public acknowledgment of them before all, for the purpose of warning against such delusions.—Ver. 19. *περίεργος*, like *curiosus*, is applied particularly to those curious and busy individuals, who employ magical arts to search into the future. The worship of Artemis in Ephesus was connected with many mysterious ceremonies, by which her priests and worshippers were led to the practice of magical arts, which they cultivated to a great extent. The Ephesian charms and amulets (*γὰρ ἱμματα ἀλεξίφάρμακα Ἐφέσια*¹) were therefore prized above all others.—The estimated value of these books amounted to fifty thousand drachmae, that is, about six thousand rix dollars.²—Ver. 20. *κατὰ κράτος* is to be understood adverbially in the signification of “*admodum. vehementer;*” not with *Θεῷ* supplied in the sense of *juvante Deo*.

Vers. 21, 22. After these occurrences, Paul now determined, as the Gospel appeared quite firmly established in Ephesus, both to revisit the churches in Macedonia and Achaia, and also to go to Rome, the great metropolis of the heathen world. In the first instance, however, he sent away only Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, and for some time longer he exerted his energies in behalf of Asia.—Ver 21. The phrase, *ἔθετο ἐν πνεύματι* supposes the previous entrance of the plan into one's mind, and indicates that a decision had been come to in its favour. On the other hand, the words *εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν*, in ver. 22, are to be understood as meaning, “for the benefit of Asia.”—In Rom. xvi. 23, another Erastus is named, who was resident in Corinth. This travelling companion of Paul comes into view again in 2 Tim. iv. 20.—*Ἐπέχεν* scilicet *ἑαυτοῦ*, in the sense of “to detain one's self, to sojourn, to tarry,” occurs no more in the New Testament, but it

¹ Hesychius, in his Lexicon under this word, adduces some forms from such magical books; for example, the words *ἄσκι, κατ᾽άσκι, λίξι, τετραξι, δαμναμενῖς, ἄλσιον*. He supposes that they were Greek words designedly transposed, but perhaps they were only unmeaning sounds, which have a resemblance quite casually to Greek. Similar sounds in a Latin form are to be found in the magical books of the middle ages.

² In forming a judgment of this great sum (about L.1350 stg.), which, according to another calculation, rises much higher still, we must bear in mind, first, the high price of books generally in ancient times, and, secondly, the exaggerated value which the magicians ascribed to their books of magic.

is frequently to be found in good Greek writers, for example, Xenophon. Paul's purpose in sending his two associates to Macedonia, was no other than this, to make preparations for the collection, which he was desirous of carrying to the poor saints in Jerusalem. Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, &c.

Vers. 23—27. But immediately after the dismissal of these two assistants, a mighty storm arose against the apostle, which was occasioned by Demetrius, a goldsmith. This man was employed in making little silver images of the celebrated Temple of Artemis, and he found his gains curtailed by the prodigious influence of the apostle in the whole of Asia.¹ Now, as he exercised his trade on a great scale, and many men were dependent upon him, he stirred up against Paul in the hearts of the fanatical multitude the same hatred which burned in his own bosom.—Ver. 24. It has been falsely supposed that the silver temples were medals, with the impression of the Temple of Diana upon them, but we should rather view them as small images of the building, which travellers and pilgrims purchased for a token of remembrance. Such little temples were called ἀγιδεύματα. Dionys. Hal. ii. 22. And they were made of gold, silver, or wood.—Ver. 25. εὐπορία, “abundantia, opulence.”—Ver. 26. The words, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι, refer to the rude popular view which supposed the image to be the God himself. The better educated heathens regarded the image merely as a symbol of the heavenly divinity.—Ver. 27. The word ἀπελεγμὸς occurs nowhere else in the New Testament: εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἔλθεῖν is synonymous with ἀπελέγχεσθαι.

Vers. 28—34. The multitude, excited by the covetous Demetrius, raised the cry, “great is Diana of the Ephesians;” and rushed to the theatre, as the place commonly employed for meetings of the people. Two travelling associates of Paul, Gaius and Aristarchus, both from Macedonia, they dragged along with them; Paul himself would have gone forth among the multitude, but he was held back by his distinguished patrons. The unruly crowd, swelled by mere alarmists, who knew not the cause of the tumult (ver. 32), would not suffer a Jew named Alexander, who wished to speak to the people, to utter a word; and it was only when the town-clerk appeared, that the uproar was hushed.

¹ Regarding the rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, see the account given by Pliny in his letters. (x. 97.) This account is printed in my work Monum. hist. eccl. i. 23, &c.

Ver. 29. It was not to punish the prisoners, as was the case in the persecutions of later times, but only to procure a meeting of the people, that the excited multitude betook themselves to the theatre. Aristarchus is more particularly described in chap. xx. 4, as also Gaius. The individual named in Rom. xvi. 23, who resided in Corinth, is not to be confounded with him.—Συνεζήμιον, fellow-traveller, occurs again in the New Testament in 2 Cor viii. 19.—Ver. 31 shews how considerable was the influence which Paul had acquired in Ephesus, and with this his declaration in 1 Cor. xvi. 9, quite agrees. The friends of Paul belonged to the Asiarchs, who always required to be the richest and most respectable people of the city. The office of these men, who were changed from year to year, had reference entirely to religious affairs: the Asiarchs had the oversight of the sacred places of the city, and were required to arrange the sacred games at their own expense. Besides Ephesus, the other cities of Asia too appointed Asiarchs, who formed together a college (τὸ συνέδριον.) The president of this college appears always to have belonged to the metropolis: at least we find that the years were counted by the Asiarch, as by the consuls among the Romans. (See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 15; Winer's Reallex. under the word Asiarch.)—Ver 33. Alexander the Jew, who wished to speak, and who doubtless designed to speak against the apostle and his ministry, is perhaps the same individual whom Paul describes in 2 Tim. iv. 14, as his furious enemy.¹ The Jews pushed him forward as their speaker, that their influence too might be employed in turning the tumult to the discredit of Paul; but on this occasion the heathen element had so great a preponderance, that they could make no impression.

Vers. 35—41. The town clerk now quieted the uproar; and he both did justice to the zeal of the Ephesians for their goddess, and at the sametime referred to the innocence of the accused, and pointed out the hazardous political consequences which such popular commotions might produce. This latter suggestion might probably appear to Demetrius himself a very important one, and he might then employ his influence in appeasing the multitude.—Ver. 35. The office of the γραμματεὺς was a very respectable one in Ephesus, as in the other cities of Asia. The name probably

¹ According to 1 Cor. xvi. 9, however, the apostle had many that withstood him in Ephesus: the Alexander therefore who opposed him towards the end of his life, may have been another individual.

arose from this, that the archives of the state were under his care, and it was his duty to prepare all official writings. The expression corresponds nearly to our secretary of state. (See Hemsen in his life of the apostle Paul, page 232. Note.)—Καταστέλλειν is the usual word for suppressing a popular commotion.—Νεωάζεις means properly cleansing the temple, and then in general, careful about the worship of the gods. The word is not unfrequently to be found on coins as an epithet of several cities.—Το Διοτετές you must supply ἄγαλμα. So were certain idols named, which were supposed to have fallen down from heaven. This was long regarded as a mere fable, like the accounts of showers of stones given by the ancients; but it is more probable that real aerolites, whose origin they were unable to explain, were regarded by them as presents from the gods. The stone, which the Romans brought from Asia to Rome as the image of Cybele, was undoubtedly a meteoric stone. The accounts, however, given by the ancient writers of the image of Diana of the Ephesians are very various. (See Plin. H. N. xvi. 79.)—Ver. 36. The town-clerk, Asiarch, is favourably disposed, it is plain, towards Paul: he takes upon himself the defence of him and his attendants.—Προπετῆς means properly “præceps,” “falling over, then præcipitate, over-hasty, rash.” It occurs in the New Testament again in 2 Tim. iii. 4.—Vers. 38, ἀγύζαιοι must be carefully distinguished from ἀγύζατοι in chap. xviii. 5. The latter denotes men who rove or loiter idly about the market-place; the former, which must have ἡμέραι supplied, means court days, dies judiciales. The plural ἀνδράται does not mean that there were several proconsuls, but only indicates, that there was *always* a proconsul among them.—Ver. 40. It was a very skilfully directed warning the town-clerk gave them, that the Romans might see something of sedition in this tumult: the fear therefore of losing more in gold and goods, than they had lost by the preaching of the apostle, speedily brought them to a state of quietness. Συστοφῇ here has only the meaning of an uproar, but the idea of a conspiracy is also involved in the word (see Acts xxiii. 12), and therefore probably it was designedly chosen to suggest to the meeting, what construction might easily be put upon the commotion.

§ 2. PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM EPHESUS TO JERUSALEM.

(Acts xx. 1—xxi. 16.)

Vers. 1—3. The departure of Paul from Ephesus took place after a solemn meeting, in which the apostle took leave of the brethren. It stands in connexion certainly with the uproar of Demetrius, but that it was occasioned or hastened thereby, as Eichhorn supposes, is not at all indicated: indeed the words *μετὰ τὸ παύσασθαι τῆς ἀγέλης* are opposed to this idea, for the mention of the ceasing of the tumult shews that the apostle might have remained quietly in Ephesus, if he had chosen. We may therefore suppose that the apostle attained his purpose, of waiting in Ephesus till Pentecost, viz. of the year 59, and of seeing Timothy return from his mission (1 Cor. xvi. 8, 11), and therefore the time shortly after the departure of Paul from Ephesus would be a suitable period to which to assign the composition of the first Epistle to Timothy. (See 1 Tim. i. 3.) The apostle, according to what is here narrated, goes first to Macedonia (by Troas, to wit, where he expected Titus, who was to bring him intelligence regarding Corinth, and the impression his first epistle had made on the church there, 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13), and he was also going, according to 1 Tim. i. 3, to Macedonia, having left Timothy behind in Ephesus. Either from Troas, therefore, or from Macedonia, where he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, might Paul have despatched the letter in question to Timothy. But the internal features of the first Epistle to Timothy are not in accordance with this date, although Hensen still decides in its favour. The first Epistle to Timothy represents him as presiding over the Ephesian church for a considerable time, while here we perceive him returning immediately to the company of Paul, and again the epistle exhibits an unsettled state of the church, and speaks of the presence of many false teachers, while, according to Acts xx. 29, such teachers are described by the apostle as only to make their appearance afterwards. It is better, therefore, to assign the epistle in question to the last period of the life of Paul.

Regarding the duration of Paul's stay in Troas and Macedonia, nothing definite is stated; but, as his stay in Greece, that is in Corinth, is fixed at three months (verse 3), and as immediately

thereafter (verse 6) mention is made of the paschal feast (viz. of the year 60), it is probable that the whole time, from Pentecost to the end of the year, was spent on the journey from Ephesus to Corinth. In this city, where Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, the Jews contrived another plot against him, verse 3; and, in order to rescue himself from their snares, he departed from Corinth sooner than he had purposed. As the winter season did not permit him to choose the direct course to Syria by sea, he went back in the first place to Macedonia, that he might prosecute his journey from that quarter.

Vers. 4—6. In the progress of his journey, the apostle made a stay in Philippi, where Luke, who again uses the first person, meets him, having been left behind at an earlier period (xvi. 40) in Philippi, and having spent perhaps the whole time there. The numerous attendants of Paul went before him to Troas, and waited for him there, and he arrived after Easter and remained seven days. Many interpreters, to whose views Hensen in recent times accedes, regard a retinue of seven persons as too large; but it is by no means easy to perceive any thing extraordinary in this. Besides the attendants whom Paul always had beside him, and who were absolutely necessary to him for baptizing and arranging the affairs of the new churches, there are only here added some believers from the province in which he had been labouring. Of *Σώπατρος* nothing further is known; perhaps he is the same person with *Σοσίπατρος* mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21. Aristarchus and Gaius were already mentioned at chap. xix. 29. There, however, the latter is called a Macedonian, while here he seems to be called *Δεξέλαϊος*, a man of Derbe. Undoubtedly we might with Meyer regard this Gaius as another individual: it is well, however, not unnecessarily to increase the number of biblical persons. It has therefore already been proposed by Ernesti, Valckenaer, Kuinoel, and Neander, to put a point after Gaius, so that he might be included among the Thessalonians mentioned, and Timothy be described as a native of Derbe. Nor on this view is there any thing offensive in the position of *καὶ* after *Δεξέλαϊος*, for it can be taken in the signification of “even, also,” and therefore no change of the *καὶ* is needed. Secundus is no more mentioned in the New Testament; the two assistants of the apostle, however, Tychicus and Trophimus, who were natives of proconsular Asia, are well known.—Ver. 6. *Ἀχχίς* is used to denote a definite date “till five

days," for "on the fifth day." The passages in Rom. viii. 22 and Heb. iii. 13, to which Kuinoel appeals in favour of this idea, are by no means analogous to the one before us; for it is not a point of time which is spoken of in them, but an action continuing and reaching down to a certain term. But it is only by means of an ellipse that the passage before us can be thus explained: the idea of the preceding sailing needs to be supplied to the word *ἡμέρας*.

Vers. 7-12. The following account of the meeting in Troas, and of the falling of a young man named Eutychus from the window of the third story, is not of much importance considered in itself, but it is interesting, first, because it presents an example of a meeting by night, and, secondly, because it shews that the observance of Sunday existed as early as the times of the apostles, which is also proved by 1 Cor. xvi. 2. The connexion plainly leads to this conclusion, that the apostle wished to observe Sunday with the church, and to celebrate the Lord's Supper, as also the "agapæ" with them, before he left Troas. The most natural supposition is, that from the very commencement of the church, believers distinguished the day of our Lord's resurrection, and celebrated it with solemn meetings. Thus the observance of this day spread equally among Christians, both of Jewish and Gentile extraction.

Regarding the expression *μία τῶν σαλῶν*, see Comm. at Matt. xxviii. 1.—Ver. 8. The numerous torches served probably not merely to give light, but also for ornament. Sabbaths, it is known, are still celebrated among the Jews with many lights.—Ver. 9. *Θύκη*, "recess of a window," occurs again in the New Testament in 2 Cor. xi. 33.—Ver. 10. The declaration of Paul, *ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔσται*, does not permit us to suppose this was a case of raising from the dead. The account is quite parallel to the account given by Matthew (ix. 24) of the raising of the daughter of Jairus, and the remarks there made are applicable here also. Calvin expresses himself in the same manner, as so many interpreters do with respect to the perfectly analogous narrative in the Gospels: non negat Paulus fuisse mortuum juvenem, quia miraculi gloriam hoc modo extingueret, sed sensus est, vitam illi redditam esse Dei gratia. But it does not become us to encrease or to magnify miracles; we should take every thing as the Scriptures present it to us.—Ver. 11. It is worthy of notice that the apostle does not permit himself to be disturbed by this sad

accident : he holds the love-feast, which was probably delayed by reason of his long discourse, and enters into affectionate conference with those who were present till the dawn of morning.

Vers. 13–16. As Luke himself was now again in the company, he was able to give quite a precise account, and accordingly he specifies with care the stations as far as Miletus. Paul, who seems on this occasion to have had the entire control of the ship, sailed past Ephesus, because he was afraid the multitude of his friends would detain him there too long, as he was desirous of being in Jerusalem at Pentecost. Ver. 13. *Ἄσσος* was a city in Troas : Paul went this length on foot, probably that he might enjoy the company of the believers from Troas.¹—Ver. 15. *Τεργή* is a promontory of Ionia opposite to the island of Samos.

Vers. 17–21. But although the apostle had not himself touched at Ephesus, yet he longed to address the rulers of the church there, that he might give them, as he supposed, his last injunctions. He caused the elders of that church therefore to be invited to Miletus, and delivered an address to them, which is fully communicated to us by Luke.² This speech is interesting, not simply because it expresses in a very lively manner the heartfelt love of the apostle to his spiritual children and the faithful solicitude of his efforts ; but it is also important as opening up to the church a prophetic view of the future. Paul points in it to the threatening dangers which were coming upon the church from false teachers, and he gives most earnest warning against them. How much the fears of the great apostle of the Gentiles were unfortunately justified in the sequel, is shewn to us not simply by the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy, in which he is obliged to instruct his disciple regarding the measures to be taken against the heresy which had broken out, but also from the writings of John. The Gospel and the Epistles of John were composed in Ephesus itself, and

¹ Hensen, p. 478, throws out the conjecture, that Paul went on foot alone, in order that he might give to his followers an opportunity of meditating and conversing about his last discourses : to me this does not seem probable, for the apostle had chiefly spoken, not for those who were going along with him, but for those who were remaining behind.

² Menken's practical exposition of this speech in seinen blicken in das Leben Pauli, p. 448, &c. is worth reading here. See also Stier's Reden der apostel, part ii. p. 170, &c. As a farewell speech, this discourse bears a resemblance to Matt. xxiv. As in that passage our Lord himself opens up to his disciples views into futurity, so does Paul here to his spiritual children.

they all express, very mildly indeed but still unmistakably, opposition to the false teachers whom Paul had already assailed. Several learned men of recent times, and even ancient fathers of the church, particularly Irenæus, iii. 14, 2, have supposed that Paul held a formal council in Miletus, there being assembled there, not only rulers of the church of Ephesus, but also of many other neighbouring churches. But the text is not favourable to this view; it is rather directly opposed to it, as mention is made in ver. 28 of only one church. Probably this idea arose only from the circumstance that, in ver. 28, several ἐπίσκοποι are named, from which the conclusion was drawn, at a time when the names of presbyters and bishops had become markedly distinguished from one another, that the bishops of several churches must have been convened. But it is now generally acknowledged that in the primitive church the two words were used quite synonymously,¹ as is plain in the New Testament from Acts xx. 17, compared with ver. 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2, compared with ver. 8, and Titus i. 7. And even the ecclesiastical father Theodoret makes the remark on Phil. i. 1: ἐπισκόπους τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ αἱ, ἀμφότερα γὰρ εἶχον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰ ὀνόματα. The question however regarding the *offices* must be carefully distinguished from the question regarding the *names*. With respect to the former it is plain, even from the New Testament (see Comm. on Acts xii. 17, xxi. 18, and on the Epistles to Timothy and Titus) that in the larger churches there was a president of the college of Presbyters, who afterwards received κατ' ἐξοχὴν the name ἐπίσκοπος. Where the number of believers was great, and consequently also that of presbyters, it would happen in the nature of things that some one possessing the highest qualifications of an external and internal kind, would assume the place of leader of the whole body. But the spirit of brotherly love which reigned in the apostolic church would cause this result to be developed, without that presumption and arrogance, which were afterwards unfortunately so much displayed by the bishops towards the subordinate functionaries and members of the church.²

¹ See Neander's Church History, vol. i. p. 184, &c.

² In Hebrews xiii. 7, 17, 24, the rulers of the church are styled ἡγούμενοι, which is equivalent to ἐπίσκοποι. This word, like the name πρεσβύτερος, is derived from the constitution of the Jewish synagogue, which was presided over by aged individuals, זְקֵנִים or by rulers, שֹׁרְטִים. Regarding the last name, see Buxtorf Lex. Rabb. p. 1821, under the word, שֹׁרֵף that is, to tend a flock. The constitution of the synagogue, how-

The apostle mentions at the commencement of his address the faithful solicitude with which he had devoted himself to their interests, during the long time he was among them. He could do this without the fear of being regarded as vain and self-sufficient, since it was not himself he praised, but the gift of God in him.—Ver. 18. The phrase πάντα τὸν χρόνον μετ' ὑμῶν ἐγνήμην, is not to be understood pedantically, as if the apostle had not left Ephesus for a single day, but certainly it excludes journeys of a month's duration, so that we cannot well suppose him to have made long excursions from Ephesus.

Ver. 19. ταπεινώσασθαι is frequently to be found in the epistles of Paul, but elsewhere only in 1 Pet. v. 5. Also the adjective ταπεινός occurs in 1 Pet. iii. 9.—Ver. 20. ἐπεσθῆναι corresponds to the Latin “se subducere,” to withdraw from a thing, to neglect it.—Ver. 21. The connexion of μετάνοια with οὕτως is peculiar, and also that of πίστις with Christ. Kuinoel refers the former only to the Gentiles, who were first made acquainted with the true God by the Gospel, the other he refers to Jews and Gentiles. But such a contrast is not here spoken of at all: the explanation rather is that in God the Father the idea of strict righteousness is exhibited, to which repentance directs itself, but in Christ the idea of compassion, to which faith looks.

Vers. 22–27. Paul is now led by the dangers he was about to encounter in Jerusalem, which made him apprehend he should see his beloved Ephesians no more, to make mention of his faithful labours in the Gospel among them, and of his consequent freedom from guilt, if any of them still should perish. If a second captivity of Paul be supposed, then certainly he came again into those regions (see 2 Tim. iv. 13–20), but this supposition need occasion no difficulty, because the apostle here expresses merely a private opinion, and by no means intimates that he was led to it by the unerring Spirit of God. He probably saw quite correctly the end of his course, viz. the death of martyrdom, but he did not know the space of time that was yet to intervene in his life.

Ver. 22. The words ὁδεγμένους τῷ πνεύματι refer simply to the journey. To this the apostle felt with himself an inward pressing summons; but, according to his own confession, he knew nothing

ever, did not lead so decidedly to the creation of a president in the college of elders, probably on account of the predominant influence of the Sanhedrim existing in the theocratic centre of the nation.

of what was to befall him. For the Holy Ghost does not teach each one every thing, but, according to God's appointment, he teaches each one what is needful for him. His approaching captivity Paul had to learn from other persons, who were endowed with the Spirit of God (see chap. xxi. 12). Perhaps this arrangement was made by God, for the purpose of testing Paul's obedience to the leadings of the Spirit, even in cases where they appeared to him unsuitable; for certainly it could not but appear strange to him, when he was able every day to gain over thousands to the kingdom of God, that he should be for years snatched away from the ministry of the word. The dative *τῷ πνεύματι* further is not to be understood as the dative of association, "bound to the Spirit," but as the dative of instrument, "bound by the Spirit." The Spirit is viewed as a power taking possession inwardly of the will of man, and binding it.—Ver. 25. The words *ἐν αἷσι διήλθομεν* might be referred to the travels of Paul in different places, and thus it would be made probable, that there were presbyters present from other cities: but the words may be just as well applied to the labours of Paul in the city of Ephesus alone.—Ver. 26. *καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος* equivalent to *ἐν τῷ αἵματι*. The blood is viewed as the principle of life.

Ver. 28. This verse is remarkable in several respects. We perceive from it, in *the first place*, how very important and influential a position the apostle ascribes to the rulers of the church, which they acquire in nowise merely by their own arbitrary power, nor by that of the church that chose them, but from above. The bishops are considered as appointed by the Holy Ghost, and they are admonished not only to take care of their own souls, but also to feed well the flock of God over which they are placed. This representation is not favourable to the view now widely diffused among Protestants,² that the ancient constitution of the church was completely democratical, so that every individual had essentially the same right and the same duty as the rulers of the church. This opinion was too rudely formed in opposition to the principles

¹ It is not to be overlooked that Paul places first the expression *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς*, teaching us that concern for his own soul is the first duty of every individual, and in the case of teachers an indispensable qualification for their labours.

² The Reformers were far removed from this view: they rather affirmed most emphatically that a peculiar order of teachers was indispensable in the church. The false extreme indicated above was exhibited in the extremest form among the Anabaptist and Quaker sects.

of the Catholic hierarchy, but still there is this amount of truth in it, that every believer, even the humblest, possesses a priestly character, in reference to himself and his household, but not at all in reference to the general body. The Holy Scriptures (James iii. 1) give an express warning against every one setting himself up as a teacher. The idea of an order of teachers in the church rests upon the conviction that God imparts his gifts in various measures, and that not only in the case of natural endowments, but particularly also of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. (See Comm. on 1 Cor. xii. 11.) Now those persons, who have received a larger measure of the gifts of the Spirit, ought to possess the government of the whole body. In the apostolic church, where the rulers were chosen, either by the apostles who were filled with the Spirit, or by the congregations among whom the Holy Ghost reigned in his primitive power, these rulers corresponded entirely to this idea. But circumstances were afterwards completely changed: unqualified persons by corrupt practices of all kinds got hold of the government of the church, and qualified persons were excluded from it. This state of matters naturally brought about a reaction, and then men went to another false extreme.

In the *second* place, we see from this verse that the ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, which includes not only the κυβερνήσις but also the διδασκαλία of the church,¹ does not by any means concern itself merely with the statement of true doctrine, but also takes charge of refuting the false. The admonition to feed the flock stands in immediate connexion with the prediction that false teachers were to arise, and it is with reference to them that Paul recommends watchfulness. See on this subject the further discussions which are to follow in the pastoral epistles.

Finally, the verse has acquired great importance on account of the concluding words, which, if the usual reading could be regarded as genuine, would not only make Christ bear the name of God, but would also appear to justify the confusion of the qualities of his natures made by the Monophysites.² The genuineness of the reading however cannot be defended consistently with the critical authorities. The reading Θεοῦ occurs in the celebrated

¹ Regarding the relation of these χαρίσματα, as well as the distinction between πρεσβύτεροι διδάσκοντες and κυβερνῶντες, see the particulars at the pastoral epistles.

² On this point see the ninth excursus appended to the commentary of Heinrichs.

Codex B., but it is not the original reading there; it is a subsequent correction, and it is nowhere else to be found save in the Vulgate, the Syriac version, and some of the fathers. But, on the other hand, A.C.D.E., and several other Codices, have the reading *κυρίον*, which all recent critics recognise as the right one. The readings *κυρίον* *Θεῶν* and *Χριστῶν* are not at all to be taken into account, as they have plainly sprung from the other two. The preponderating critical authorities are also supported by the circumstance, that it may be easily explained how *Θεῶν* might be substituted in the room of *Κυρίον*, but not the reverse. The phrase *ἐκκλησία κυρίου* is nowhere else to be found, while *ἐκκλησία Θεῶν* is of very frequent occurrence; and therefore it might readily happen that the familiar expression would be chosen instead of the more uncommon one, attention not being paid to the word *αἴμα* which follows. It is plain however that this connexion of *Θεῶν* and *αἴμα* has no foundation in the style of the apostles, from the fact, that nowhere in the writings of the New Testament are similar forms of expression to be found. True the expression *αἴμα κυρίου* is also a singular one, and it appears to wear a colouring of Monophysitism, for *κύριος* commonly expresses the divine nature of Christ. But the connexion with *ἐκκλησία* shews that here it only means in general “leader, governor,” and therefore is to be understood in the same manner as in John xiii. 13, 14, 16, and not a few other passages, where *κύριος* stands along with *διδάσκαλος*, and only forms a contrast with *δούλος*.

Another various reading in the passage before us is that which Griesbach and other modern critics have received into the text, viz. *αἵματός τοῦ ἰσίου*, instead of the common reading *ἰσίου αἵματός*. This reading is susceptible of meaning, only in so far as we might explain *ὁ ἰσίος* as referring to Christ. (Rom. viii. 32.) But if *κυρίου*, as we have seen, is the right reading, then this explanation cannot be admitted, and *τοῦ* accordingly must in this case be referred to *αἴμα*. *Περίποιεῖσθαι* occurs only once again in the New Testament, viz. in 1 Tim. iii. 13, in the signification of “earn, obtain, acquire.” On the other hand the substantive *περιποίησις* is frequently to be found. The idea that the Lord has redeemed the church with his own precious blood, and purchased it for a possession, expresses its great value, and thus heightens the obligation of taking the deepest interest in its welfare.

Vers. 29–32. There is now appended the warning that great

dangers threaten the church, to ward off which the apostle demands the entire watchfulness of the rulers, after the pattern of his own diligence. The dangers themselves are described as being of two kinds. In the first place, *from without* furious enemies of the church, seeking their own advantage, were to break into her; and, in the second place, even *within* her own bosom there were false teachers to spring up. It has been common to understand the parties described in ver. 30 as synonymous with those mentioned in ver. 29. or, like Grotius, to view the wolves as heathen persecutors, and the other as heretics. Both views are certainly wrong. Heathen enemies cannot well be the parties spoken of, because, in foretelling them, there would have been no need of so solemn an announcement; for, in the nature of things, it was to be expected that the Romans would set themselves against the spread of Christianity. The open enemy too, who insisted upon apostasy, brought far less danger in his train than the apparent friend. Yet the words *καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν*, and the contrasts between *εἰσελεύσονται* and *ἀναστήσονται*, between *ἰδοὺ βαρεῖς* and *καὶ οὗτοι ἐκείνους ἀεσφαλμένους*, imperatively require that the enemies of the church described in the two verses should be viewed as different. The nature of this difference becomes plain, when, as was intimated above, you view it as grounded on a difference of origin. Hostile men, the apostle means to say, would bring errors into the church from without, but also from amongst themselves, yea from their very instructors, false teachers would arise. Then the concluding words, *τοῦ ἀποσπῆναι τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, describe the wicked object pursued in common by the two parties, viz. to draw believers away from Christ, and to attach them to their own persons. Here we find exactly described the characteristic distinction of the sectarian, which continues the same in all times and under all circumstances. The upright messengers of the truth forget themselves on account of the great cause which they are defending: they desire no attachment to their own persons, but only demand obedience to God and his word; but the founder of sects draws men away from the Eternal, and sets up his own paltry self instead, and so he injures both himself and others.—Ver. 29. Regarding *λόγος*, see Comm. at Matt. vii. 15, x. 16.—*βαρεῖς* denotes here what is “dangerous, terrible.” As to ver. 30, comp. 1 Tim. iv. 1.—*ἀεσφαλμένους* occurs in Matt. xvii. 17.—Ver. 31. When Paul here specifies three years as the time of his stay

in Ephesus, which really lasted only two years and three months, (see xix. 8, 10) this is to be explained on the supposition, that the earlier residence too (xviii. 19) of the apostle is included, and a round number employed.—Ver. 32. Regarding *παραιτίεμαι*, see Acts xiv. 23.

Vers. 33–38. At last, after the apostle had mentioned that he had always supported himself by the labour of his own hands, and had rather given than received, he concludes his discourse, and takes an affecting leave of his friends, who depart from him as if they were to see him no more here below. The reason why Paul adverts here to the manner in which he had supported himself in Ephesus, is doubtless just this, that he is desirous of shewing he was not actuated according to the reproaches of his Jewish enemies by any outward grounds of self-interest, but solely by love to their souls. (See the remarks at chap. xviii. 3.) The connexion therefore shews that the *ἀδελφοὶ* of the 35th verse is primarily applied only to those who are literally poor and weak. (Regarding *Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*, see Luke i. 54.) But it cannot surely be supposed that the rich meaning of our Lord's words, *μακάριον ἐστὶ μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν*, is exhausted by the reference to outward giving and receiving. Rather it holds true of this gnome, as of so many others, that they are susceptible of an application to the highest circumstances as well as to the lowest. This maxim applies in the most absolute sense to the relation of the Creator to the creature, for God is the alone blessed, because he alone gives everything to all. Further, this maxim is known to be one of those which were preserved only by tradition. Several of the Redeemer's utterances of this kind are collected together in Fabricii. Cod. Apocr. N. T. V. I.

Chap. xxi. 1–4. Here follows the continuation of the account of Paul's journey, in the first place, on to Tyre, where he abode one week. It seems an extraordinary statement which is made in ver. 4, that some believers, who were filled with the Spirit, said to Paul he should not go to Jerusalem. Now the apostle has already declared (xx. 22) that he was going up under the impulse of the Spirit; and therefore it seems as if the Spirit contradicted himself in his communications through different channels. But this apparent contradiction arises solely from the shortness of the narrative; which is supplemented by the more detailed statements of the 11th and 12th verses. Those men possessing the prophetic

gift discerned quite correctly by the illumination of the Spirit the approaching captivity of the apostle, and on this account they besought him of their own accord, rather not to pursue the journey ; but in Paul the Spirit declared, that even though bonds awaited him, he must yet go up.—Ver. 1. Πάταρα was a well-known city of Lycia.—Ver. 3. γόμος signifies wares of every kind, as in Rev. xviii. 11, then particularly the lading of a ship, equivalent to φορτίαι, whence ἀποφορτίζεσθαι, “to discharge,” “to unload a ship’s cargo.”

Vers. 5–9. At the close of the period specified, the believers in Tyre escorted the apostle, and he came by Ptolemais, now called St Jean d’Acre, to Cæsarea, where he lodged in the house of Philip the deacon.—Ver 5. ἐξαρτίσαι is explained by Occumenius as meaning πλῆρῶσαι. But there is no ground for deviating from the usual signification “to equip, to prepare,” for the accusative denotes as usual duration of time. The word occurs also in 2 Tim. iii. 17, in the same signification.—The fact that children are mentioned along with the rest, cannot be employed as a proof of infant baptism, for not only is there wanting every indication that they were baptised, but it might even be grown children that were meant.—As in chap. xx. 6, so here prayer is made upon the knees : the ancient Christians appear always to have prayed in this posture, which symbolized the deep humiliation of the soul before God ; but on Sunday they stood, to indicate that God in Christ had raised men up from the fall.

With respect to Philip, it is plain, from the descriptive clause, ὅντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστᾶ, that he was not the apostle, but the deacon, of whose labours mention has already been made in chap. viii. When ancient writers call him apostle,¹ (see Euseb. H. E. iii. 31, 39, v. 24), we need not suppose there is any confounding of the two persons, but the word “apostle” is only used in a wider sense, like ἐναγγελιστής in the signification of “travelling teacher.” (On this point, see Acts xiv. 4, 14, where Barnabas too is called apostle.) It seems surprising, however, that this Philip travels and is settled in Cæsarea, when he had a stated ecclesiastical office in Jeru-

¹ On account of these passages Gieseler (in Ullmann’s Studien, year 1829, part i. p. 139, &c.) would, though quite unwarrantably, regard ver. 9 as an interpolation, for he supposed that the four daughters belonged to Philip the apostle, and that a reader had confounded the deacon here mentioned with him. But there is not the least trace in the critical authorities that this verse is not genuine.

salem. The two things cannot be reconciled, and as we afterwards find Philip even in Hierapolis in Phrygia, (see the passages above cited from Eusebius), we must suppose that he had resigned his office of deacon. Moreover, as the daughters of Philip possessed the gift of prophecy, so we find something similar even in the Old Testament in the cases of Miriam and Deborah, and in the prophecies Joel iii. express intimation had been given that the gifts of the Spirit were to be imparted also to the female sex. This does not at all stand in contradiction to the law that the woman was not to teach in the church, for we need only suppose that such women made no use of their gift in the public assemblies.

Vers. 10—16. During Paul's stay in Cæsarea the prophet Agabus, who has already been mentioned in chap. xi. 28, came thither, and also declared his approaching captivity. But the apostle, following the impulse of the Spirit, expressed his joyful obedience even to death, and departed with a convoy of believers from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, where he took up his abode with an old and well-known disciple named Mnason. Agabus discloses his prophecy by a symbolical act, as our Lord himself had done in a similar manner to Peter. (See the Comm. on John xxi. 28.)—The word ἐπιβίαι is to be found in no other part of the New Testament, but it occurs in the best Greek authors in the signification of “inhabitants of a place.”—Ver. 13. συνθρύπτω, to break to pieces, applied tropically to deep anguish.—Ver. 15. There are here a multitude of various readings: in place of the usual reading ἀποσκευασάμενοι you find also ἐπισκευασάμενοι, παρασκευασάμενοι, αποταξάμενοι, all words which denote preparing to depart, while ἀποσκευασάμενοι “sarcinas deponere” is applied to persons arriving. But it is probable that the internal difficulty of the word has occasioned transcribers to make these changes, and this consideration gives strong support to the usual reading. The artifices, however, which have been employed to force a different meaning upon ἀποσκευάζω, are to be altogether rejected; the common meaning gives a suitable sense, if you suppose that Paul left the greatest part of his baggage behind in Cæsarea, that he might the more lightly prosecute the land journey.—Ver. 16. παρ’ ᾧ—Μιᾶσων stands by attraction for Μιᾶσωνα, πρὸς παρ’ ᾧ κ. τ. λ.

§ III. THE APPREHENSION OF PAUL IN JERUSALEM.

(Acts xxi. 17—xxiii. 10.)

Vers. 17–26.¹ On the appearance of the apostle in Jerusalem, which was the central point of Jewish Christian life, his peculiar position in reference to the law could not but come again immediately into question. On the very day after his arrival he betook himself with his attendants to James (without doubt the so-called brother of our Lord, see xv. 13), with whom all the presbyters were assembled. It has already been remarked at chap. xx. 17, that this James plainly appears as *primus inter pares*, as head of the college of presbyters, that is, as bishop. And if we consider that the whole of Christian antiquity² styles him and afterwards his brother Simon (see Matt. xiii. 55), bishop of Jerusalem, there is no ground left for doubting that the episcopal dignity is as old as the church itself, although the name was only gradually fixed in this acceptation.³ Now as soon as James heard the apostle's account of the progress of the gospel in the heathen world, he drew his attention to the position he occupied with reference to the Jewish Christians, which, on account of their number, could not but appear a matter of the highest importance. The expression *πῶσαι μυριάδες* is not indeed to be taken literally, but still it must denote a very considerable number, although we are not to suppose they belonged to Jerusalem alone, but to the whole of Palestine. (The word *ἑκατὶς* in verse 20 may refer to the number of presbyters present, which represented, as it were, the number of believers.) The concerns of the Gentile Christians had been definitely settled by the apostolic decrees (chap. xv.), but as to the Jewish Christians, the report was now spread abroad that Paul led the Jews, who

¹ A Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles from this place to the end is furnished in the second part of Böttger's contributions towards an introduction to the Epistles of Paul (Göttingen, 1837), constructed on juridical and archæological principles.

² See the account of his martyrdom taken from the work of Hegesippus in Eusebius (H. E. ii. 23.) It is printed in my "monum. hist. eccl. i. 11, &c."

³ In Jerusalem, where the first great church consisted of thousands, there would also first be felt the need of a president of the presbyters. But of course this necessity would first appear, when the apostles left the city, for so long as they were present, they exercised a controlling influence. (See the remarks at Acts vi. 1, xx. 17.) Therefore probably the episcopal office may have first developed itself in Antioch and Rome.

attached themselves to Christianity in the heathen world, to give up the observance of the law, and this had excited the most furious hatred against the apostle, of whom it was affirmed that he taught apostacy from the holy law of God. The heads of the church in Jerusalem therefore dreaded nothing but an uproar, if Paul's presence in the city should become known. In order, therefore, to appease the multitude, they proposed to the apostle to observe the sacred usages publicly in the Temple, with four men who were paying their vows, and to present an offering for himself (see on this point the remarks at chap. xviii. 18, &c.), a proposal which he willingly adopted.

And here now the question presents itself, was it a just charge, that Paul seduced the Jews to abandon the law when they joined the church? We may easily explain how this charge arose, but it was by no means well-founded. It stood in direct contradiction to the publicly declared principles of Paul, that he would ask no one arbitrarily to renounce the law (see Comm. on Rom. vii. 1, &c., and on Acts xiv. 15): on the contrary, it was his practice to let every one calmly decide, according to his inward advancement and the instruction of the Spirit, what position he would assume in reference to Old Testament rites; but the connexion of salvation with the observance of the law he energetically resisted as un-Christian. Although, therefore, we cannot suppose the Apostle Paul to have given any direct opposition to the ceremonies of the law (see chap. xxviii. 17), yet on the other hand we may readily conceive that his example, and the whole spirit of his ministry, would lead many Jewish Christians to give up with a good conscience the observance of the Mosaic institutions. This was noticed by the strict Jewish Christians, and therefore they ascribed to Paul the positive design of supplanting the law, while the event was only a consequence of the spirit of his doctrine. Without any hypocrisy, therefore, he could observe the law himself, because love prompted him to become a Jew to the Jews. In the same manner the Jews already had experienced, in the ministry of our Lord himself, and also of Stephen, who appears as the forerunner of Paul (Acts vi. 13, 14), that the Gospel occasioned an indifference to the forms prescribed by the law, and therefore they ascribed to them the actual endeavour to overturn the law, although they left the removal of its outward forms to the slow course of inward development, and observed the law themselves so long as it had exist-

ence. Ver. 26. The word ἀγνισμός denotes the abstinence which was practised during the time of a vow. When the appointed days, which in this case were seven (ver. 27), had expired, Paul made it known (διαγγέλλων) to the priests, for the sake of the offerings which were to be presented.

Vers. 27–32. But although the concession of the apostles to the weak brethren proceeded from a good intention, yet it turned out disastrously. The furious enemies of Paul were only the more exasperated by it, particularly by the circumstance that Trophimus, who was uncircumcised, was found in the company of Paul, and it was supposed that the apostle had taken him with him into the Temple, and had thus defiled it, for Gentiles by birth could only tread the court of the Gentiles, but not that of the Israelites: they were debarred from entering the latter by monitory tablets. (See Josephus, B. J. v. 5, 2.) An uproar was excited in the Temple by Jews from Asia; the apostle was dragged away from the environs of the Temple, and would have been killed, if the Roman garrison had not hastened to his help.

Ver. 30. They hurried the apostle out of the Temple, that is, out of the courts of it, in order that they might not stain it with his blood. The watchmen of the Temple also immediately took the precaution of shutting the great gates that led into the courts.

—Ver. 31. The Romans, who had a garrison in the castle of Antonia that lay over against the Temple, viewed this uproar as connected with the attempts of a rebel (ver. 38), and therefore they hastened immediately to the spot and saved the life of Paul.

Φάσις, rumour, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.—Regarding σπειῖς, see Matt. xxvii. 27; Acts x. 1.—Regarding χιλιάρχος, see John xviii. 12.

Vers. 33–40. After the Roman tribune had rescued the apostle from the tumult, and had learned that he was not the rebel whom he at first supposed him to be, Paul received permission from him to address the excited people, and they, when they heard¹ their beloved mother tongue, listened with quietness to the words of the apostle, who was now beyond their power.—Ver. 34. παρεμβολή denotes here the barracks situated in the fortress, to which a stone stair led up, the steps of which are the ἀναβαθμοί mentioned.—

¹ The inference that according to this passage it would not have been remarkable if Paul had spoken Greek, leads to the supposition, that the Greek tongue even at that time was widely diffused through Palestine.

Ver. 38. With regard to the Egyptian rebel (Αἰγύπτιος), Josephus gives a detailed account of him and his unfortunate attempt against the Romans, which was suppressed by the procurator Felix. (Joseph. Arch. x., 8—6. Bell. Jud. ii. 13, 5.) The number of his followers is given by Josephus at a far higher amount than by Luke, viz. 30,000. But there is plainly an error in the number of Josephus, because he mentions that Felix had killed the most of them, and yet in the first of the two passages cited, the number killed is fixed at four hundred. Perhaps too the flower of his army ought to be distinguished from the disorderly mass of people who followed it. Regarding this apparent difference see the remarks of Tholuck in his Glaubwürdigkeit, p. 170, &c., where he supposes that the large number of Josephus must be understood only of the rabble that followed. The name σικαρίης, sicarius, designates a class of men that arose amid the terrible distractions of the Jewish state under the rule of the Romans, and abandoned themselves of set purpose to murder and robbery.

Chap. xxii. 1—21. Paul hoped to make an impression upon his enemies, by recounting the manner in which God had brought him to the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus;¹ but, as soon as he made mention of his divine calling to go as a teacher among the Gentiles, their rage hitherto restrained broke out afresh, and they called upon the tribune to put Paul to death. (Regarding this section, see the particulars stated at chap. ix. 1, &c.)

Vers. 22—29. When the tribune saw that all was fruitless, he took Paul into custody, and led him into the castle, with the view of scourging him, that he might ascertain, by this kind of torture, in what the transgression he supposed him guilty of consisted. But the right of Roman citizenship asserted by the apostle rescued him from this infliction.—Ver. 23. Throwing dust into the air is a symbolical expression of disquietude and perplexity.—Ver. 24. ἀνεταζέσθαι, inquirere, refers here to the investigation of the supposed crime.—Ver. 25. It is best here to understand παρατίθειν ἰμῶσι in the signification of “hand over,” “give up to.” And the thongs denote the instrument of punishment, so that the meaning is, “when they gave him over to the scourge.” The word cannot

¹ In chap. xxii. 3 the apostle himself calls Tarsus his birth-place. The statement of Hieronymus, therefore (catal. vir. ill. s. v. Paulus), that Paul was born in Giskalis in Judea, and came afterwards to Tarsus, is deserving of no regard.

well be applied to the binding of the body, and to the stretching of it thus occasioned, because the thongs were not used as instruments of binding. Regarding Paul's right of citizenship, see Comm. at chap. xvi. 37.—Ver. 28. *κεφάλαιον* is here used in the genuine Greek signification of "sum," "sum of money."

Chap. xxii. 30—xxiii. 5. In order however to save himself from being brought to any account, the tribune determined to deliver over the accused to the Jewish tribunals, and Paul was thereupon placed before the Sanhedrim, over which Ananias at that time presided. This violent man commanded his servants to insult Paul, when he appeared before the Sanhedrim with an open declaration of his consciousness of innocence. Now if the apostle does not here apply the command of our Lord (Matt. v. 39) literally, it is yet certain that he is acting quite in the spirit of the precept; because we have seen that the Redeemer himself did not literally follow it with reference to rude men of the world. (John xviii. 22.) But it appears improper for the apostle to use an abusive word,¹ and the more so, as it was spoken in presence of the court, and to the high priest. The latter circumstance indeed appears to be softened by the consideration, that the apostle declares he knew not it was the high priest: yet again it seems difficult to imagine how he could be ignorant that he was standing before the Sanhedrim, and of course also before the high priest.² This statement of the apostle therefore may seem like an untruth, employed to excuse a word rashly spoken. The matter indeed assumes rather a different aspect, when it is considered that this Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, was a man of criminal life, who was afterwards displaced from his office and dragged to Rome to answer for his conduct, so that the reproach cast upon

¹ This is the view which Jerome (Comm. at Galat. v. 12) takes of the matter, who is by no means distinguished by bold conceptions.

² Suppose Paul did not know it was the high priest, still he must have known he was standing before a judge, and though it had been the lowest judge, such words would still be improper. According to the view however of *ὅτι ἕδριμ*, which makes it mean, "I did not consider," the precipitation of Paul, of which in any view we must allow the possibility, carries its correction along with it, and thus no harm accrues from supposing its existence. The only way in which the expression can be defended, is to say that the apostle spoke by divine commission in execution of a divine judgment, although one sees not how in this case the words *ὅτι ἕδριμ* can be explained. Besides, the apostles could exercise such authority only within the church, as upon Ananias and Sapphira, but not without it; during their earthly life their supreme authority had reference only to the church of Christ.

him by Paul was entirely merited. Besides, he was not the legal high priest, for after he was liberated through Agrippa's intercession in Rome, he did not again recover his dignity, though he still arrogated to himself the power of the office. (See Joseph. Arch. xx. 8. 8.) But these circumstances cannot justify the conduct of the apostle, as we must necessarily suppose that he knew before what authorities he was standing: if he had wished to notice the fact that Ananias was not the legal high priest, then he should have protested against the investigation altogether, while the course he pursued violated the respect that was due to the supreme tribunal. The supposition propounded by Calvin, and approved by Heinrichs, Meyer, and other modern critics, that the words *ὥς ᾤδεν* are ironical, and to be understood thus: "I could not at all regard as high-priest a man who is so unholy," is plainly strained as to the language, and unsuitable as to the fact. There is nothing left therefore but to say, that the apostle confounded the person of the judge with the office, and hastily vented his feelings against the former, where the latter alone was concerned. And the words *ὥς ᾤδεν* in this case are best understood as meaning "I considered not." The expression bears a similar sense in Ephes. vi. 8; Col. iii. 24, agreeably to the analogy of the Hebrew word *אֵין*. The remembrance of the words of Scripture in Exod. xxii. 28 leads Paul back again to the right position. If one considers¹ that there is no reference here to dogmatical points, and that the apostles nowhere represent themselves as morally perfect, we shall find nothing in this result of the investigation to prejudice the character of the apostle as an infallible teacher of truth: on the contrary, he here teaches by example the maxim so difficult to act upon, that, where undue precipitation has been manifested, it is best immediately to acknowledge it, and to bring one's conduct to the word of truth.

Ver. 3. The expression *τῷδε νενομισμένε* corresponds to the similar expression *τάφος νενομισμένος*, which was explained at Matt. xxiii. 27, and denotes the hypocrisy, which employs outward show and ornament to cover inward abomination.

Vers. 6–10. The breach occasioned by this occurrence Paul employed with skilful dexterity, to make the composition of the Sanhedrim subservient to his own views and the holy cause which

¹ Regarding this point see the similar occurrence mentioned in Acts xv. 36, &c.

he represented. The parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees were opposed to one another in the assembly. The high priest himself belonged to the latter party. Against this leaven of materialism the apostle brought forward the circumstance, that it was really his faith in eternal life and the resurrection of the dead which exposed him to persecution. This manœuvre had a remarkable effect. The two parties fell a quarrelling among themselves, and so the apostle escaped out of their hands. If we compare this incident with the earlier accounts of the proceedings of the Sanhedrim in reference to Christians, we find indications of a remarkable change of views which had already taken place in the interval. Pharisees and Sadducees before this were united in the Sanhedrim, but the question about the resurrection of Jesus had never brought them to a contest. Both parties had leagued together against the new church that was springing up. However, we have seen in chap. vi. 7, that at an early period there were priests, mostly Pharisees, who attached themselves to the church; and Gamaliel's counsel (v. 34), points at least to the possibility that Jesus Christ might be the Messiah; and now the party of the Pharisees appear to have turned to the cause of truth so much, that they regarded the difference between them and the Sadducees as more important than their difference with the Christians. And this explains how it was that, according to the accounts of Hegesippus (Euseb. II. E. ii. 23), and also of Josephus (Arch. xx. 9, 1), James, the brother of our Lord, Christian bishop of Jerusalem, could be so generally honoured and styled the "just." This circumstance shews how near the Jewish people, as a whole, were to the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, and that perhaps it was only by the influence of a small party of wild zealots that this acknowledgment was prevented.¹

Ver. 6. Between ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἀναστράδων the καὶ is omitted in many Codices, but undoubtedly it is genuine, and the phrase is to be viewed as a Hendiadys.—Regarding the doctrine of the Sadducees, compare the Commentary on Matt. iii. 7 and xxii. 23.—

¹ The Scriptures themselves permit us to maintain along with the acknowledgment, on the one hand, of necessity in the evolution of human affairs, the possibility, on the other, of things having been different. Only imagine that the Messiahship of Jesus had been acknowledged by the Sanhedrim themselves, and thus by the whole Jewish nation, and what an effect must this have produced! In John iv. 35, Jesus points to something of the kind.

In ver. 9 *πνεῦμα*, as used by the Pharisees, is plainly to be understood as meaning the apparition of a departed soul, because it is distinguished from *ἀγγέλους*: if hearing something from the Spirit of God were what is meant, the article could not be dispensed with before *πνεῦμα*, nor would *ἐν ἀλχησε* be applied in this manner to the Spirit. The Pharisees, it appears from this, knew the history of the conversion of Paul, and acknowledged that there was something real in it. The additional clause *μὴ θεομαχῶμεν* is wanting in the MSS. A.B.C.E. and others, as also in the Vulgate and other versions. Perhaps it might creep in from the analogous passage in Acts v. 39, which it was very natural to compare with this. The thought too expressed in these words appears to lead almost too far for Pharisees to have uttered it: it would in fact imply the confession of the Redeemer as risen from the dead, which we cannot suppose the most favourably disposed members of the Sanhedrim belonging to the Pharisees to have made.—Ver. 10. *ἐν λαισέσθαι* occurs only once more in the New Testament in Heb. xi. 7, in the signification of “apprehending, fearing, dreading.” The adjective *ἐν λαισέσθαι* we found already in Luke.

§ 4. PAUL'S DEPORTATION TO CAESAREA AND IMPRISONMENT THERE.

(Acts xxiii. 11—xxvi. 32.)

Vers. 11–15. On the night after the occurrence described, Paul had another vision of the Lord, in an ecstasy, not a dream, to prepare him for his future labours in the midst of the Gentile world, and at the same time to calm his mind in reference to the danger with which he was now assailed. These visions running through the whole life of Paul, but to be met with in the case of no other apostle, appear to stand connected with the peculiar task to which he was called. Though he had not enjoyed personal intercourse with the Lord, his nevertheless was the high destiny of maintaining not simply in opposition to the enemies of the truth, but even in part against the other apostles, the more enlarged view of the Gospel, as the universal religion, and the spiritual fulfilment of all the prefigurations of the Old Testament. For this calling he required an extraordinary assistance, to make

him certain himself that he was in the right way, and this assurance the Lord gave him in the manner which has been indicated.

While we must recognise in what precedes the favourable disposition of a part of the Jewish nation towards Christianity, we see displayed in what follows the rage of the apostle's enemies in a terrible form. Forty fanatical individuals bound themselves by an oath to kill Paul, and they put themselves in communication with the hostile part of the Sanhedrim, that through their influence they might obtain an opportunity of carrying their wicked plot into execution.—Ver. 12. Regarding *οσσεωπή* compare chap. xix. 40.—Regarding *ἀπαδειματίζω* see Comm. on Mark xiv. 71.—Ver. 15. *ἐμπαρίζω* we found in John xiv. 22 in the signification of “shewing,” but here it means, “giving information, sending notice.” So in chap. xxiv. 1 it denotes judicial information or accusation.

Vers. 16–22. With this wicked plot the apostle was made acquainted by his sister's son. Then he caused the centurion, who was entrusted with the keeping of him, to conduct the young man to the chief captain, to whom likewise he communicated the whole. Ver. 16. *ἐκρύψα*, “concealment, ambuscade, stratagem,” occurs again in Acts xxv. 3. The verb *ἐκκρύπτω* has already occurred in Luke xi. 54, and it appears again in the 21st verse of this chapter. In ver. 21, the clause *περὶ ὧν ἔχουσιν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν* intimates that the members of the Sanhedrim had entered into the plot, and that conspirators were only now waiting for the consent of the tribune.

Ver. 23–30. But the faithful Claudius Lysias was far from entering into such a wicked scheme. He immediately commanded two centurions to prepare an escort, and sent down the apostle with them in safety to Caesarea to the proconsul Felix. Luke gives us the letter containing information regarding Paul, but probably not in its original form, but constructed according to his own views of what it would be; for the evangelist might know how such “elogia” (the Roman name for such letters of escort) were wont to be arranged. We are led to this view by the expression *περίεχουσιν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον* in ver. 25, where *τύπος* denotes the sketch or general outline of the epistle. Here then perhaps we have an instance of the formation of single sections by the writer himself, such as are often found in the Roman and Greek historians in the case of speeches, letters, and the like.

Ver. 23. The name *θεζιλοῦλάος* is quite unknown. It is not to

be found again in any ancient author. Some manuscripts therefore read *δεξιόχολοι*,¹ that is slingers, who throw with the right arm; but certainly the common reading is to be preferred on critical grounds. Some have been disposed to understand the word *δεξιόχόλοι* of military lictors, because they held or bound prisoners by the right hand, but the large number of two hundred is not compatible with this idea. Some manuscripts, it is true, read eighty instead, but even this number would be too great for the purpose supposed. It is best to explain the word either as the *Etymologicum Magnum* does by *ποξοέτης*, or as *Suidas* does by *παρὰ ῥύλαξ*. This latter explanation is most conformable to etymology, for the name would denote those who guarded the right side of their lord. In ver. 24 *ζεύγη*, *jumenta*, denotes sumpter horses. Here too Luke passes over from the direct to the indirect style.—In ver. 25 *περιέχω* entirely corresponds to the Latin word *contineo*. Comp. 1 Pet ii. 6.—Ver. 26. Nothing farther is known of Claudius Lysias, but Antonius Felix was a brother of the well-known Pallas, freedman of the mother of Claudius, and favourite of this Emperor. (*Tacit. Hist. v. 9, 6. Annal. xii. 54, 1.*) Under the protection of his brother, Felix indulged in the most terrible extortions in his office of proconsul.—Regarding *κατάτιστος* see Luke i. 3.

Vers. 31–35. The whole company conducted the apostle as far as Antipatris, but at this place the foot soldiers returned, because the greatest danger was past, and the horsemen only took him all the way to Caesarea. In the first instance the proconsul enquired only after his place of birth, and then ordered him to be guarded in the prætorium of Herod. *Ἀντιπατρις*, which lay in the middle between Jerusalem and Caesarea, was called originally *καρπασαλαμᾶ*. (1 Macc. vii. 31.) Herod the Great completed the building of the city, and named it after his father.—Ver. 34. *ἐπαρχία* is the usual word for provincia.—Ver. 35. Regarding *πραιτώριον*, consult the Commentary at John xviii. 33. There it is simply called prætorium or palace. Perhaps, however, the proconsul resided in this building, and had chambers fitted up in it for prisoners of the better sort.

Chap. xxiv. 1–9. A few days after the arrival of Paul, the high priest himself came down to Caesarea with a Roman agent, to

¹ According to Wetstein the word occurs sometimes in the later writers, Theophylact, Simocatta, and Constantine Porphyrogenneta.

accuse the apostle. With base flattering speeches, Tertullus attempted to gain the good will of Felix, while he at the same time attempted to throw suspicion upon Paul as a dangerous stirrer up of strife.

In ver. 3, several manuscripts read, instead of *κατορθώματων*, the synonymous word *διορθώματων*. The word means here improved regulations of government. But to ascribe these to Felix was mere flattery, for he was only concerned about his own advantage, and thought not of the welfare of the country. The improved regulations he had introduced were calculated merely for ostentation.—Ver. 4. *ἐγχοπτω* denotes properly to “cut in or into,” as for example a way, and then to detain, to hinder. Rom. xv. 22, Gal. v. 7.—*συμπόμω*s briefly, concisely: *λεγόντων* may be supplied.—In ver. 5, the participle *ἐξόντες* has no verb after it: the construction begun with, is quitted by the speaker.¹ The word *λοιμός* denotes properly the plague, and then one who brings plague and destruction. The Seventy employ this word to express *בַּחֲרָבָה* in 1 Sam. ii. 12.—*Πρωτοσπάτης* occurs in no other part of the New Testament. In the mouth of the orator, it means the same as “head, ringleader.” As a name of the Christians employed to express their meanness (chap. ii. 22), *Ναζωραῖοι* occurs no more in the New Testament. As to the form of the name, consult the Commentary at Matt. ii. 23.—In ver. 9, the textus receptus reads *συνέθεντο*, that is, “they concurred.” But the best critics have preferred the reading *συνεπέθεντο*, as the more difficult. The word *συνεπιτίθεσθαι* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament: it means “to assail any person along with others.”

Vers. 10–23. Having received permission from the proconsul, Paul immediately rose up in his own defence, and gave a true account of the events which had led to his apprehension in Jerusalem. And as here again the Sadducees might be his chief accusers, he brought afresh into view the resurrection of the dead as a principal charge brought against him by his enemies. The proconsul plainly was convinced of his innocence, and therefore granted him much indulgence in his captivity, although he by no means set him immediately at liberty.

Ver. 10. Paul could speak with justice of many years during which Felix had governed in Palestine, for although he had now

¹ Olshausen here inadvertently says, that Paul quits the construction of the sentence, but it is Tertullus who is speaking.—Tr.

been but six years proconsul, yet he had held the chief command in Galilee for a longer period. (Joseph. Arch. xx. 6, 3, Bell. Jud. i. 2, 12).—Ver. 11. Among the twelve days here mentioned, are included the five (chap. xxiv. 1) spent by Paul in prison, for he counts the twelve days down to the moment he is speaking. Meyer has shewn from the connexion of the passages touching this matter from chap. xxi. 15, that the number comes out rightly, which furnishes a highly favourable testimony to the accuracy and originality of the account.—Ver. 12. ἐπισύστασις occurs again in 2 Cor. xi. 28, in the sense of “overflow of business, importunate calls,” and the trouble thereby caused. Here it is equivalent to συστρεφῆ, “uproar, tumult.”—Ver. 14. αἰξέσις has here a bad idea associated with it, which is frequently not at all the case. Comp. Acts v. 17, xv. 5, xxvi. 5.—Ver. 16. ἐν τούτῳ refers to the foregoing description of his doctrine and views: “according to my principles I make it my endeavour also to walk.”—Ἀπζόσσοπος occurs only again in 1 Cor. x. 32.—Ver. 18. ἐν οἷς scilicet χρεήμασι, in the midst of these innocent, yea honourable employments.—Ver. 19. According to the textus receptus, τινὲς is connected with εἶπον, but Griesbach, on the authority of the Manuscripts A.C.E. and other ones, has adopted the reading τινὲς οἱ, which, on account of its greater difficulty, undoubtedly deserves the preference. In this case a verb must be supplied to τινὲς, and the most suitable is ᾤσαν.—Ver. 22. ἀναδάλλεσθαι means also in good Greek writers “to throw back,” that is, “to adjourn, to procrastinate, to defer.” The phrase ἀνελθίσσας εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ is not to be interpreted too rigidly, for we cannot suppose this Roman to have possessed an accurate acquaintance with the doctrines of the Gospel; but as there were believers in Caesarea itself, Felix might have a general knowledge of the sect of the Nazarenes, and (which alone concerned him) of their political inoffensiveness.—Ver. 23. ἄνεσις denotes here the mildness of his captivity, similar to what Paul, according to Luke’s account (Acts xxviii. 30, 31), enjoyed even in Rome.

Vers. 24—27. The concluding verses of this narrative furnish evidence both of the spiritual power which displayed itself in the captive apostle, and of the excitable conscience of the Roman, as well as the moral debasement which led him to stifle the impressions he had received. There might be something exciting to him and his wife Drusilla in the appearance of Paul; and

therefore they caused him to be brought one day before them. The apostle availed himself of this opportunity to touch their conscience, and with deep knowledge of human nature and skill in teaching, he brought the law to bear upon his object. To penitent hearts he was in the habit of preaching the crucified Jesus as the Mediator, but to these worldly individuals he displayed him as the Judge. The sword of God's word pierced deep into the heart of Felix, but for this very reason he suddenly broke off the conference. But his moral baseness betrayed itself strikingly in this, that he could still hold fast his prisoner for the mere purpose of obtaining money for his release, yea, that at his departure from the province, he left him in prison out of complaisance to the Jews.

Ver. 24. Felix had two wives of the same name; the first was a grand-daughter of Antony by Cleopatra; the second, who is the one here referred to, was the daughter of Herod Agrippa, whose death is recorded at chap. xii. 23.¹ She had been married first to Prince Azizus of Emesa, but deserted him and married the Roman proconsul, Joseph. Arch. xx. 7, 1. Comp. Winer's Reallex. under Drusilla. Drusilla being a Jewess by birth, might particularly desire to hear of Jesus, the pretended Messiah, and therefore Felix had Paul brought before him.—Ver. 25. The word ἐγκράτεια refers particularly to abstinence from sexual excesses, of which both of them, Felix as well as Drusilla, had been guilty.—Τὸ ὧν ἔχον scilicet κατὰ, is a circumlocution for ὧν.—Ver. 26. διὰ καὶ πυκνότερον κ. τ. λ. Felix wished to let him understand, by the kindness with which he treated him, that he was ready to let him go: perhaps also he designed to put him to the proof, whether he would employ improper means for his rescue.—Ver. 27. Two years appeared now to have been completely lost by the apostle, for in Caesarea itself he probably had but small opportunity of labouring. But the main design of God in this remarkable procedure might perhaps be to grant the apostle a quiet period for inward recollection and meditation. The continual movement of Paul's life must of course have made it difficult for him to be occupied with his own state, although this is the necessary condition of a blessed inward development. Divine grace therefore is able to

¹ Heinrichs, in his Commentary (proleg. p. 67), gives a genealogical table of the family of Herod, like that of Raumer in his Geography of Palestine. Regarding the wives of Felix, see Tacit. Histor. v. 9, Sueton. Claud. c. 28.

unite both objects ; for while it uses its instruments for the advancement of truth among others, it sometimes takes these instruments themselves to school for their own personal improvement.

Chap. xxv. 1-5. The mention of the entrance of Festus upon office is one of the passages of Acts, as has already been remarked in the introduction, which furnishes a point of contact with profane history. We know that Nero came to the government in the year 56 after Christ, and that in the seventh year of his reign, and consequently in the year 62 after Christ, Porcius Festus entered upon his office. (Compare Joseph. Arch. xx. 8, 9, and the particulars stated by Hug in his introduction, 2d edition, vol. ii. p. 279, &c.) Immediately after his entrance on office the new proconsul visited Jerusalem, and the fanatical Jews took this opportunity of soliciting him to deliver the apostle again into their hands. But Festus, who had heard of his character and circumstances, (compare ver. 10), declined the proposal, because no Roman citizen could be handed over to a foreign tribunal. He announced to them therefore that he would speedily (ἐν τάχει, ver. 4) return to Cæsarea, and be ready there to hear their complaint. In ver. 4 the expression *τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον ἐν Καισαρείᾳ* is manifestly elliptical. It might refer to the secure keeping of Paul, so that the sense may be : he will not escape you, he is well guarded in Cæsarea. It is better however to suppose, in accordance with the subsequent narrative, ver. 9, &c. that the proconsul designed to intimate that Paul was not subject to their jurisdiction. And thus the Roman authority which had been the means of bringing the Redeemer to the cross, was here to be the instrument of delivering the apostle of the Gentiles.—In ver. 5 *ἀρχιερεῖς* denotes the most distinguished members of the supreme council.

Vers. 6-12. According to the command of the proconsul therefore accusers speedily came from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, whither Festus had returned after a few days. In their fury they brought forward the most unrighteous charges, but charges at the same time altogether incapable of proof, and to them Paul replied with vigour. The proposal however of the proconsul, to let the matter be brought to a termination in Jerusalem, was declined by Paul, who appealed to Cæsar.

Ver. 7. The impudent accusations brought by the Jews against the apostle appear, from ver. 8, to have been partly of a political character. They probably attempted to make his preaching of

Christ appear as if it were the proclamation of a new emperor.—Ver. 9. The proposal of Festus was perhaps only designed as an act of complaisance to the Jews. Without doubt he knew beforehand, that Paul would not accede to it. The apostle accordingly appeals in his answer to the knowledge which the proconsul had of the state of matters.—Ver. 12. The appeal to the Roman people, or in later times, to Caesar, was a right of Roman citizens. Pliny also Epist. x. 95, mentions that he would send to Rome those Christians, who possessed the right of Roman citizenship.—The *συμβούλοι* denotes the counsellors or assistants in the office of the proconsul. They bore the title of consilarii or assessores, *πρόεδροι*. (Sueton. Tib. c. 33; Galba c. 19; Aelius Lamprid. in Alex. Severo c. 46.)

Vers. 13-22. Now after the lapse of a few days, king Agrippa, with his sister Berenice,¹ arrived in Caesarea to pay a visit to the new proconsul. Festus availed himself of this opportunity to lay before him the controversy regarding the apostle. From the whole narrative it is apparent that Paul had excited in Festus a lively interest in his favour, nor were Agrippa and Berenice less desirous of beholding the remarkable man. Festus therefore promised to bring Paul before them.

The Agrippa here mentioned is the younger Agrippa, son of the older, who came before us in chap. xii. 20, &c. He enjoyed the favour of Claudius Caesar, and retained his provinces even after the destruction of Jerusalem, which he outlived. Berenice was his sister, who at first was married to her uncle Herod, prince of Chalcis, and then to king Polemon of Cilicia. She was a woman of distinguished beauty, and captivated even Titus and Vespasian. But her character was very bad, for she lived in incest with her brother. (Comp. Joseph. Arch. xx. 5, 1, and 7, 3. Bell. Jud. i. 2, 21. Sueton. Vit. Tit. c. 7. Tacit. Hist. ii. 81.)

In ver. 16, many manuscripts supply *εἰς ἀπαύλειον* τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι, but this supplement is unnecessary. The word here bears the signification of “sacrificing, condemning without enquiry at the pleasure of some one.” This was contrary to the strict judicial procedure of the Romans, which required a formal investigation.

¹ How accurately informed Luke shews himself here again. How readily he might have confounded this Berenice with other celebrated women of the same name, if he had followed a later uncertain tradition, may be seen by consulting Tholuck's Credibility, p. 168. The name of Berenice, according to Valkenær, has been formed from *φερωνίκη*.

The construction, $\piρὶν \epsilonἰς$, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament: other readings, $\epsilonἰς$ or $\epsilonἰς$, are merely readings made to smooth the difficulty. The optative here may probably be explained on the principle of passing from the oratio directa to the oratio obliqua. (Comp. Winer's Gram. p. 273.)—Ver. 17. ἀναβολή denotes "mora, delay," from ἀναβάλλεσθαι, see chap. xxiv. 22.—Ver. 18. Festus had supposed that they would accuse Paul of palpable crimes: religious differences he took not into account.—Ver. 21. Σεβαστός is the standing word for the title of the Emperors, Augustus. (Διδύμιος occurs only here: the verb we had in chap. xxiii. 15, xxiv. 22.)

Vers. 23—27. The placing of the apostle before Agrippa and Berenice afforded the first fulfilment of our Lord's prediction: "ye shall be brought before kings and princes for my sake." Matt. x. 18; Mark xiii. 9. With great pomp the royal personages made their appearance, and the most distinguished individuals of the city; and thus Paul obtained an opportunity of preaching the power of the risen Redeemer before the elite of a great city, before the king and the proconsul. After the king and his sister had entered, the apostle was introduced in bonds, xxvi. 29, and Festus placed him before Agrippa, shortly stating his case, and declaring that he was desirous of finding out what it was that Paul was really accused of, that he might be able, when he sent him to Rome, to give some accurate information regarding him.

Ver 23. $φαιπασία$ occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; it comprehends whatever shines or greatly strikes the eyes. The word ἀκροατήριον denotes the public hall of judgement in the palace of the proconsul.—Ver. 24. ἐνυγχάζειν τινί means to meet with any one, to go to any one with entreaties.—Ver. 26. ὁ κύριος is here the emperor Nero. Instead of $γράψαι$, A. C. and other manuscripts read $γράφω$. It is probable, however, that this reading took its rise only on account of the $γράψαι$ which immediately goes before.

Chap. xxvi. 1—18. With the permission of king Agrippa, the apostle delivers a discourse in his bonds before this splendid assemblage. He first of all expresses his joy that he was allowed to defend himself before one, who was acquainted with the manners and customs of the Jewish nation, and then gives a narrative of his life, and in particular, a detailed account of the important

occurrence which had led to his conversion, regarding which the particulars stated at chap. ix. 1, &c., may be considered.

Ver. 1. The stretching out of the hand is not to be regarded as designed to produce silence in the meeting: the presence of the king would at once quell every commotion; but it is rather the gesture appropriate to the commencement of a discourse.—

Ver. 3. γνώστης, “one who accurately knows a thing, a witness, therefore a guarantee,” is to be found nowhere else in the New Testament. It occurs elsewhere in the apocryphal book of Susanna, ver. 42, in profane authors the form γνωστής is also to be found, the accusative after σοῦ which goes before is to be explained on the principle of an anakoluthon, or change of construction.

Ver. 4. Undoubtedly the phrase ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς is favourable to the idea, that Paul came at an early period from Tarsus to Jerusalem to the school of Gamaliel.

Ver. 5. ὁμοιω is an expression synonymous with the above.

Ver. 6. The ἐπαγγελία of which the apostle speaks is the promise of the Messiah, as is plain from what follows.

Ver. 7. The substantive ὁσὴν ἀπόστολον, as denoting the whole people of Israel, is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament.

In James i. 1 the twelve tribes are named to designate the whole people of the Israelites. The phrase ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ stands for ἐκτενῶς.

1 Pet. i. 22.—Ver. 8. With the hope of the Messiah the resurrection of the dead stands connected, for Jesus the true Messiah was raised from the dead.—Regarding the use of εἰ in direct and indirect questions, compare Winer’s Gramm.

p. 475, and Passow in his Lex. under this word.

Vers. 19–23. In the conclusion of his discourse the apostle appeals to the conscience of the king, whether he could have properly disregarded such a vision, and affirms again that the only ground of charge against him was that he believed the hope of the patriarchs had been accomplished, and the true Messiah had appeared in his suffering state.—Ver. 20. ἐπιστρέφειν means, as

so often does in the prophets, a spiritual change, a conversion of the soul.

Comp. xi. 21.—Ver. 22. ἐπισκοπία, equivalent to βοήθεια, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament.

According to this passage Paul too recognises Messianic predictions in the Pentateuch.—Comp. Comm. on Luke xxiv. 27.—Ver. 23 is to be viewed as an indirect question, in which εἰ is used.

See Comm. at ver. 8. The doctrines regarding the suffering and resurrection of Christ are viewed as presented for examination, and exhibited

as proved by the apostle. It has already been remarked in the Comm. on Matt. xxii. 29, that the phrase ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν is applied to Christ instead of the more usual one ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν. See note on Col. i. 18.

Vers. 24–32. Perhaps the elevated address of the apostle produced not less effect upon the proconsul Festus than Felix had already experienced (chap. xxiv. 25), but he attempted by an unseasonable jest to destroy the impression. Paul however confirmed the substance of his speech by the testimony of Agrippa, who on his part acknowledged that he was mightily affected. If the fear of men and love of the world restrained these persons, from doing honour to the truth and joining themselves to the despised company of believers, they were yet obliged to confess the innocence of the apostle. The appeal to Caesar, however, which already had been made, rendered his journey to Rome still indispensable, because this appeal, according to the principles of Roman law, could not be passed over, or retracted. Böttger, as already cited, page 27, &c.

In ver. 24 μαίνεσθαι means “to be mad, crackbrained, fanciful.” Festus certainly did not himself believe that the apostle was out of his senses; he only wished jestingly to characterise the elevated state of the apostle’s mind. This man of the world, as Pilate had done before him, chose rather to let his head struggle against the impressions his heart had received. Further, he traced the aberration of Paul to his too great love of study, for the apostle had repeatedly referred to the Holy Scriptures.—Ver. 27. ἐν γαρίᾳ equivalent to ἐν νευπτῷ occurs only in this passage of the New Testament.—Ver. 28. ἐν ὀλίγῳ, with χρόνῳ supplied, might mean “soon, in a short time,” viz. if I should allow you to speak longer. But as in ver. 29, according to A. B. and other authorities, ὀλίγῳ καὶ πολλῷ the reading is μεγάλην, it is on all accounts better to understand the ἐν ὀλίγῳ of the 28th verse as meaning “with a little,” that is, with so little exertion, with so few words. This declaration of Agrippa was also in burlesque, but it is probable that he was concealing his inward emotion under the form of pleasantry.

§ 5. PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM CAESAREA TO ROME.

(Acts xxvii. 1—xxviii. 15.)

Vers. 1—5. Under the guidance of a benevolent centurion (ver. 3) named Julius, the apostle proceeded to Rome in pursuance of his appeal to Caesar, accompanied by Aristarchus and Lucas,¹ who still narrates in the first person, for, where the third person presents itself here, it is owing simply to the mention of the ship's garrison. In a ship of Adramyttium, sailing along the coast of Syria and Asia, he came to Lycia. Julius was captain of the *σπεῖρη Σεβαστή*, that is, of the cohorts Augusta. This name was either derived from the circumstance that in the legion there was a body guard of the emperor, or that the cohort consisted of inhabitants of the city Sebaste. In my view the former idea appears the more probable, because, on the latter supposition, the phrase used would likely have been *σπεῖρη Σεβαστηῶν*, as Josephus expresses himself in Arch. xx. 6.

Ver. 2. The name *Ἀδριαμυττηνῶν* is differently written in the manuscripts. We are not to suppose, however, it refers to Hadrumetum in Africa, but to Adramyttium in Mysia. The adjective formed from the former city is *Ἀδριαμυττηνῶν*.—Instead of *μὲλλοντες* many manuscripts read *μὲλλοντες*, but the first is to be preferred as the more difficult reading.—Ver. 4. *ὑποπλεῖν* denotes to coast along under shelter of the shore before the violence of the winds. Ver. 5. Instead of *Μύσα*, *Σμύρναν* has been erroneously read, or even *Ἀύστρα*, but the former city lay more to the north, and the latter was in the interior.

Vers. 6—12. In Myra the captain took another ship. An Alexandrian vessel received the apostle and his companions, but the badness of the season made sailing very arduous, and the good advice of Paul to take shelter betimes in winter quarters was disregarded by the Centurion. In ver. 6, *ἐμπίπλω* is a genuine Greek expression for “embarking, putting on board of a ship.” Comp. Xenoph. Anab. v. 3, 3.—Ver. 7. Salmone is a promontory of the

¹ The minuteness, so unprecedented, with which this voyage is described, may perhaps be explained from the circumstance of Luke's keeping a diary at the time, and afterwards inserting it unchanged into his work. Regarding the accuracy of the narrative in a geographical and antiquarian point of view, consult here again Tholuck's Credibility, page 385, &c.

island of Crete, on the east side of the island.—In ver. 8, *παγαλίσγω* means to sail past: *λέγω* is applied, quite like the Latin word *lego*, to “going in a ship, sailing.”—*Καλαί λιμένας*, fair havens, was the name given to the place mentioned, perhaps because in the one bay there were several good anchorages for ships.—For *Λαταιά* many manuscripts read *Ἀλασσα*, but there are critical grounds for preferring the first reading. Of the place, however, nothing further is known.—Ver. 9. The *νηστεία* is plainly here a mark of time: it refers to the great feast of atonement on the 10th of Tisri, that is, towards the end of September, when the equinoctial storms blow. Regarding this feast, styled יום כיפור , consult Winer's *Reallex.* under the article *versöhnungstag*.—Ver. 10 *ἔτι* is connected with the infinitive *μείλιν* instead of *μείλει*. On this point, compare Winer in his *Gram.* p. 315.—Ver. 11. *ναύκληρος* denotes the proprietor of the ship, the owner who in ancient times was wont to sail in her himself.—Ver. 12. *ἀνύδατος*, “not well situated, inconvenient,” occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. The harbour Phoenix, on the south side of the island, was protected against most winds, and they could readily sail into it with a south-west wind (*λίψ*), and a north-west wind (*ζῶρος*, Latin, *corus*, *caurus*),¹ and therefore the mariners were desirous of wintering in it.

Vers. 13-20. But a storm overtook the ship on her way to this harbour, and she was driven ashore on the island of Claudia.—Ver. 13. *ὑποπνέω*, “to blow softly,” denotes a favourable wind.—*Κρατεῖν πρόθεσιν* means to carry a purpose into effect. To *ἄρταντες* you must supply *ἀγκύσαν*.—For *ἄσσω* some manuscripts read *Ἀσσαν*, but no name of a city could at all stand here without a preposition. The word *ἄσσω* is the comparative of the adverb *ἄγγι*, near: it is to be found, for the most part, in poetical diction, but it also occurs in good prose. The conjecture *ῥᾶσσω*, “rapidly, quickly,” is quite unnecessary.—Ver. 14. *τοφωκίης*, stormy: the direction of the wind, which was blowing with vehemence, is indicated by the name *Εὐρακύνων*. This reading I prefer, as do Grotius, Mill, Bengel, and others, to the common reading *Εὐρουλίδων*, or *Εὐρακλίδων*, words which can only denote the breadth and height of the waves, and consequently indicate the severity of the storm, in which case

¹ Comp. Karl. v. Raumer's treatise on the names of the Greek winds in *Rheinischen Museum, für Philologie* 1837.

they form a tautology with *τορμωνός*. But *Εὐζανύλων* denotes the north-east wind, which, according to the direction in which they were going, must have been disastrous to them, because it drove them from land.—Ver. 15. *ἀντορδαίμειν* means “to look against,” then generally “to resist.”—Ver. 16. *Κλαύδα*, in the room of which *Κλαύδα* and *Καύδη* are also to be found, was a small island beside Crete. Comp. Pliny. II. N. iv. 22.—*Σκάφη* is the ship’s boat, which was put out, and could not be brought on board again without difficulty.—Ver. 17. *ἐποζωμίζειν* refers to the strengthening of the ship’s sides, by beams and cords, that she might be able to withstand the shocks of the waves. And then *βοηθείαι* is best understood as referring to these material appliances. In order to lighten the ship still farther, they let down the mast. *Σκεῦος* denotes here either the sail yards with the sails, or the mast. The latter supposition is rendered the more probable by what is said in ver. 40. The ships of the ancients were, after the manner of our river ships, vessels supplied with masts which could be let down. Meyer will have the word to mean the sails: these doubtless, as inseparably connected with the mast, are comprehended, but they are not meant alone.—Besides they lightened the ship by casting out first bales of goods and other things that did not properly belong to the ship, and then the proper furniture of the ship, beams, tackling, and so on. *Σκευή* which is only to be found in this passage of the New Testament, means properly “dress, attire,” and applied to a ship, whatever belongs to her equipment.

Ver. 21–26. In this dangerous condition of the ship the apostle, full of earnestness and mildness, came into the midst of the desponding crew. He blamed them for having gone farther in opposition to his counsel, but promised, as instructed by a heavenly messenger,¹ that there should be no loss of human life, though they must be cast away upon an island: *δεῖ* means, according to the divine appointment, according to God’s immutable will. In these words the only remarkable expression is *κρίνεται σοι ὁ Θεὸς πάντας* &c. &c. in ver. 24. We must of course suppose that Paul had wrestled in prayer for the lives of the men, that this prayer had been heard, and that the whole company were in a manner given to him. Such passages as Psalm cxlv. 19 furnish the key to this thought.

¹ Here too it is not said that this appearance took place in a dream, nor is it at all probable that this was the case, if you consider the remarks already made on the visions of Paul. (Comp. Comm. on chap. xvi. 10.)

Vers. 27–32. On the fourteenth night the ship's crew suddenly perceived a rapid diminution of the depth of the sea, which indicated approach to land. They threw out the anchor, therefore, that they might not drift upon the shore, and waited for the morning. The seamen, however, persuaded that land was near, attempted to escape by means of the boat. But although the apostle had received assurance from heaven of the deliverance of all on board, yet he omitted not to employ all possible precautions, and by his advice the soldiers detained the sailors on board, because they alone were able to supply the proper means of escape.

Ver. 27. The Adriatic sea, according to the ancient usage of language, comprehends the whole portion of the Mediterranean lying between Greece and Italy and Sicily.—*Διὰ τὰς ἐξέσθαι* equivalent to *ἐξέσθαι*, to be driven about.—Ver. 28. *βούλιζω*, from *βούλις*, the sounding lead. *Ὅσας γύβας*, from *ὀξύγειον*, a fathom, the space measured by the arms stretched out.—Ver. 29. *τρυπαὶ περὶ ἀγέλας*, stony places, rocky banks. Four anchors were thrown out, but it must be remembered that the anchors of the ancients were far smaller than ours, for the most part probably at this period heavy stones fastened to chains: no ship now carries four anchors.

Vers. 33–38. Although Paul was a prisoner, yet in the general confusion he exercised all the authority of a head, as the rest of the narrative shews. The ship must be given over as lost, but he exhorted them all to take food for their refreshment after the long toil which had prevented all regular meals; and when their repast was ended, they threw the provisions overboard to lighten the ship, that she might approach as near as possible to the shore. In ver. 33 the words *μηδὲν περιστάσιν ὑμῶν* are of course to be understood as only intimating that during the period of danger they had sat down to no regular meal, but Paul induced them to do this, that they might be strengthened. This meal was observed by the apostle and the other Christians quite as a love-feast (ver. 35), although it might not be so understood by the unbelievers present.—In ver. 34 the words *οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐξ ἑνὸς τῆς νεφελῆς ἀπολεῖται* exhibit a manifest allusion to Luke xxi. 18, where the very same words occur.—Ver. 37. The number of men in the ship, two hundred and seventy-six, indicates that her size was considerable.—Ver. 38. *κορυίζω*, from *κοῦφος*, denotes “to lighten, to make light.”

Vers. 39–44. In the morning the shipwrecked mariners saw the

land before them ; they lifted the anchors and stranded the vessel upon a favourable part of the shore. In order to prevent the flight of the prisoners, the soldiers wished to kill them, but Julius the centurion had contracted a love for Paul, and therefore he did not permit this. Agreeably to Paul's predictions, they all reach the land in safety, some on planks and some swimming.

In ver. 39. instead of ἐξουλεύσαντο, several manuscripts read ἐξουλεύοντο or ἐξούλωντο. The last reading is certainly to be rejected ; the two others are equally appropriate to the sense, but critical authorities are decidedly in favour of ἐξουλεύσαντο.—Ver. 40. ἔβαν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, they committed themselves to the sea, that is, they let themselves drift. As the ship was on the verge of being lost, they sacrificed the anchors, cutting them loose. Περαισέω denotes to chop off, to cut away. We have already had the word in ver. 20 in a tropical sense as in Hebrews x. 11.—Πηδαλίον means the rudder, of which anciently the larger ships had several. They were managed, as is still the case, with ropes which were now let go, that the ship might be suffered entirely to drift. (ἀέσσε, from ἀνίημι, to leave behind, to let go.) In order to run the vessel at once quickly and high upon the beach, so as to make the escape of the crew the more easy, they raised up the mast again and spread out a sail upon it. Ἀγείμων does not mean the mast but the sail, but as the 17th verse tells us the mast was lowered down, the pulling up of the sail intimates that it was again put up. Ἀΰξω must be supplied to τῇ σκεύει.—Ver. 41. τόπος διθάλασσος, that is a projecting headland, which had water on both sides of it. Before this headland there may always have been a sand-bank lying, or it may have run out into one, but the phrase τόπος διθάλασσος does not by itself mean a shallow, or sand-bank.—Ἐποκίλλειν denotes to drive up, to cause to strike against. Ver. 44. σανίς, asser, a board or plank. Τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου are beams of the ship, that was now broken by the violence of the waves.

Chap. xxviii. 1—6. It was when they landed, that they first learned they were driven ashore upon the island of Malta. The inhabitants of the island received the shipwrecked strangers in a friendly manner, and kindled a fire to warm them, stiff as they were with cold. On this occasion, Paul experienced the protection of God in a manner which made him appear to the rude islanders endowed with supernatural powers.

Ver. 1. There was an island of the name of Μελίτη, on the

coast of Illyricum, which at the present day is called Meleda. But the description of their course that follows, shews that it can only be Malta beside Sicily which is meant. This island was inhabited by colonists from Phœnicia or Carthage, who are therefore called βάζεαροι.¹—Ver. 2. πύλα, a heap of wood, a pile of wood.—Επιστώς signifies properly adstans, here it carries the idea of “oppressive, heavy.”—Ver. 3. φεύγανα means brushwood for keeping up the fire.—Εχιδνα, a viper, a poisonous serpent. Κατάπτω, to fasten to, to affix; here it is taken, which is quite unusual, in a middle acceptation. Many manuscripts therefore have the reading καθήψατο. On this point consult the full discussion in Suiceri Thes. sub voce. The superstitious and fickle multitude are just as ready to record a vote of condemnation as of deification. When it is said, however, with the view of abating what is miraculous, that the serpent may not have been poisonous, we must certainly confess that this is not expressly stated, but just as certainly it is not expressly denied; and the whole tone of the narrative plainly leads to the conclusion, that all who were present regarded the serpent as poisonous. We may therefore in this narrative recognise a fulfilment of the promise contained in Mark xvi. 17.

Ver. 7–10. A Roman of distinction named Publius had possessions in Malta. He took a friendly interest in the apostle and his companions, a kindness which Paul was able to requite by healing his father.

Ver. 7. The Romans had naturally taken this island lying so near Sicily into their possession, and a distinguished individual named Publius had even settled in Malta. It is probable that at the same time he exercised the functions of the magistracy; but the word πρῶτος does not necessarily imply this.—Ver. 8. δυσεντερία, dysentery, diarrhoea with colic or gripes.—Ver. 10. The word τιμαί is to be understood of aids of every kind which were furnished to the apostle, not only during the time of his stay but also for his departure.

Vers. 11–15. After the lapse of three months, when the weather again permitted sailing, the company proceeded on their voyage

¹ The mention of Δίκη, that is, of the avenging Nemesis, proves nothing to the contrary; for, in the first place, many barbarians had adopted Grecian elements into their religious views; and again, no nation is without the idea of a retributive justice which displays itself in the government of the world, and Luke may have only employed the familiar Greek term to express this idea. Tradition states, that from this time the island of Malta was entirely freed from serpents.

in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the island. In Syracuse they lay for three days, and then landed in Puteoli. Here there were already believers, and now they proceeded by land to Rome, from which brethren came out to meet them as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns.

In ver. 11, *παρασκήμιον* denotes the ship's sign, which was usually placed on the prow. For this ship there had been chosen the figures of Castor and Pollux, the guardian deities of seafaring men.—Ver. 13. *Ῥήγιον*, a city and promontory in Calabria, called at present Reggio.—Regarding *δευτεροσταθίον*, see Comm. on John xi. 39 — *Ποσειδίον*, Puteoli, was usually called in Greek *Δικαιόρχεια*. The fact that already there were believers in this city, furnishes an important proof of the rapid spread of Christianity even in Italy. Without doubt it was from Rome the Gospel came hither, for it was closely connected with Puteoli, because this place was as it were the harbour for the larger ships of the metropolis of the world. Ostium could only be visited by small ships. That Paul received permission to spend seven days with the brethren, is a proof of the good-will of Julius. During the centurion's long intercourse with Paul he had certainly not remained without movements of heart, and through him Paul might afterwards in various ways be introduced into those military circles where his labours were so effective. (Comp. Phil. i. 13 ; iv. 22.)—Ver. 15. Forum Appii, a city in the via Appia, See Horat. Sat. i. 6, 3. On this road too lay the tres tabernae, six miles from Rome. Comp. Cic. ad Attic. i. 13.

§ 6. PAUL'S STAY IN ROME.

(Acts xxviii. 16—31.)

Ver. 16. And now the great apostle of the Gentiles had reached the city which God's providence had appointed to be the queen of the world, not only in the old but also in the new order of things. The most heterogeneous elements were blended together in this huge world-city. The Lord had a numerous people in it, and there was a flourishing church, composed of the excellent individuals that were there ; but the world of the wicked one too had its mightiest representative here, and, in the very person of the

ruling emperor Nero, there had been set up a formal anti-christian power. Before him, the blood-thirsty tyrant, Paul knew that he must appear (xxvii. 24), to defend the Gospel of God and to seal it with his blood. What feelings then would agitate the bosom of the apostle, when he trod the city, that was first to be drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus (Rev. xvii. 6—18), and how much he would need brotherly consolation and refreshment in spirit, may be readily understood after these remarks. Here, in the great central-point of the heathen world, Paul felt that he had first fulfilled his calling as apostle of the Gentiles in its full extent; the desire with which he had looked to Rome had long been baffled (Rom. i. 13), but the accomplishment of this desire brought also before his soul, the presentiment of the end which was here awaiting him.

The *στρατοπρόεδρος* to whom the prisoners required to be delivered, is the *præfectus prætorio*, the highest military authority in the city. It could hardly be the excellent Burrhus, who was preceptor of Nero along with Seneca, for he had died so early as the spring of the year 62. The apostle, however, received permission, doubtless on giving security, which the Roman law required in such a case, and which he would readily find among the Christians in Rome, to reside in a private house, with a soldier chained to him after the Roman custom. (Verses 23, 30, *ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι*, perhaps with Aquila, who, according to Rom. xvi. 3, had returned to Rome.) But as the soldiers were changed, and Paul was also probably required to appear from time to time before the præfect, he might thus, although residing in a private house, find access to the Emperor's body-guard. Comp. Phil. i. 13.

Vers. 17—22. A few days after his arrival Paul called together the most influential among the Jews, that he might vindicate himself to them, and prevent them from forming an opposition against him. But they declare that, although they have heard of the sect of the Nazarenes and of the opposition raised against them, yet they have received no information against the person of the apostle, either by letter or by oral communication. This declaration is very remarkable, when it is considered how zealous the Jews were to send emissaries everywhere after the apostle; and moreover, as the communication with Rome was so quick, and Paul's journey had lasted so long, one cannot understand how no warning should have preceded the apostle to Rome. We cannot conceive there

was any concealment of the truth on the part of the Jews, as no ground at all appears which could have led them to be silent on the matter. Böttiger's supposition (work already cited, pages 15. &c. 43, &c.) that the Jews pretend ignorance, as fearing that Paul might put them on their defence, when they felt themselves unable to carry out their charge against him, is quite untenable, because the apostle could institute no process against the Jews of Rome, who had done him no injury, but only against the Jews in Jerusalem. Böttiger represents the matter, as if the whole Jewish nation were bound to answer for the wrong, which had proceeded from certain Jews in Jerusalem. To this add, that if the fear in question might have determined the Jews in Rome to so strange a procedure, certainly it could not be the occasion of their falling out among themselves about the Messiahship of Jesus, according to the account here given by Luke. But we have already noticed, at chap. xviii. 1, what furnishes the key to the difficulty before us. Under Claudius the Jews, and along with them the Christians, had been expelled from Rome, and thus the connexions which the Jews of Jerusalem had with them were interrupted. And it was only quite slowly and secretly that the Jews returned under the government of Nero, which was very peaceful at its commencement, and at the same time too the Christian Church was gathered together again. But both Jews and Christians alike maintained a designed separation, and thus gradually lost their acquaintance with one another. But in Palestine they were not so accurately informed with regard to the state of matters in Rome, and thus it happened that no intelligence was sent thither, which certainly would not have been omitted in the case of any other place.

In ver. 17 the apostle declares most decidedly that he did nothing directly opposed to the customs and usages of the fathers. (See the particulars at chap. xxi. 17.)—Ver. 19. ἀλλὰ must be supplied to οὐκ ὦν; Paul wishes to intimate that he designs nothing against his nation, but is rather suffering persecution from them.—In ver. 20, ἐλπίς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ denotes the appearance of the Messiah. Compare Comm. on Luke ii. 25.—Ver. 22. The manner in which the Jews of Rome speak of the opposition given to the Christians, is not such as to render it probable, that in Rome itself there had already been such contentions, as arose for example in Galatia. The nature of the Epistle to the Romans confirms

this supposition, for, according to it, there had only been unimportant collisions there. See the particulars in the introduction to the Epistle to the Romans, and in the Commentary on Rom. xvi. 17, &c.

Vers. 23—29. That the Jews in Rome rather speak of the Christians, as a sect opposed elsewhere, than as one requiring to be opposed in their own immediate neighbourhood, is plain also from what follows. They are quite in the dark regarding the nature and peculiar doctrines of Christianity, and learn them, as it seems, for the first time from the mouth of Paul. As to the way of reconciling this with the circumstance that the Epistle to the Romans, which was written before this period, supposes the existence of a considerable Christian church in Rome, read the detailed statement made in the introduction to that Epistle. What is stated in the passage before us certainly makes the impression, that the Jews in Rome heard the preaching of the Gospel of Christ for the first time: there arose as usual a controversy among themselves, for some were convinced of the Messiahship of Jesus, others not. This state of matters would be inexplicable, if the church had not, as has been detailed above, been gathered together again as if for the first time. The apostle however dismissed the doubting Jews with the quotation of a judgment pronounced by the prophet Isaiah, and contrasted with their unbelief the faith to be expected from the Gentiles.

Ver. 23. As the meeting in which Paul spoke took place in his own residence, it is not improbable that he staid with Aquila, who always had a place for meetings in his house. See Rom. xvi. 3.—Ver. 26. The passage from Isaiah vi. 9, 10 has already been explained in the Comm. at Matt. xiii. 14, 15.—Ver. 29 is wanting in many Codices, but undoubtedly this is a mistake. Probably on account of ἀπελεύθετο in ver. 25, the words were regarded as superfluous. But there it is the breaking off of the discourse that is meant, here it is the final departure from the house.

Vers. 30, 31. Two whole years the apostle remained in this situation, and preached without hindrance to all. The specification of the time here made, thus leads us at the conclusion of the Acts of the Apostles to the spring of the year 65, as it was in the spring of 63 Paul arrived in Rome. The supposition of Böttiger (Beitr. Part II. p. 32, &c.), that Paul was only a few days in imprisonment in Rome, as described in chap xxviii. 16, and that he is

here in verse 30 represented as free from confinement, is quite in admissible, because, the expression ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ μισθώματι in verse 30 is not different from μένει καὶ ἑαυτῷ in verse 16. but means precisely the same thing. This appears manifest from the circumstance that there is only mention made of the receiving of visits on his part: he was not permitted to go about without restraint, to enter into the synagogue, and the like. The concluding words therefore μετὰ πάσης παύσεως ἀπολύτως refer only to the perfect freedom he enjoyed in his private residence, but not beyond it. That it was not after the lapse of these two years Paul suffered martyrdom, but that he was set free at his first trial before Nero, and then perished in a second imprisonment, will be shewn further in the Commentary on the pastoral epistles. Here the only question is, why Luke concludes his work in the manner he does. Not only is there no particular account of the process against Paul, but you also feel the want of a concluding address to Theophilus, and a review of the whole, in short a formal conclusion of the book. It is certainly a remark of some importance, that this feature of the work may be explained from the circumstance that Luke has detailed the events as far as they had developed themselves at the time, and thus we have a principle to guide us as to the time of the composition of the work. Compare in the Comm. B. i. Introd. § vi. Meyer's remark on the other hand, that the sonorous and solemn conclusion marks absolute completion of the work, is plainly wrong: the sonorousness of the participial construction can prove nothing here: the question is about the substance of the concluding verses, which leave the account begun regarding Paul unfinished; the decision of his appeal to the Emperor should have been stated, if it had taken place when Luke concluded. But even suppose that Luke had no additional fact to narrate, or that he supposes every thing which has occurred in Rome to be known to Theophilus, still it must always appear to the reader that there was need of a more formal conclusion. The passage xxviii. 31, concludes at most the last narrated event, but it does not form a conclusion to the whole work: one naturally expects a reference to the beginning of the book, and to the person of Theophilus. If you consider the commencement of the treatise (Luke i. 1-4), it will appear a natural expectation that Luke would conclude with some such statement as this: "I have now, beloved Theophilus, mentioned every thing which I have

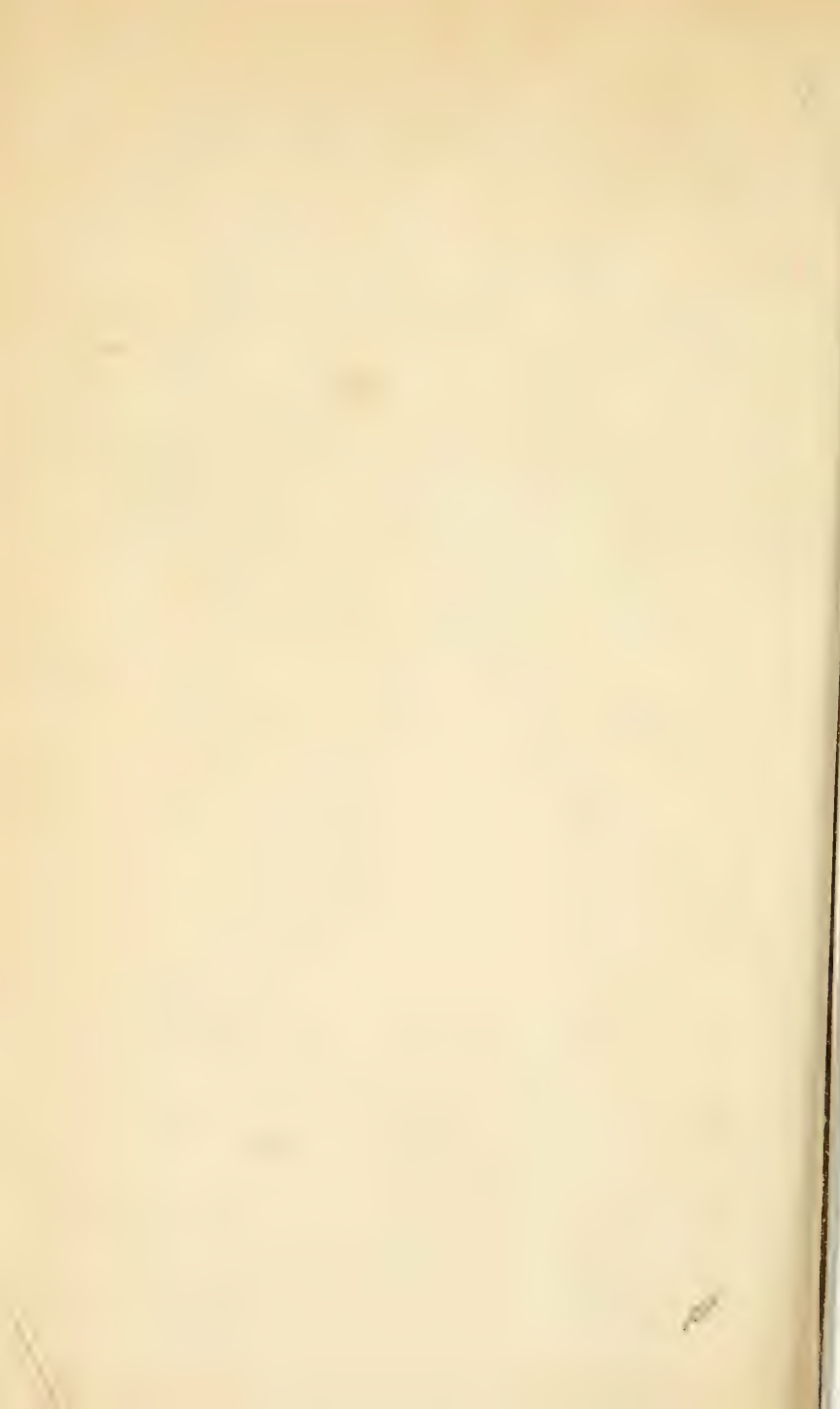
ascertained : from the point of time which we have now reached, you have a personal knowledge of all that has occurred, and therefore I conclude here." If Luke, then, did not purpose to issue a third treatise, as Heinrichs supposes, undoubtedly the proper formal conclusion of the work is wanting.

If we look back at the conclusion of this remarkable monument of the ancient church, to the course hitherto taken by the seed of God's word in its growth, we perceive in it three great intermissions or stages, all proceeding from east to west. In the first place, we find the Gospel at work among the Jews only, and during this period Jerusalem forms the central point of Christian life ; in the next place, it advances to the boundaries of the heathen and Jewish world, and Antioch now becomes the centre of activity ; and, finally, it gains a firm footing in the greatest city of Heathendom, in Rome itself, and thus the victory of the Gospel over the Gentile world is declared. As Jerusalem too, about the same time when Peter and Paul were labouring in Rome, and sealed their ministry with their blood, was destroyed, the universal character of Christianity was then also established in opposition to every particular system. The first two points are completely carried through in the book of Acts ; but this book only takes us on to the third point, which is one of great importance. The letters of the apostles, however, which follow, embrace in substance the further development of it ; for, like branches into which the one stem of the tree of life is divided, they bring the various tendencies slumbering in its germ to their individual perfection. In this gradual transference, then, of the Gospel from the people of Israel to the Gentiles, lies the key to the remarkable fact, which more than every thing else demonstrates the divine power of the risen Redeemer, that not only in the book of Acts, but also in the whole extension of the church and in the writings that constitute the canon of the church, the Twelve who had seen the Lord for three years, and lived with him, give place to a man who hardly had seen Christ, and who had even for a length of time persecuted Christians with blind fury. The Apostle Paul stands before us as an image of the whole apostate race of man, or at least of Israel, who are long struggling against the Lord, but are at last to become a mighty instrument for the ac-

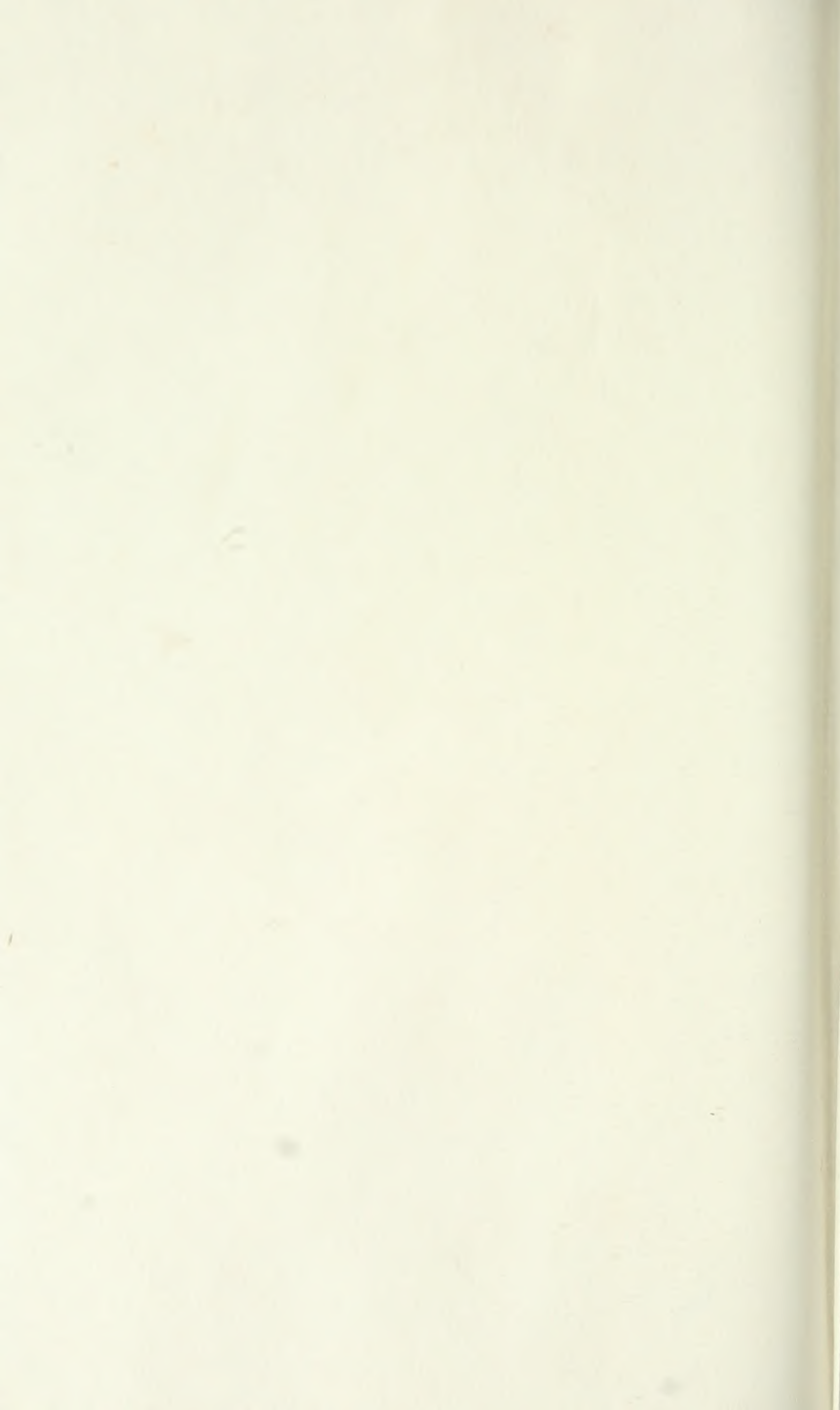
complishment of God's designs. After his entire surrender to his Lord and Saviour, his life and spirit had become so intimately blended with the being, and nature, and character of Christ himself, that in the views presented in his profound epistles, we cannot be persuaded there is anything hostile to the Gospel, but only its true essential nature, which, reflecting itself in a rich spirit and deep mind, carries with it, besides the heavenly nobility that resides in it, the witchery also of personal fresh experience, and the ornament of ingenious development of thought. While therefore hitherto we have had to do with the greatest and most comprehensive facts, such as the progress of the Redeemer's life and that of his church, which required the utmost possible expansion of view, we are now presented with investigations in which single doctrines or relations of life are brought under the most minute examination ; and it is the concluding book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse, which first takes the reader back again to the most comprehensive position, once more uniting the general and the particular equally in one harmonious whole.











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